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The *Qantu* and Music Therapy in the Kallawayaya Heritage Context

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<p>Resumen</p> <p>La proclamación de la cosmovisión andina de los Kallawayas por la UNESCO como “Obra Maestra del Patrimonio Oral e Intangible de la Humanidad” en 2003 definió el fin de una larga lucha por el reconocimiento nacional e internacional de los médicos kallawayaya como médicos profesionales. A la vez, creó una plataforma ideal para reivindicar la cultura kallawayaya como pueblo o nación indígena durante la reconstitución del estado plurinacional de Bolivia; un proceso que empezó a partir de la asamblea constituyente en 2006 y el exitoso voto del municipio de Charazani para optar por la autonomía indígena originaria campesina (AIOC) en diciembre de 2009. En este contexto patrimonial, el artículo plantea discutir las repercusiones del patrimonio cultural inmaterial (PCI) y la reivindicación de la cultura kallawayaya como nación indígena en la percepción y reproducción del <i>Qantu</i>, género musical emblemático de la región kallawayaya. Paradójicamente, la UNESCO plenamente reconoció el <i>Qantu</i> como una “musicoterapia”, pero contribuyó, a la vez, a su desvinculación del sentido local de ser una expresión participativa y una práctica relacional del bienestar a niveles corporales-individuales y sociales-comunitarios.</p>	<p>Abstract</p> <p>The UNESCO proclamation of the Andean Cosmivision of the Kallawayaya, as a “Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” in 2003, marked the end of a long struggle by Kallawayaya healers for national and international recognition as professional healers. At the same time, it created an ideal platform from which to reclaim Kallawayaya culture as an Indigenous nation during the constitution of the Plurinational State of Bolivia; a process, which began with the constitutional assembly in 2006 and Charazani’s successful vote in December 2009 to opt for their Indigenous Autonomy or <i>Autonomía Indígena Originaria Campesina</i> (AIOC). This article examines the repercussions of the 2003 UNESCO cultural intangible heritage proclamation and the reclaiming of Kallawayaya culture as an Indigenous nation on the perceptions and practices of <i>Qantu</i> music, the emblematic panpipe style of the Kallawayaya region. Paradoxically, UNESCO’s recognition of <i>Qantu</i> as “music therapy”, contributed to decontextualizing it from its local meaning as a participatory expression and relational practice of wellbeing at various corporal-individual and social-communitarian levels.</p>
<p>Palabras clave</p> <p>Kallawayaya, <i>Qantu</i>, Musicoterapia, Patrimonio Cultural Intangible, UNESCO</p>	<p>Keywords</p> <p>Kallawayaya, <i>Qantu</i>, Music Therapy, Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO</p>
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The *Qantu* and Music Therapy in the Kallawaya Heritage Context

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Introduction

On 7th November 2003 UNESCO proclaimed the Andean cosmovision of the Kallawaya a “Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity”. A few weeks later, in early December, the proclamation was celebrated to the sounds of *Qantu*¹ ensembles, the emblematic panpipe style of the Kallawaya region, with a formal tour by the Viceministry of Cultures through the municipal capitals of Charazani and Curva, both of which form part of Bautista Saavedra province. Eleven years after the proclamation - UNESCO having meanwhile inscribed the Andean Cosmovision of the Kallawaya on to the representative list of the cultural and intangible heritage of humanity in 2008 - I began my fieldwork with the *Qantu* musicians of Niñocorin. The community of Niñocorin belongs to *ayllu*² Kaata and is situated half an hour’s walk north-east of the municipal capital of Charazani, at an altitude of about 3200m. This forms part of Bautista Saavedra province in the Northern part of La Paz department. Due to its dense sonorous texture of six registers or voices (*kunka*) and its harmony of parallel fourths, fifths and octaves, played using interlocking between pairs of instruments, *Qantu* ensembles are ideally comprised of a minimum of 25 musicians (only men), playing panpipes (*qantuphukuna*), drums (*qantubumbu*) and a metal triangle (*ch’inisku*) for percussion. Various studies have focused on *Qantu* music and examined, for example, sonorous, social and organizational aspects of the ensembles (Baumann 1985; Langevin 1992; 1990; Whitney Templeman 1994). Nevertheless, to date no study offers in depth analysis of its role in healing.

On 16th November 2014, I accompanied Niñocorin’s *Qantu* ensemble to the patronal feast of the *Virgen de los Remedios* in the community of Chajaya, three hours walk from Niñocorin (Figure 1-3). Very few of the players were young and the ensemble consisted of no more than 13 players, scarcely half an ensemble. The sun was setting, it began to get dark, and the musicians, wearing the typical local dress, had just completed the three days of playing for which they had been contracted. The *Qantu* ensemble’s “president” approached the feast sponsor (*pasante*)³ to request the remainder of the agreed fee, the first half – or so-called *adelanto* or advance - having already been received. The two started to argue vociferously as the *pasante* did not wish to pay the full fee, as the number of musicians was fewer than originally agreed. Finally, an agreement was reached and the *pasante* gave the musicians the remainder of the fee alongside three crates of *Paceño* beer. Later, and by now well after dark, we made our way to the main square of the town of Charazani, where the anniversary of the province’s foundation was still underway; a civil festivity of much regional importance. As the musicians entered the main square, the ensemble was announced as “the *Qantu* of Niñocorin, ancestral music of the cultural intangible heritage of humanity”. To applause and whistling from the audience, the musicians made their way around the square, displaying their well-known choreography, as they played. Couples started to dance, and the presentation culminated with further applause for the musicians, and more crates of *Paceño* beer.

¹ I use the grammatical form, indicated by my host in Niñocorin. Other forms are *Qhantus*, *Khantus* or *Kantu*.

² *Ayllu*: Ancestral social, political, economic and ethical organisation of various Indigenous communities.

³ The *pasante*, or *preste*, is the organizer and sponsor of the patronal feast. The *preste* always consists of a married couple.



Figure 1.



Figure 2.



Figure 3.

Figures 1-3: Niñocorin's *Qantu* ensemble during the feast of the "Virgen de los Remedios", Chajaya November 2014 (Photos: Sebastian Hachmeyer)

The above description offers a very typical scene of how *Qantu* panpipe music is presented in the Kallawaya region today. On the one hand, it is linked to public performances during civil festivities, involving social prestige and display. During these public performances, including outside the Kallawaya region, it is quite common to hear *Qantu* music related to the heritage status of the Andean Cosmivision of the Kallawaya and to the *ancestral* label. On the other hand, *Qantu* music is associated with patronal feasts, involving contracts and monetary payments, where a non-egalitarian relationship with the so-called *vecinos* and *misti*, people of Spanish descent, sometimes intervenes in some way or another in the musical practice. For example, for most of the year, Chajaya, is essentially a deserted community, as a large proportion of its inhabitants has migrated to the cities of La Paz or El Alto. My host in Niñocorin, the *yachaj* or wise man Feliciano Patty, told me that the majority of the *pasantes* nowadays are *residentes* or relatives from La Paz or El Alto. They only come to show off during the community's main seasonal feasts, bringing invited guests with urban middle-class forms of appearance, behaviour, dress, talk, etc. Aldermann (2016) shows how *vecinos* and *misti* exert control over life in Kallawaya communities through a vertically organized system of "godparenthood" or *compadrazgo*, by which dominance is asserted through superior socio-economic status. I had the impression in Chajaya that the *pasante* asserted a sense of superiority through regularly demanding that the musicians play, leading them to feel "obliged to blow", as some told me later.

