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# THE URBAN-MESTIZO CHARANGO TRADITION IN SOUTHERN PERU: A STATEMENT OF SHIFTING IDENTITY

Thomas Turino

The charango (a small guitar-shaped lute)<sup>1</sup> assumes an important place in several distinct Peruvian musical traditions, notably that of Andean peasants, of mestizos, and more recently that of urban folklore "revivalists." This paper is an attempt to explain the evolution of the highland urban-mestizo tradition in southern Peru by drawing attention to the causal links between certain socioeconomic forces and this musical style. Thus, the underlying aesthetic and social values that govern: (1) the fact that urban mestizos play the charango at all; (2) the type of charango that they use; (3) fundamental aspects of their performance style; and (4) types of song genres performed are seen as being largely determined by operative socioeconomic processes, as well as the mestizos' own intermediate position in the social hierarchy between the dominant *criollo* (Spanish heritage) and the dominated indigenous groups. A musical system, however, is not merely a reflection of a particular value orientation or social context. Rather, it is a public articulation of the sociocultural, economic, ideological and political makeup of an individual or group's identity, made patent through musical performance. That is, people perform music in a certain way as a natural product or extension of their personal and sociocultural identity, which in Peru must be explained in light of the hierarchical nature of the society (Béhague 1982:3), and ultimately, in terms of the national and international economic structure affecting the actors. Thus, I am primarily concerned here with the underlying causes and *meaning* of the mestizo charango tradition resulting, finally, in an etic analysis (Harris 1979:32) of what mestizo musicians say and do.<sup>2</sup>

Two forces fundamental in determining the highland mestizo charango style have been identified. First, a group that is dominant economically, socially and politically will also dominate the cultural values and artistic orientation at least at the macro-level of the society.<sup>3</sup> I will call this the "hegemonic factor." One reason for this is that groups striving for upward social mobility will adopt the values and outward cultural manifestations of the dominant group as a part of their effort to join the elite. It is also common for a dominated group, at least at some level, actually to internalize feelings of inferiority in relation to the power-based values of the elite, as is evident in the following discussion (Cotler 1968:167).

The second force, termed here "the identity factor" (akin to Linton's 1943 concept of nativism, see also Wallace 1956), comes into play when members of a socially and economically dominated group consciously draw upon symbols or cultural manifestations of their own group to buttress publicly their own unity, identity, and self-esteem in the face of oppression and prejudice. This is a study of the interplay of these two contradictory forces, and how they have come to determine the nature of the contemporary urban-mestizo charango tradition in southern Peru. Further, it is suggested here that scholars studying the use of musical ethnicity symbols among dominated groups (e.g., Peña 1980; Singer 1983) should consider the multifaceted and often paradoxical nature of such processes. Thus, in this paper, the role of the charango and music as identity symbols will be considered in juxtaposition with the powerful force of dominant criollo aesthetics and social values.

### SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Since the colonial period (16th century), the ruling criollo caste/class has dominated the cultural and aesthetic values in the urban centers throughout Peru. The arts, language, and music of the indigenous majority (Quechua and Aymara speakers), conservatively maintained in the rural sector, however, were disparaged as a part of the overall pattern of criollo political and economic domination. A third major social group, the mestizo, arose ethnically and culturally due to European and indigenous culture contact. As such, they have remained in a central position in the socioeconomic and political hierarchy and represent a third and distinct cultural orientation which draws from both Hispanic and indigenous sources. In the Andean highlands, the criollos held the professional and governmental posts in the sierra cities while they also gained revenue from their large land holdings. The indigenous group (henceforth to be referred to as *campesinos*, or peasants) maintained a rural agrarian, and often serflike, existence. The mestizos populated both rural and urban sectors: as overseers on criollo *haciendas* (ranches or farms), small landowners in the countryside, or as entrepreneurs in small commercial or service concerns in the cities.

The hierarchical nature of Peruvian society at the national level finds the coastal region, and particularly the cities of Lima and Arequipa, in the dominant position in relation to the southern sierra. Lima has been the seat of national political and economic power since the colonial period. The elite criollo culture evolved and was disseminated from there to the provin-

cial criollos and mestizos in the departmental capitals of the highlands. Politically and economically, the sierra region was, and is, kept at a disadvantage (see Cotler 1968:157-158; de Janvry 1981:136; Schaedel 1959:13-15) and culturally it is regarded by coastal criollos as an uncivilized hinterland inhabited only by "Indians," a term of disparagement.

### THE URBAN-MESTIZO CHARANGO TRADITION

Against this backdrop, we will see how the highland mestizo charango tradition is a product of the Peruvian social hierarchy. Like the Peruvian mestizos themselves, the charango was created in the Andean region during the colonial period (at least by 1700) as a product of European and Andean culture contact. That is, the use of a stringed instrument (unknown in pre-Columbian Peru) and the guitar-like form were ideas derived from the European model, while its small size and unique sound quality may be explained in light of indigenous aesthetic preferences for a high-pitched strident sound. According to contemporary musicians, its small size may also have been due to considerations of easy transport.

Thus, by its very nature as a hybrid, the charango may be defined as mestizo, and yet by at least the early nineteenth century the instrument had become strongly associated with campesino culture in Cusco and Puno and was, and still is, largely regarded by the upper classes as an "Indian" instrument of the rural sector.

The urban-mestizo charango tradition in the departmental and provincial capitals of Cusco and Puno is recent in comparison to the rural tradition. The *charanguistas* (charango players) in their sixties and seventies with whom I studied stated that theirs was the first generation of mestizos to play charango in the sierra urban centers. The personal histories of these men are fairly consistent in that each comes from a middle-class background, and had lived their early years in a rural area as the sons of landowners. While clearly of privileged families in their rural districts, these mestizos had intimate contact with all aspects of the indigenous culture which surrounded them. They learned Quechua (or Aymara) at an early age, and according to several men it was originally their primary language. They also learned to play campesino music and musical instruments, such as the charango and the *kena* (an indigenous end-notched flute), at an early age since this tradition pervaded the rural setting in which they lived.

Their musical activities, however, in the vast majority of cases reported, met with firm resistance from their parents, who forbade them to play the charango and music that was associated with indigenous culture

and the “*bajo pueblo*” (low-class people). This underscores the low social status of the charango and its associations with indigenous culture. Thus as boys, the mestizos with whom I worked reported that they carried on their musical activities in a clandestine fashion, learning from the campesinos who often worked on their families’ land.

One seventy-year-old charango player noted that the urban-mestizo charanguistas of his generation came to the city of Cusco from their rural provinces during a period of intensive migration to the departmental capital: “The charango came to Cusco in this way. Before this there was no charango played in the city” (personal communication, Cusco, Peru 10/81).<sup>4</sup>

This migration of rural-sierra mestizos to the departmental capitals was in response to an outmigratory trend among sierra criollos to the coastal region beginning around the turn of this century (Schaedel 1959: 20). Responding to the heightened economic possibilities on the coast due to the rise of capitalist industrialization and agriculture, the sierra criollos, who were already culturally oriented toward the coastal cities and had enough capital to make a fresh start, migrated to these centers. Their departure weakened the hold of criollo values over the southern sierra cities. Furthermore, the mestizos who did not follow suit moved up to the social and occupational positions that the criollos had vacated. This move brought them to the departmental and provincial capitals. These middle-class mestizos, now in a more dominant position within the sierra, maintained a more regionally based cultural orientation than had the criollos. Hence this national process of social change, based ultimately in a shift from simifeudal agrarian to a capitalist economy,<sup>5</sup> functioned to strengthen sierra cultural values relative to the previous situation. But, while the outmigration of the criollos strengthened the mestizos’ social position and sierra values locally, the overall economic potency of the sierra was weakened in relation to the coast due to the relocation of wealth which accompanied the migration and due to the increase of capitalism on the coast.

A number of charanguistas with whom I worked noted that in the early decades of this century, even rural mestizos, as adults, did not perform instruments, such as the charango and kena, associated with the low-status indigenous culture. Rather, they played guitar and mandolin, which were the dominion of the middle-class mestizo and criollo groups. My guess would be that in the nineteenth and early decades of this century, rural mestizo boys would learn to play charango just as the men presently under discussion had done, but since the instrument had such low social prestige, it would be abandoned when a person was “old enough to know better.” Why then did the mestizo musicians with whom I worked continue to perform charango into adulthood, and even after they arrived in the depart-

mental capitals, which were once the bastion of criollo culture? The out-migration of the sierra criollos and the resulting social changes supply only part of the answer.

A second element involves an ideological movement called *indigenismo*. The older generation of mestizo charanguistas grew up in the years between 1910 and 1940. During these decades the political-cultural indigenista ideology evolved and reached its peak among artists and intellectuals in the sierra cities. The goals and orientation of this movement varied according to region and among different factions. In the southern sierra, however, indigenismo was largely a regionalistic, nationalistic movement that decried racism and oppression of the Andean Indian (hence the title). Furthermore, it was claimed that the regional, and indeed, the national culture should be defined in light of indigenous Andean culture. Ideologically, the indigenistas rejected criollo and Hispanic values as foreign and imperialistic, and lauded indigenous culture as the true Peruvian base upon which to build (Francke 1978).