At first glance, the performance and associated meanings of *Qantu* music, in the Kallawaya region and beyond, would appear to have little direct relationship with traditional medicine. Nevertheless, in UNESCO's 2003 proclamation *Qantu* is explicitly recognized as "music therapy", and as such conspicuously associated with Kallawaya herbal medical tradition. For example, in the 2002 application document, prepared by the Viceministry of Cultures, *Qantu* is identified as a music of "the Kallawaya", who "not only employ plants, animals and minerals for healing, but also music therapy (called in their own language Kantus)" (Viceministry of Culture 2002, 42). This is an example of what Rösing (2008) has termed a "shrunken definition" of Kallawaya medicine in the heritage context, as it makes no mention to the spiritual and ritual dimensions of Kallawaya medicine.

In this heritage context, I am interested in how *Qantu* panpipe music is seen to relate to traditional Kallawaya medicine, which might be divided into two specialist areas: herbal healing and spiritual/ritual healing.⁴ This article draws on ethnographic research undertaken in 2014-16 in the Kallawaya region, mainly the community of Niñocorin (Figure 4), and in the cities of La Paz, El Alto and Cochabamba, where many of Kallawaya healers now reside and work. UNESCO documents recognise *Qantu* as "music therapy", but I will argue that, paradoxically, this heritage proclamation has contributed to the decontextualization of *Qantu* from its local meaning as a participatory expression and relational practice of wellbeing, at various corporal-individual and social-communitarian levels. This heritage making has also fomented ideas of commercialization and professionalism in the context of the Kallawaya nation, where *Qantu* is used for purposes of cultural affirmation and display.⁵

⁴ According to Rösing (1996, 66f [my translation]), the Kallawaya is a "religious specialist to whom individuals (or families) as well as the community call upon for healing, whether curative or collective, using herbs and/or rituals; he or she is elected in some way or another, has spent a long time learning, and acts according to an extensive code of religious and ethical values".

⁵ A similar case is the music of the Chinese guqin: "In proclaiming the music of the Chinese guqin an ICH masterpiece, UNESCO ushered in a series of events which pushed aside the very tradition it wished to support, unwittingly helping to



Figure 4. Valley of Niñocorin (Photo: Sebastian Hachmeyer)

Music Therapy in the context of herbal medicine?

In many parts of the world, both in the past and today, music is attested healing powers. According to the general definition of the World Federation of Music Therapy (2011) we might say that “music therapy is the professional use of music and its elements as an intervention in medical, educational, and everyday environments with individuals, groups, families, or communities who seek to optimize their quality of life and improve their physical, social, communicative, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual health and wellbeing. Research, practice, education, and clinical training in music therapy are based on professional standards according to cultural, social, and political contexts”. A dominant image of Andean music in global contexts, especially with its stereotype instrument the panpipe, is often of sonorities that evoke tranquil or meditative mental states. Due to this supposed meditative character, it is common to hear recordings of panpipe music in European spa resorts that offer healing through thermal water and minerals. Nonetheless, a sharply contrasted image is found in the music played in rural communities in highland Bolivia, where wind instruments are typically blown strongly to produce strident sonorities which are likely to be perceived by the Western ear as “harsh” or “dissonant” (Stobart 2017; 2013). Music is related to festive occasions, which in the same way as the *Qantu* music I presented above, serves to break the overwhelming silence that

establish the music in a virtuosic, professional, presentational performance form [...], which was contrary to the UNESCO proclamation's characterization of the music's heritage as an endangered, contemplative, amateur chamber music for the home” (Titon 2009, 127).

characterizes most of the rest of the year in this highland environment (Stobart 2002).

Nonetheless, music and its healing powers are related to local understandings about territory, body and the flow of life energies. In the Andes, where traditional medicine is characterized by a long history and great variety, it is important to understand concepts of health and illness, as well as music making and its relation to healing practices, from this perspective. Within contemporary discourse regarding the idea of *Qantu* music as “curative”, it is necessary to differentiate between statements made by Kallawaya healers, primarily herbalists, and those made by musicians from communities like Niñocorin, where *Qantu* is played collectively. In an interview with the herbal specialist Walter Álvarez, originally from Kanlaya, in his consulting room in El Alto, he explained to me that

music and dance, such as *Qantu*, are curative. If you are very weak, a smooth/gentle (*suave*) rhythm is needed, but if you have high blood pressure, with polyglobulia, the rhythm needs to be lively and energetic. You move and begin to sweat, and your joints don't hurt [anymore]. Your breathing speeds up when you blow [panpipes] and dance; this all helps to prevent heart disease.

In the modern context of music therapy, also influenced by biological and evolutionist approaches in musicology, we could argue that the above quotation refers to a specific type of musical entrainment. According to DeNora (2004), the musically entrained body and its processes unfold in relation to musical elements, aligning and regulating themselves in relation to music. Bodies might thus be said to organise and compose themselves musically. Musical entrainment can involve the regulation and/or modification of physical states, behaviours, temporal parameters like mood and emotion, as well as social roles (DeNora 2004; Clayton *et al.* 2004). But, how can we understand Álvarez's affirmation against the background of Kallawaya herbal healing?

While the use of the concept of “music therapy” might be significant in the modern context, it is misleading as regards Kallawaya practices. It suggests the image of a traditional healer, an herbalist in the UNESCO case, “applying” collective panpipe music - ideally played by 25 musicians - as a form of medical treatment, in the sense of the Greek meaning of *therapeia*. It is difficult to imagine a contemporary herbalist, many of whom are now sedentary and have adapted to the spaces of modern medicine and clinical contexts (“hospital”, “consulting room”, etc.), “applying” (in the same sense of “prescribing” medicinal infusions or pomades) collectively performed *Qantu* music. Hypothetically, it would be possible for healers to use recordings, but I have neither witnessed nor heard reports of *Qantu* music recordings used in this way. Nor was collective music an integral part of the practices of itinerant Kallawaya herbalists either, who travelled with a bag (*kapachu*) of medicinal herbs and often worked alone, or with a single disciple; usually a direct relative as lineage transmission dictated. The UNESCO heritage documents are the first official context in which the term “music therapy” appears in relation to *Qantu*.

However, if we compare Bastien's (1983; 1985) interpretations of the basis for Kallawaya herbal medicine and Álvarez's explanation of “Kallawaya music therapy”, we find some interesting parallels. In his explanation of the Kallawaya humoral system⁶, Bastien (1983; 1985) argues that Kallawaya herbalists principally concern themselves with treating the circulation (concentration, distillation and elimination) of body fluids, such as blood. For this reason, they diagnose sickness through analysing the pulse. Depending on blood quality (warm=rapid flow, cold=slow flow, wet=thick, dry=thin), they prescribe *mate* or herbal infusions to regulate circulation. “Hot” herbs

⁶ Bastien (1986) explains that such a humoral system has existed in the Andes since before the Spanish conquest, while Fernández Juárez (1998, 25) argues that these categories of the “Hippocratic medicine” were introduced to the Indigenous and popular medicine in Latin-American following the Spanish conquest.

are seen to accelerate the circulation of body fluids, which in therapeutic terms would be classified as cardiotoxic or cardiopulmonary, among others. “Cold” herbs are seen to have the opposite effect and to reduce the velocity of body fluid circulation, acting among other things as anti-inflammatories and tranquilizers. Interpreting Álvarez’s statement against the background of Bastien’s (1983; 1985) account, it could be suggested that, instead of using medical herbs, bodily circulation processes could be governed and regulated by kinaesthetic aspects of *Qantu* music. In turn, this might be seen to result in desirable effects on the body (for example, serving as a cardiotoxic, strengthening the cardiopulmonary system, etc.). In this context, it is notable that Álvarez referred to *Qantu* as “dance therapy”, instead of invoking the term “music therapy”. While understanding *Qantu* as “dance therapy” might be related to Kallawaya humoral understandings of body, the use of modern medical concepts, such as “music therapy”, have only quite recently been incorporated into the discourse of “professional” Kallawaya herbalists. This can be traced back to their involvement in the cultural politics surrounding the UNESCO application.

The Kallawaya herbal specialist from Curva, Luis Walter Quispe, acknowledges that “today, we, the professionals in the cities, recently started to talk about a music therapy”, adding that, nevertheless, “our music has always been part of our living together in our communities, not only *Qantu*”. At a first glance, there seems to have been an adoption of a discourse relating to the modern and “professional” context in which Kallawaya herbalists have been involved since UNESCO recognition. This adaptation has not only involved the incorporation of notions like music therapy or dance therapy, but also other concepts from modern medicine, such as “polyglobulia”. I suggest that Kallawaya herbal specialists adopted these concepts in order to combat the sense of discrimination they had experienced in relation to modern medicine. These new concepts might also have facilitated greater mutual understanding with their new clientele, resulting from the UNESCO recognition, and their insertion into spaces of modern medicine. (We will return to this point again later).

The healing aspects of *Qantu* and the relational practices of wellbeing

Against this background, it is worth asking, on the one hand, how musicians themselves think about *Qantu*’s healing powers, and, on the other, how this relates to some of the other musical styles played in Kallawaya communities, as Quispe mentioned. Among musicians from Niñocorin’s *Qantu* ensemble, but also in the Kallawaya region more generally, you often hear it stated that the sound of *Qantu* panpipes can help alleviate melancholy and depression. Many people of the Kallawaya region independently told me that the sound of *Qantu* panpipes makes “grief vanish”. This contrasts with the common outsider stereotype that Andean music - especially when incorporating multiphonic sounds - is sad and dissonant (Stobart 2017).⁷ Among other causes, depression and melancholy are often attributed to fright or “susto” (*mancharisqa*); these symptoms resulting from a temporary loss of spirit or *ajayu*.⁸ In such cases, Kallawaya ritual specialists call the *ajayu* back with ritual or healing words (*jampiy rimaykuna*) and make an offering to the owner of the place (*lugarniyoq*) where the *ajayu* was trapped and from which it must be returned. Collective music is

⁷ This aspect shows the necessity for “postcolonial ears” in musical interactions (Solomon 2012, 217).

⁸ It is worth saying that one deals here with the small spirit or *juch’uy ajayu*, because if a person loses his or her big spirit or *jatun ajayu* he or she dies. *Ajayu* is an Aymara word, which is also used in the Kallawaya region, where also some Aymara communities, for instance Upinhuaya, in the North of Niñocorin, exist. Some of my collaborators also used the Quechua word *qamas*. According to Burman (2011), *qamasa* is only one part of *ajayu* indicating courage and strength. Langevin (1990) shows how the nomenclature of musical instruments mixes together the Quechua and Aymara languages. I would argue that the same also happens concerning ritual terminology.

not employed in these family healing sessions, which focus on the individual wellbeing of a person, whether suffering from *mancharisqa* or other pathologies.⁹ However, the healing words of the Kallawayá ritualists can sometimes take melodic and rhythmic forms, like sung ritual chants.

In the oral tradition, one sometimes hears about a specific tuning ritual performed by local instrument makers with newly constructed panpipes or *qantuphukuna* (Langevin 1990). This involves bathing the instruments in rosemary water, as rosemary is said to contain properties for alleviating depression and melancholy. Through this ritual bath, the instruments are seen to incorporate and assume the rosemary's properties. These relational practices between humans and non-humans are however becoming rare, as are many collective rituals related to the agrarian cycle (Rösing 2008). On several occasions, my host in Niñocorin, the *yachaj* Feliciano Patty (Figure 6), showed me calendars outlining the organization of musical and ritual practices according to the agricultural cycle. In former times, he explained, music had been seasonally understood in relation to agricultural production and collective rituals, as also evidenced in studies from other parts of rural Bolivia (Stobart 2006). Compared to individual healing rituals, collective ritual healing has a more preventive aspect related to maintaining the overall balance of life and the general wellbeing of the whole community. This includes, for example, asking for a good harvest or for protection from calamity. In the context of collective healing, the critical involvement of collective music is much more direct and, indeed, very important, although nothing is mentioned about it in official UNESCO documents. Elsewhere (Hachmeyer 2017a; 2017b), I have discussed how *pinkillu* duct flutes are played in a collective ritual called *qallay* (literally "beginning"), for calling the rain and anticipating the rainy season (*paray pacha*) during maize sowing (*sara tarpuy*) in November. At dawn, messengers (*kachapuriq*) take offerings to sacred water related places, for instance, lakes or springs, and bring something in return to the community for *qallay*, like flowers, herbs or water itself. The *kachapuriq* are received around midday with food and *pinkillu* music, and later, after the ritual act of commensality, the collective ritualist or *watapurichiq* (literally, "the one making the year walk") prepares the main offering in the middle of the community with the ingredients brought by the *kachapuriq*.

For understanding *qallay* music and dance, I wish to introduce the concept of "person-mountain-body", which I have developed building on the work of Joseph Bastien (1978). Here, I reinterpret his use of metaphorical language, characteristic of classical Andean anthropology, in the light of new theoretical tendencies in Andean scholarship concerning the relation between nature and culture, prioritizing ontological aspects (Hachmeyer 2017a; 2017b; Arnold 2017; Ochoa Gautier 2016; De la Cadena 2015; Allen 2015; Cavalcanti-Schiel 2014; Kohn 2013). Bastien (1978) explains in this "mountain metaphor" how Kallawayá from *ayllu* Kaata "metaphorically" understand the physiology of their own bodies in relation to the mountain, on which they live. Such an understanding of the constant relational flow of life and of the living together between humans and non-humans, which draws on the help of metaphors, has recently been critiqued by Arnold (2017, 27 [my translation]):

Many examples of Andean ethnography already explain how to understand these constant flows, but

⁹ Individual healing of a ritual and spiritual kind is divided into two types (Rösing 1996): The *yuraq mesa* or white offering is used if the purpose is "for" or "favours" positive circumstances: health, wellbeing, good harvest, etc.; the *yana mesa* or black offering is used if the purpose is "back" or "against something", its spectrum covers everything from rejection of bad thoughts to intentional harm against an enemy. Beside these Kallawayá concepts, Rösing (1996) introduces her own concept of grey healing, where she subsumes rituals of defence, cleansing and purification. The intentionality can be resumed by the word "outside". Grey healing rituals are those for alleviating pain and sorrow (*llaki wijch'uña*) or also rituals of purification for protecting oneself against witchcraft.

the modality of describing them has been limited to date to the use of metaphors and other literary tropes [...]. One disadvantage of these former modes of explanation is that they are limited to the domain of human language.

Besides being limited to the domain of human language, the use of metaphors inevitably evokes the multiculturalist concept of an epistemological representation of the natural world. Based on the cosmological perspectivism of Viveiros de Castro (1998), Allen (2015) argues in her new perspective of Andean animism that we should not consider these ethnographic descriptions as metaphoric projections of the human imagination over nature, but treat them as ontological premises that privilege “viewpoint”, having a deictic function (for example, blood for humans is *chicha* for jaguars).

Rereading Bastien’s (1978) work against this background, I propose that the body of the person and the body of the mountain are *ontological equivalents*. Alberti (2012) uses this concept to show how the practice and technique of moulding ceramic pots is ontologically equivalent to moulding human bodies. But this is not the idea of equivalence that I have in mind. Rather, equivalence between the person and the mountain could be understood in terms of physiological uniformity and correspondences. The fluids of the human body are governed by equivalent dynamics within the mountain. They flow back and forth between the body of the person and the mountain, as an inseparable unit, in which the person is bound to the mountain, as much as the mountain is bound to the person, *through* their bodies.