The indigenistas published political tracts and articles, and conducted some of the first work to be done by *serranos* of an anthropological, folkloristic nature. Due to the importance and high visibility of music and dance in campesino culture, the mestizo indigenistas began clublike organizations in which they "collected" and staged theatrical presentations of "Indian" music and dance which they themselves performed.

The rise of this movement is explained by Francke (1978:117-119) in his excellent study of indigenismo in Cusco. He stresses that its development in the southern sierra was concurrent with, and in response to, capitalistic expansion into that region by coastal business firms from Lima and Arequipa. One example of coastal economic domination of the southern sierra may be seen in the takeover of the major wool exporting industry of Cusco and Puno by Arequipa firms earlier in this century (Francke 1978:119). The increase of capitalist activity on the coast had further cemented the sierra into an exploited colonial relationship with the coast (Cotler 1968:157-158). Thus the sierra indigenistas' rejection of criollo values and their call to created a regional and even national identity, unity and autonomy based on indigenous symbols was in direct response to the increasing political and economic domination of the sierra by coastal criollos. Indigenismo, then, must be understood in the context of what I have called the "identity factor."

Whereas a generation earlier, the older mestizo charanguistas might have had to deny their rural upbringing and ties with indigenous culture upon migrating to the criollo-dominated cities in the sierra, they now found, in the middle of the indigenista movement, that their knowledge of Quechua culture and music was a valued asset, at least in certain circles.

Therefore, the birth of the urban-mestizo charango tradition, that is, the fact that this group plays the instrument at all, is clearly linked to: (1) the economic shift from a semifeudal to capitalist economy (see de Janvry 1981:95, 136), which gave rise to (2) the outmigration of sierra criollos and the growing disparity of wealth and prestige between the coast and the sierra which created (3) an ideological response in the form of indigenismo, and a strengthening of local sierra values. For some, charango performance by urban mestizos was clearly a symbolic indigenista activity in the attempt to establish a regional identity and autonomy in reaction to coastal criollo domination. On the other hand, the changing social-ideological climate merely allowed these men to persist in the musical activities with which they grew up and which were at least a part of their own rural background and identity.

However, the urban mestizos' attitudes toward indigenous culture, from whence they draw their regionalistic symbols, are fraught with ambiguity and paradox. During interviews in 1981-82, mestizo charanguistas continually stressed the value of "Indian" culture, and their identification with it, but often within the same interview, as the conversation shifted, they reiterated the old racist stereotypes of the lazy, drunken, dirty Indian, an attitude inherited from the criollo class. This same paradox is inherent in the mestizos' aesthetic judgments of campesino music. For example, mestizos value the charango as a nationalistic-regionalistic symbol due to its indigenous associations, while at the same time they frequently deride campesino charango performance as boring and being comprised only of an artless strumming style.

This paradox is the result of the conflicting juxtaposition of the mestizos' need for a regional identity and the persistent force of dominant class values. A second source for the paradox is the fact that mestizo identity continually shifts according to the context of definition, as does the status of the charango as an identity symbol. For example, one charanguista stressed that the charango was an instrument of indigenous culture but in the same interview he went on to say:

Clearly we are mestizos of two races, this is how we are considered. We have been evolving, and together with us we have tried to evolve ["evolucionar"] the charango. In my case, I have not disparaged the charango, rather I have kept it with great fondness, and I have tried to cultivate it.... The charango is an instrument that was born in Peru of mestizos, used for the national melodies that have been adapted, especially the *wayno*.

The importance of the charango as a mestizo identity symbol and the nationalistic associations of it and the *wayno*<sup>6</sup> song-dance genre are readily



apparent here. The comment “We have been evolving” refers to the upward mobility of sierra mestizos due to the outmigration of the criollos, as described above. The comment, “and together with us we have tried to evolve the charango,” refers to a mestizo preoccupation with raising the status of the charango above the low prestige it had as a campesino instrument (see below). In the same interview he went on to say:

The charango was not an instrument that criollos valued. They favored the mandolin and guitar and the violin. It [the charango] is a low-class instrument of mestizos, of Indians. A mestizo is almost like an Indian in that he is a fusion of the two races, Indian and Spanish, and more related are the lives of Indians and mestizos, no? With their ponchos, no?... The whites, the Spanish are of the upper class (personal communication, Cusco, Peru 2/82).