The human body (*ukhu*), expressed through the unity of internal elements, and the mountain body, expressed through the unity of communities in the *ayllu*, has a distillation centre of body fluids. The integrity of the person-mountain-body, or “health” in other words, is a process in which centripetal and centrifugal forces unite fluids in order then to disperse them to the peripheries. Illness, not only of the person, but also of the mountain or the *ayllu*, are linked to improper circulation of fluids and the disintegration of internal elements. This also corresponds with the way that Kallawayá herbalists primarily treat the circulation of fluids like blood, as discussed above.¹⁰ Needless to say, *qallay* music and dance also relate to the person-mountain-body and the idea of integral “health”. All participants (musicians, dancers, flag bearers) dance in a row, like a meandering river, crossing the whole main square up and down, until the musicians form a circle in the middle of the square. The dancers and flag bearers dance around the musicians, in a counterclockwise movement, followed by a clockwise movement (Figure 5). The recollection and burning of elements from all parts of the *ayllu*, as well as *qallay* music and dance are centripetal and centrifugal forces that concentrate and disperse body fluids (Bastien 1983; 1985).

¹⁰ It is interesting that in the Amazon, kinship is conceived as active assimilation through fluids (Conklin and Morgan 1996; Vilaça 2002; see also Alberti 2012). In the case of the Andes, including the mountains of the Kallawayá region, it is said that some mountain peaks are grandfathers (*machula/awicha*), and the people living on the slopes are referred to as their grandchildren (*allchhi/willka*). For more details, see Arnold (1998).

contexts. He shows parallels between the use of sound in the transformation of the landscape through music and of the body through healing. It is this transformative force of musical sound during the agrarian cycle, which assures a good harvest, as well as individual-corporal and collective-social wellbeing. As wind instruments (*phukuna*, that which is blown, from the verb *phukuy*, to blow) are always related to the lungs and respiration, they are also necessarily related to the flow of *ajayu*, which is understood as having communicative connections with protector and nurture spirits in *pacha*.¹²

Now, it is worth asking, to what degree, *Qantu* music was part of such seasonal understandings of collective music in the Kallawaya context. The conditions, under which the *Qantu* panpipe style emerged in the Kallawaya region, have yet to be the subject of in-depth research. I have heard many versions of this history, with some being incoherent and contradictory. Nevertheless, they do suggest the possibility that the *Qantu* panpipe style originated at the beginning of the 20th century, during the times of latifundia. Local musical elements, derived from *Tuallu* and *Chiriwano* panpipes, may have merged with foreign panpipes styles from the Lake Titicaca region, such as *Jach'a Siku* from Qullana or *Sikuri* from Conima.¹³ Although having been related to latifundia and patronal feasts from the beginning, it is probable that the *Qantu's* seasonal character was maintained until recently, reflecting general understandings about the use of panpipes and former associated panpipe styles.

Feliciano, for instance, is witness of such a seasonal meaning of *Qantu* music, and describes it as belonging to the *phukuna* of the dry season (*ch'aki pacha*). The dry season *phukuna*, such as the notch-end blown *Qina* or traverse flutes called *Pifano*, but also *Qantu* panpipes, do not have a block (to close the end of the tube and create a duct) like the *pinkillu*. In contrast to rainy season duct flutes, their sounds are more open, direct and unconstrained, attracting *ankari* in order to disperse the rainclouds at appropriate moments in the cycle of agrarian production. I have frequently heard people saying that “*Qantu* should not be played at just any time”, and that it was related in former times to the harvest season. Langevin (1992) cites *Qantu* musicians from Quiabaya, who still affirmed that playing *Qantu* before or during *paray pacha* prevents it from raining, which would mean a possible threat to agrarian production and later harvest.

¹² In the Aymara context of the Titicaca lakeshore terrain I have heard that this communicative and connective function of musical sounds is called *saqapa* (literally meaning rattlesnake). Burman (2011) says that *saqapa* is an element of *jach'a ajayu*, beside *janchi ajayu* (corporal) and *qamasa* (courage, strength), expressing the power to maintain communication with a broader web of life, and to all *ajayus* in the cosmos, including protector spirits or *ajayu uywiri*. Schramm (1992) refers to leg rattles for dancing called *saccapa* made from hard-shelled fruits: “idiófono, *saccapa* (con respecto a este término Bertonio escribe: ‘Vna frutilla prolongada, a modo auellana de corteza muy dura, y suelen los indios servirse della para cascaueles por el sonido que haze no con lo que tiene adentro sino encontrándose, o golpeando y no con otro’).” Among many *amawt'as* in La Paz, a small bell is currently used to “connect” (*mayisthapiña*) with the lost *ajayu* and call it back. According to my interpretation, this is a continuation of the *saccapa* mentioned by Schramm (1992). Chaumeil (2016) emphasizes the importance of acoustic codes in relations with spirits among the Yagua in Amazonia and argues that in shamanism the typical sound of the *chacapa*, which is used by shamans in healing session, has a particular soothing effect on spirits.

¹³ It is worth mentioning that all panpipe style, the *Tuallus* and *Chiriwanos* from the Kallawaya region, as well as the *Jach'a Siku* from Qullana, are based on parallel octaves played in three registers (Baumann 1985; Langevin 1992; Borrás 1995). In some testimonies I have heard that the *Sikuri* from Conima had an essential influence on the *Qantu* panpipe style, and that kinship relations with families from Peru's Moho province existed. This invites speculation that elements of the *Sikuri* from Conima may have intervened in the fusion. Before changing to a “criollo” harmony composed of parallel minor and mayor thirds under the organization of the Indigenist landowner Natalio Calderón in April 1928, the Conimeño panpipe style was played with the same parallel fourths, fifths and octaves (Turino 1993) now found in the *Qantu* of Bautista Saavedra. According to Ginés Pastén (†2018), an elderly interlocutor from Charazani, *Sikuris* from Conima played at feasts in Charazani on various occasions in the early 20th century.

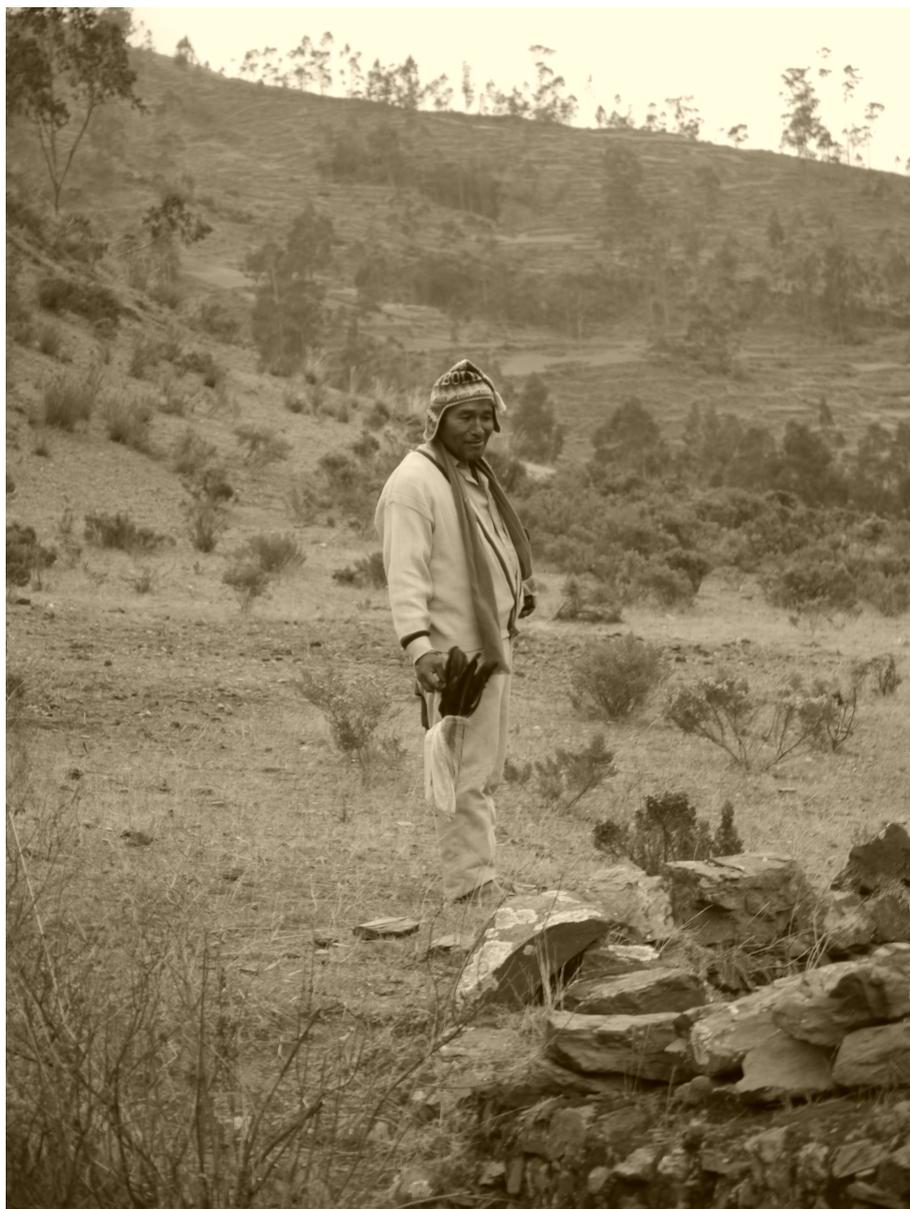


Figure 6. Yachaj Feliciano Patty (Photo: Sebastian Hachmeyer)

In general, the structure of *Qantu* music reflects qualities that Turino (2008) has related to “participatory” forms of music making. The structure is repetitive and comprised of short sections (for instance, AAB1B2C1C2), the rhythm incorporates certain repeated structures, and the pulse is regular, besides *stringendo* tempo accelerations at the end of pieces. Individual virtuosity is downplayed, and the sonic texture very dense. All these characteristics allow for rapid learning during practical and collective playing.¹⁴ Social norms prioritize aesthetics, in which participation is given precedence over musical precision (Stobart 2006). Likewise, Turino (2008) argues that the etiquette of sociality has priority over sound quality. Therefore, an internal quality control in relation

¹⁴ Despite of some individual trials with their own instruments, musical learning used to be communitarian and participatory, tactile and kinaesthetic (Langevin 1990). Stobart (2000b) argues that playing an instrument alone, behind closed doors, could be considered an antisocial act and a motive for suspicion. Musical learning assumes a modality of informality and above all of embodiment.

to the musician's level of musical knowledge or ability tends to be downplayed (Turino 1989). Despite the existence of differences in ability and experience, which may be recognized in private, ensembles tend to avoid clear differentiations in social status between experienced performers -for instance, the two *guías* (lead players/guides)- and all the others (Langevin 1990; Turino 1989). Rather, it is the job of the *guías* to "balance" or "equalize" the ensemble. *Qantu*, like many other forms of Andean panpipes, are played using interlocking technique between two players, playing paired instruments which play alternate pitches of the scale.

Langevin (1990) describes how, before social feasts, less experienced youngsters incorporated themselves into the ensemble without significant controls on ability. The *guías* organized the ensemble so that less experienced pairs of players could play alongside a more experienced couple. Thus, they learned faster, and the ensemble automatically and magically balances itself, because the more experienced players "pull" their less experienced counterparts. This work of the *guías* is especially important when new musicians spontaneously integrate themselves into the ensembles during feasts, sometimes with their own instruments. Turino (1993) describes a case where a player brought an instrument with tuning which diverged from the rest of the ensemble, a situation that did not provoke any restrictions in participation. The ensemble must constantly manage imbalances in their performances regarding the sound, but this aspect was secondary to social participation.¹⁵

Stobart (2006) relates social participation in musical practices to what he calls the "production of people", where youngsters not only develop cognitive competences (a key aspect in contemporaneous music therapies as well), but also learn how particular styles, melodic forms, rhythmic emotions and corporal sensations relate to the environment, in which they live. It is a form of "cosmopraxis" (De Munter 2016), or continuous learning of life, based on relational practices of a co-participation through which humans learn to relate, not only to other humans, but also to other non-human living beings. Therefore, participation in musical practices is sometimes fundamental for the social balance of a community and the continuity of a functioning whole of closely related humans and non-humans. Drawing on Canessa (1998), Stobart (2006) approaches participation in musical practices in terms of the process through which unsocialized youngsters gradually become "complete persons" (*runa*) through their integration in intimate relations with all living beings in the *ayllu*.

After the UNESCO proclamation

But, how has the UNESCO proclamation contributed to the decontextualization of *Qantu* music from its local understandings of musical healing? Alongside denouncing a "shrunken definition" of Kallawaya medicine in the heritage context, Rösing (2008) has critiqued the lack of recognition of female Kallawaya healers, and the way that projects have emphasised urban Kallawaya organizations, while failing to include the participation of local inhabitants of the Kallawaya region. We now know that these circumstances can be attributed to a lack of local coordination in putting

¹⁵ Interestingly, this idea of balancing constant imbalances is useful for understanding cycles of life and the relation between health and sickness. Bastien (1978) explains that time is not a fixed point, but a cycle between two strokes always circulating between the body of the mountain. Like the oscillation of a pendulum, every stroke can only go so far, and then it starts back again. Life always oscillates between states of health and sickness, while the latter being necessary for the former and vice versa. In this sense, sickness is not always a misfortune, but a necessary complement of life, a challenge for always balancing the constant oscillation between health and sickness, and, ultimately, life and death, with the latter only being the start of the oscillation.

together the UNESCO application and in the execution of the first UNESCO supported projects.¹⁶ In the end, following various internal struggles - and immediately before the UNESCO safeguarding project and the “Workshop of Knowledge Transmission from Kallawaya Elderly to Youngsters” in September and October 2015 - the local coordination of the project was changed. Although the workshops still assumed a formal-Western understanding of knowledge transmission, which is very alien to Kallawaya history and reality, I had the impression that the organizers responded reflexively to some of the criticisms. The Bolivian sociologist Ada Álvarez, the new local coordinator, explained to me in Curva, where the workshops took place, that

we intend to show a balance between both specialties of Kallawaya medicine, and their synthesis. Moreover, local inhabitants of the Kallawaya region, who had not previously been considered, have been involved. And, also, women, which is very important for the balance of the sexes. Another factor is also the inclusion of the political part, and the participation of local authorities and social organizations, which also are Kallawayas in the sense of the Indigenous nation.



Figure 7. Kallawaya women during the UNESCO workshop of knowledge transmission (Photo: Johnny Guerreros)

This balanced emphasis of sexes and the synthesis of both medical specialties is also manifest in the workshop report (UNESCO 2017). An even more notable aspect is undoubtedly the involvement of political authorities and the relation with the process of reclaiming Kallawaya culture as an Indigenous nation. At the time of the UNESCO proclamation in 2003, there had remained a clear distinction between “Kallawaya”, in the restricted sense of traditional healers, and in the broader sense of the inhabitants of Bautista Saavedra province. Being Kallawaya had been understood as being part of a specific profession of specialist individuals involved in herbal and

¹⁶ See Alderman (2016, 117-122) and Loza (2004) for a more detailed explanation about the UNESCO application process.

spiritual healing, rather than as an identity, in the sense of an Indigenous people or nation.¹⁷ After the UNESCO proclamation in 2003, Kallawayaya identity as a reference to a profession of traditional specialist healers underwent a process of cultural resurgence (*revindicación*). The Kallawayaya herbalist from Curva, Jesús Gómez, who works in the “Departmental Health Service” in Cochabamba, identified the UNESCO proclamation as a turning point, and explained to me that

one must make a cut, which is to say before the heritage [declaration] and after. Before this, I think, [there were people] who had been able to express Kallawayaya medicine as part of their lives, as a real cultural expression, without being in fear or having shame, even of accusations of criminality. These were the people who had been practising Kallawayaya medicine for the population and claiming recognition from medical college; those were the real depositaries of Kallawayaya culture. Then, after the proclamation, people started to view the topic in a much more folkloric way. Obviously, according to the cultural denomination, everybody is Kallawayaya, but in the real practice of what is traditional medicine, of course they are not. There are lineages. Lineage is undeniable. [...] Hence, there are two characteristics, ‘culture’ which is common to all of us, the lifestyle, agriculture, cosmovision. But, the topic of Kallawayaya medicine is more precise, it’s more of an elite.

The UNESCO application emerged as part of a struggle among traditional healers for their profession to be officially recognised as scientifically legitimate (Llanos and Spedding 2009; Loza 2004). But, by the same token, it also had a fundamental impact on the self-identification of the local population in the entire Kallawayaya region. In fact, the UNESCO proclamation in 2003 generated an ideal space for reformulating identity, because it promoted a collective consciousness, which culminated in its participation in the constitutional assembly in 2006/07 as an Indigenous nation. The Kallawayaya, now as a political nation, presented themselves - perhaps employing aspects of “strategic essentialism” (Spivak 1987)¹⁸- as a legitimate political actor during the reconstitution of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. In December 2009, ten months after the new constitution came into force, the municipality of Charazani successfully voted for Indigenous Autonomy.¹⁹

In this context of “ethnogenesis”, Alderman (2016, 122) argues that “the recognition of Kallawayaya cultural identity [by UNESCO] was important for promoting Kallawayaya self-esteem and self-consciousness as a people”. UNESCO recognized, with major emphasis, those communities with elite status as “*ayllus* exclusively dedicated to traditional medicine” (Viceministry of Cultures 2002, 11). But it also recognized other communities as “Kallawayaya *ayllus*” in a broader cultural sense, as argued by Gómez above. The proclamation implies that Kallawayaya culture has something specific,

¹⁷ In the 2001 national census, the local population in Bautista Saavedra province mainly self-identified as Quechua or Aymara (INE 2001). Llanos and Spedding (2009, 402) –writing before the before the 2012 census- argue that people firstly self-identified as Quechuas and then by profession, given that being Kallawayaya related more a specific profession than to an identity relevant to all contexts of life among the inhabitants of the region. But then, in the 2012 census, the majority of the population self-identified as Kallawayaya in the political sense of a nation within the Plurinational State of Bolivia (INE 2012).

¹⁸ For the author, it is a critique and political tactic of a particular group, based on a shared identity in public space, with the interest of showing unity during struggles for recognition and egalitarian rights.

¹⁹ Bolivia’s 2009 constitution (CPE, Spanish abbreviation) declares the *Autonomía Indígena Originaria Campesina* (AIOC) as a recognition of the “self-government as an exercise of free determination of the nations and rural native Indigenous peoples, the population of which shares territory, culture, history, languages, and their own juridical, political, social and economic organization or institutions.” (Article 289, CPE). See also article 2 of the CPE: “Given the pre-colonial existence of nations and rural native Indigenous peoples and their ancestral control of their territories, their free determination, consisting of the right to autonomy, self-government, their culture, recognition of their institutions, and the consolidation of their territorial entities, is guaranteed within the framework of the unity of the State, in accordance with this Constitution and the law”. The definition of “Indigenous nation” can be found in article 30: “A nation and rural native Indigenous people consists of every human collective that shares a cultural identity, language, historic tradition, institutions, territory and world view, whose existence predates the Spanish colonial invasion”.

and therefore the emphasis on traditional medicine, whilst at the same time uniting this with wider characteristics of a syncretized Andean cosmivision.

Moreover, Alderman (2016, 122) suggests that “the candidature was part of a deliberate effort to manage the Kallawaya ethnic image, changing the discourse concerning what it meant to be Kallawaya, and thereby combat oppression which the Kallawaya felt as a group”. Following this idea of Alderman (2016), I would argue that the process of heritage making of the Andean Cosmovision of the Kallawaya has come to be perceived as an important means to decolonize Kallawaya society. This may be understood in the sense of producing local expectations regarding the dismantling of asymmetric power relations, for example between *originarios* and *misti/vecinos*, and the removal of other historically persistent inequalities.

After the UNESCO proclamation, the working conditions of some Kallawaya healers started to change as well. New Kallawaya organisations were founded and many Kallawaya healers benefitted from what can be called “heritage commercialisation”. Some Kallawaya healers, like Gómez, gained access to the spaces of modern medicine. Today, various laws exist which stress the equal status of ancestral traditional medicine in Bolivia, even if laws on papers do not always correspond with reality.

Nonetheless, while such developments are perceived as positive, they also have conflictive aspects. Today’s Kallawaya healers are in a situation which urges them to emphasise the “real” expression of Kallawaya identity, the traditional medicine, in the context of the resurgence (*revindicación*) of Kallawaya culture as an Indigenous people or nation. Rösing (2008) has pointed out some cases of shifting ethics among Kallawaya healers caused by monetary payments and the maximization of individual benefits in contexts outside everyday life, for instance, tourism. As I have shown, Kallawaya medicine and its meaning emerges in an intimate relationship with the physical and spiritual environment, *pacha*. Against this background, it is worth asking in more detail: under which ontological premises do today’s Kallawaya healers work? And, to what degree is their adaptation to modern spaces “only” discursively manifested through language, for example to facilitate wider understanding, as I have suggested above?²⁰

Commercialisation and professionalism of *Qantu* in a resurgent context

Qantu music plays an essential role in this resurgent context. Thanks to the famous and, for the Kallawaya region nowadays emblematic musical panpipe style (and other representative cultural elements), the “imagined community” (Anderson 1983) of what is now called Kallawaya nation has been constructed, with the respective homogenous image in public presentations. Thereby, Gómez told me that “*Qantu* is now much more used in occasions of resurgence (*revindicación*), during public presentation of what is the Kallawaya nation”. The *Qantu* appears in the context of the Kallawaya nation as a music of representation and cultural resurgence. It’s more: in the above-mentioned UNESCO workshops, both locals and coordinators emphasized its commercial potential and contribution for local development (as an additional source of income). This dynamic surrounding the “cultural object” undermines healing aspects in an indirect sense. The *Qantu* ceases to exist as an “ancestral” music in the sense of a participatory and relational expression of a living together with other human and non-human living beings in *pacha*, where, for instance, ancestors are embodied in certain mountain peaks (*machula*, *awicha*, *apu*). Instead, it transforms into an “ancestral” music in the sense of UNESCO propagated cultural rights.

²⁰ See De la Cadena (2015) for an example in Cuzco.

In such a context, the term “ancestral” plays an important role in reclaiming authorship as a cultural element belonging to the Kallawaya nation. Additionally, it legitimizes its commercialization as part of a complex of cultural rights, which only are applied in terms of the past and the continuity of actual Indigenous actors in a sense of descentance and genealogy (Llanos and Spedding 2009).²¹ Regarding the reclaiming of *Qantu*’s authorship, Gómez explains that

obviously, the heritage proclamation has been transcendental as regards promotion, especially of our musical expressions, *Qantu* above all. We have been able to disseminate it a great deal since the proclamation, which helped us to claim authorship, because there have been other groups, who have imitated it, wanting to be the authors of that music themselves.

Just as in the context of traditional medicine, worries have been raised about biopiracy and the unauthorized and uncompensated use of Kallawaya medical knowledge in foreign contexts (Callahan 2011), in the *Qantu* context concerns have been raised about musical piracy and the unauthorized and uncompensated use of musical elements in foreign contexts. For that reason, the municipal government of Charazani approved a new law in 2016 for the protection of “ancestral” music, which declares *Qantu* and other musical styles played in the Kallawaya region as collective intellectual property of the Kallawaya nation. Thus, the involvement of authorship questions is but another clue in the process, by which cultural practices can transform into alienable objects within a political economy of culture, where the potential exchange value of the performance assumes priority over any other use value (Bigenho 2002).

The final goal is to achieve local development, the commercialisation of cultural goods and additional economic incomes, among others, through communitarian tourism. The president of Niñocorin’s *Qantu* ensemble collaborated during my fieldwork with national travel agencies, offering participation in Kallawaya rituals involving music. Similarly, Mújica (2014a) has observed a “cultural-development coupling” within UNESCO conceptions, where from the outset economic aspects and tourism have been linked to the concept of cultural intangible heritage (see also Bigenho *et al.* 2015; Kutukdjian and Corbett 2010; McKercher and duCros 2002).

Significantly, these aspects of commercialisation align with demands and claims for the official recognition of *Qantu* players as “professional musicians”. During the *akhulliku* -the collective act of coca leave chewing I used as an Andean type of focus group- with musicians of Niñocorin’s *Qantu* ensemble, we had the following discussion, which I reproduce in part:

SH: How, getting a recognition, of what kind?

Mario: Some type of official recognition, maybe by the Ministry of Culture. Like the healers also have, and now they work and earn well.

Ponciano: Yes, they refer to the brass band musicians, or those of other orchestras that play here, as professionals, but not to us. Well, we also are professional musicians, of autochthonous [rural Indigenous] music.

SH: You mean, there is discrimination? How come?

Feliciano: Maybe, because they can read music notation, and learn more formally. But it would be good to have a recognition, because this difference in status exists, between professional music and

²¹ Ingold (2000) argues that the genealogical model, so ubiquitous in modern thought and fundamental to definitions such as “Indigenous peoples” in international documents of the ONU and ILO, presents a history of people in a very particular form of genealogical connections and descentance, which unfold without taking into consideration the actual relations of these people with human and non-human elements of their territory, for instance, mountain peaks being considered “ancestors”.

autochthonous music.

The claim to be recognized as professional musicians is based on the experiences of the recognition of Kallawaya healers in the heritage context. Besides expectations of receiving greater economic rewards, as some Kallawaya healers have done, the musicians also discussed discriminations related to the public perception of brass band musicians as “professionals”; a very similar context to that of Kallawaya healers before the UNESCO proclamation. Like the Kallawaya healers, who have introduced terms from modern medicine into their discourse, the *Qantu* musicians, in a similar strategy, seem to wish to transform their social norms by adopting a supposedly more “professional” aspect to making music.

To the detriment of social participation

I would like to return to the patronal feast of Chajaya and the anniversary of the province in Charazani. During the feast in Chajaya, I had wanted to ask the president of Niñocorin’s *Qantu* ensemble whether I could play with them during the patronal feast. In the end I couldn’t participate because the *pasante* kept wanting to involve me in drinking and dancing. Later on, while walking along the narrow mountain path from Chajaya to Charazani, I had a conversation with the president concerning my participation during the anniversary celebration in Charazani. - “I’ve been wanting to ask you, if I could join the ensemble to play with you. But I haven’t had the opportunity. Would it be possible to play with you now in the main square in Charazani?”, I asked. The president did not hesitate and responded: - “I don’t think so, because we don’t know whether you can play or not. You don’t know our tunes either. You would have to practice first.” - “Ok, I understand. Perhaps I could come to the rehearsals?” The president laughed, and answered: - “We don’t rehearse, we go straight there and play, and usually we present ourselves as a group”.

At first, I assumed that this way of evaluating the quality of the potential new member, perhaps, was a special case related to my identity as a foreign researcher. But when I talked to other youngsters in Niñocorin and the Kallawaya region in general, they shared similar experiences with me. It seems that groups nowadays tend to be less open to integrating potential new members. For me, this reflects new social norms minimizing social participation.

To begin with: The president -a centralized power in one person, similar to the structure of the brass band (see Mújica 2014b)- is responsible for the majority of organizational affairs, such as negotiating contracts and the incorporation of new musicians, who - of course - have to be paid after the performance. The integration of potential new members depends on the evaluation of ability, knowledge and experience, which raises questions about how such skills are acquired. Few youngsters live in the community of Niñocorin, because many migrate in search of better higher education and job opportunities. And they do not have much interest in autochthonous music either, which some blame on the introduction of new technology (radio, television, mobile phones, etc.), in turn reducing participation in social activities like feasts with collective music (Bold 2016). Therefore, few young people tend to be available for joining the group, sometimes making it necessary to exchange musicians between neighbouring communities to achieve the requisite number of players for a full ensemble or half ensemble.

One of my host’s sons explained to me that he had stopped playing with Niñocorin’s *Qantu* ensemble. Apparently, the more experienced players demanded great perfection so as not to “mess up the sound”. This highlights the importance now given to sound. Here we encounter a new context of musical production, expressed through commercial or mercantilist values, which imposes a

system which seeks the expectation of perfection in order to give a competitive advantage and justify demand (Mamani 2005). As a result, and contrasting the participatory tradition which prioritises social relations (discussed above), in order to be permitted to join the ensemble the new potential member must first practice individually to reach an advanced level. Accordingly, the experienced and knowledgeable musician acquires superior status compared to the beginner, who takes a while to become fully recognized within the ensemble. This is the case, for instance, with the apprentice Leonel, who told me that he practices a lot in order to memorize the tunes and to be able to present himself with the ensemble during local feasts. I have never witnessed the spontaneous incorporation of a musician during on-going performances. The main participatory element is dance.

This leads us to consider the playing of *Qantu* in different contexts, involving different types of audiences. In the case of contracted performances, such as patronal feasts, expectations of the contract holder and his/her guests exist regarding the “professionalism” of the musicians. These may be fundamentally different, for example, in festivities focused around Kallawaya cultural resurgence, like the anniversary of the province, where the organizers and participants may have other motives to get together. These differences in expectations also apply for touristic performances and other cases of non-Indigenous audiences.

Until recently, the communities in the Kallawaya region maintained local wind instrument making traditions, where so-called *maestros* o *khuchuq* took great care of their measuring sticks made of small bamboo or wood fibres. These measuring sticks were marked with the desired size relations for cutting each panpipe tube of an ensemble (Langevin 1990, 1992). The resulting tunings of different panpipe “voices” usually deviate from equal temperament in unpredictable ways, which produces pulsations or acoustic beats. This complex sound patterning of the whole ensemble has been identified as a pre-Columbian multiphonic aesthetic and remains to this day a characteristic of Andean wind ensembles (Stobart 2006, 215; Gérard 2015). Thus, wind instruments, for instance *qantuphukuna*, which are played in unison, or in parallel fours, fifths and octaves, are intentionally made with slightly unequal pitches (Gérard 2015).²² Many musicians perceive these multiphonic sound structures of the whole ensemble as giving “taste” to the sound of the ensemble, and may reject a set of instruments tuned together in equal temperament using an electronic pitch meter as lacking “flavour” (Stobart 2006, 193). In Niñocorin, I got to know only one elderly maker who rarely makes new *qantuphukuna* nowadays. He explained to me that many *Qantu* ensemble in the Kallawaya region would buy new panpipes from Walata Grande makers in La Paz or El Alto. The highland community of Walata Grande is a specialized centre for making Andean Indigenous wind instruments (Gutiérrez and Gutiérrez 2009). The musicians justify it, saying that the wind instruments “are well tuned and better in quality”. Some Walata Grande makers adopted new technologies for tuning their panpipes, like a chromatic tuner, allowing them to individually tune every tube according to a standardized (A440 Hz) Western equal temperament.

²² “Las orquestas nativas están compuestas por conjuntos de flautas (*tropas*), generalmente de diferentes tamaños, acompañados por instrumentos de percusión como bombos, cajas, tambores, platillos, etc. La ejecución es colectiva y no individual. Las flautas tocan una sola melodía en paralelo, en cuasi unísono, octavas, cuartas, quintas, etc. El detalle reside en que intencionalmente no se igualan exactamente las alturas entre instrumentos de una misma ‘voz’ lo que provoca un notorio batimiento que densifica o ‘enturbia’ la percepción sonora global” (Gérard 2015, 44).

Walata made Qantu (Ch'uli Niñocorin)

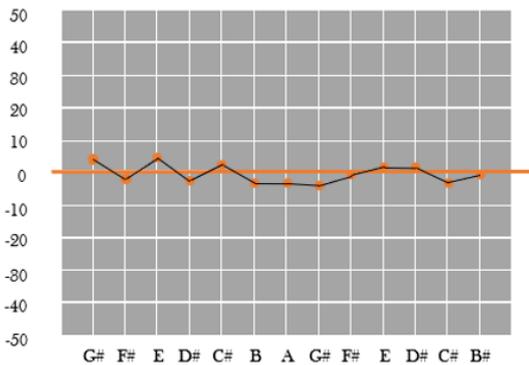


Niñocorin made Qantu (Ch'uli Niñocorin)



E-Mayor Heptatonic Scale without Cent Deviation

Khati G#4 E-5 C#2 A-4 F#-1 D#1 B-1
Ira F#2 D#-3 B-4 G#-5 E1 C#-4



E-Mayor Heptatonic Scale with Cent Deviation

Khati G#-48 E-2 C#-30 A13 F#24 D#33 B10
Ira F# 45 D#17 B-15 G#-12 E25 C#38

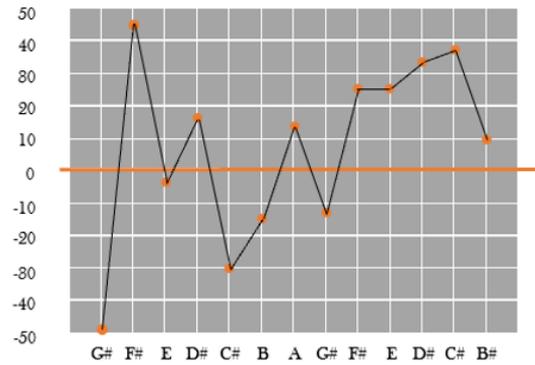


Figure 8. Analysis of qantuphukuna made in Walata Grande and Niñocorin

This change in instrument making practices and players' attitudes to instrument selection, has resulted in a difference in the sound of new ensembles. Accordingly, standardised tuning in equal temperament has resulted in eliminating multiphonic aesthetics, such as beats and pulsations (see the exemplified analysis of a *qantuphukuna* made in Walata Grande and Niñocorin; Figure 8). I found it striking that instead of rejecting panpipes tuned in equal temperament, as used to happen in other contexts (cf. Stobart 2006, 193), some *Qantu* musicians explicitly search for them because of their "professional" tunings.²³

Moreover, there is a tendency in communities of the Kallawayaya region to specialise, and hence, "professionalise", through playing only one musical style. In turn, this style becomes played all year round and for any social event, regardless of calendrical conventions relating to particular music genres.²⁴ These dynamics may be understood as adaptations to justify the claim of being fully

²³ I would say that this dominant perception of the equally tempered scale a "professional scale" is a case of what Bithell (2003) has called the colonization of the mind and the musical ear (see also Solomon 2012).

²⁴ It is common sense that the best groups of *Pifano* in the Kallawayaya region come from Charazani and Chulina, the best

recognized as “professional” musicians. These claims draw directly or indirectly on the ways that supposed musical “professionalism” is connected with, for instance, more formal modes of learning, “professional” tunings, or specialisation in playing a single musical style. Finally, it is no surprise that the *Qantu*, as a representative practice in the Kallawaya heritage context, now tends to adopt a more “presentational” style of performance. According to Turino (2008), this refers to a situation and set of values, in which the musicians, prepare and perform music for another group, the audience, which does not directly participate in the musical activity.

Conclusions

In this article, I have analysed some of the repercussions of the UNESCO proclamation of the Andean Cosmivision of the Kallawaya on the perception and reproduction of *Qantu* music. We have seen how *Qantu* panpipe music transformed into a presentational style of expression in the context of Kallawaya cultural resurgence as an Indigenous nation, triggered by the UNESCO proclamation in 2003. I would argue that the *Qantu* panpipe style underwent this transformation precisely because it is the most famous musical genre of the Kallawaya region; it represents Kallawaya identity from the nation’s point of view, but not so much from the healers’ point of view. Although it is difficult to define an exact starting point for its shift in social significance, the evidence presented here suggests that the UNESCO proclamation contributed to the genre’s decontextualization. At the same time this may be seen to have fomented the commercialization of *Qantu* as a cultural object and its professionalism in relation to discrimination experienced by *Qantu* musicians in the local context. In this context, it is notable that *Qantu* musicians based their claims for recognition as professional musicians on the experiences of Kallawaya healers in the heritage context.

Although the commercialisation of *Qantu* is a very controversial topic, it is worth emphasising its “decolonising” potential in the sense of a disarticulation of local asymmetric relationships between *originarios* and *vecinos/misti*. In this context, we might ask if - and how - heritage could serve as a practical tool for exercising autonomous control over cultural expressions like *Qantu*, thus articulating *originarios*’ economic independence from *vecinos/misti*. Nevertheless, in many cases, the economic aspect and the commercialisation of *Qantu* as a cultural object has caused much social instability and distrust in Niñocorin, where according to tradition social norms of a communitarian life and economy are expected.

To conclude, we could say that the *Qantu* panpipe style as a relational expression of corporal-individual and social-communitarian wellbeing, transformed into a) a cultural object with potential for local development and additional sources of income, and b) into a discourse of “music therapy” appropriated by Kallawaya herbalists in urban contexts and spaces of modern medicine. It might seem that for UNESCO the continuity of cultural practice in the present is quantitatively and paradigmatically more important than the quality of its social significance.

group of *Montonero* comes from Amarete, the best group of *Qina Chatre* comes from Cañizaya, and the best group of *Qantu* comes from Niñocorin or Quiabaya. This would be the contrary to what Buechler (1980) showed in the community of Irpa Chico, where the inhabitants play 12 different musical instruments and genres during the year, each related to a calendrical activity, period and feast.

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