The disparagement of the charango by criollos becomes a manifestation of their prejudice against sierra culture and the mestizo himself. In the face of this attitude, the mestizo tends to identify with the Indian (“more related are the lives of Indians and mestizos”) and forms a sierra-based in-group as a defense mechanism. It is equally important to note, however, that when I saw this same man interact with campesinos in a context where criollos pose no threat to his own identity, it was very apparent that he considered himself both socially distinct and superior to the indigenous class. One’s in-group, then, is defined in relative terms, and since the mestizo’s identity vacillates between the poles of the dominant and the dominated, the symbolic significance of the charango fluctuates as well.

In spite of the mestizos’ low opinion of the campesino charango style, it was this style which provided an important basis for the mestizo tradition and hence it bears a brief description here. Campesinos state and demonstrate a preference for charangos with between ten and fifteen thin metal strings that produce a high-pitched strident (*agudo*) sound. They perform a variety of song and dance genres that are usually defined according to the specific context or ritual in which they are used (i.e., “potato planting song”—*papa tarpuy*—rather than a generic term such as wayno). Campesinos usually perform charango strictly in a strumming style in which a single-line melody is made to vibrate among the majority of open-sounding strings. The overall effect is a high-pitched piercing timbre with an unclear rendering of the melody and strong rhythmic drive (elsewhere I have described the campesino charango tradition in Cusco, Turino 1983).

The mestizo charango style is fundamentally distinguished by the use of *t’ipi* (a Quechua term meaning to pinch), which refers to a plucked melodic mode of performance. In the most complex version, a series of two-finger chords are played in parallel thirds (with an occasional fifth) by the



left hand while being plucked by the thumb and forefinger of the right. The remainder of the strings do not sound, and thus the melodic-harmonic lines stand out clearly (see example 1, "simple t'ipi"; and example 2, "harmonic t'ipi"). Contrasting with the campesino tradition, then, melodic clarity is an aesthetic preference of mestizo performers, and the vast majority stress that one is not really a charanguista unless one can play t'ipi.

Ex. 1. Simple T'ipi



Ex. 2. Harmonic t'ipi



Like the mestizo charango tradition itself, t'ipi is a recent innovation. All of the older generation of charanguistas, by their own statements, played only in the strumming style, based in campesino tradition, until the midpoint of their careers when the t'ipi style began to evolve.<sup>7</sup> Mestizos proudly view this innovation as a fundamental step in raising the status of the charango above the "low" level of campesino performance. This attitude, and the aesthetic preference for melodic clarity itself, can only be understood in light of criollo values. To wit, when I asked if the Limeño-criollo opinion toward the charango had changed in recent decades, one man replied:

Certainly! Especially when one plays t'ipi and performs a musical melody....When one only plays in the strummed style, they [the criollos] think that it is music of low-class people....but when one plays t'ipi it is a thing that causes great excitement! (personal communication, Cusco, Peru, 3/82).


Thus, the force of dominant class aesthetics and opinion is readily seen as a basis for the creation of *t'ipi*—the fundamental distinguishing factor of mestizo charango style. The source for the parallel-thirds harmony used in *t'ipi* (found throughout Latin America) is derived from Iberian tradition, and therefore also suggests the *criollo* orientation, since it is absent in the indigenous tradition.




The mestizo charango style is further characterized by the systematic juxtaposition of *t'ipi* and strummed sections. In Cusco, a piece usually begins with a strummed introduction of a series of chords (see example 3), followed by a melodic rendition of the song melody in *t'ipi*. The introductory chords are often repeated as an interlude and the form repeats, ending with a strummed postlude or a *fuga* (concluding section of contrasting character). With the exception of occasional flights of virtuosity, the older mestizo performers tend to use strumming patterns in the *campesino* style of their home provinces. They may also insert a strummed rendition of the melody, *campesino* style, during a performance.

In this juxtaposition of *t'ipi* and the traditional *campesino* strumming idiom, we can most clearly realize that the urban-mestizo charango style is determined by this group's intermediate social position between the *campesino* and *criollo* cultures. At one level, this style is the product of the interaction of the force of dominant class values ("hegemonic factor") with the "identity factor." At another level, however, the mestizos' cultural orientation has naturally been shaped by the influences of these two contrasting groups. The mestizo aesthetic is the result of the blending of these two distinct aesthetics. This synthesis demands that both strumming, the traditional *campesino* approach to the instrument, and *t'ipi*, representing the *criollo* preference for melodic clarity, be present if a charango performance is to be complete and the performer is to be considered adequate. Thus, drawing from both sources and combining elements from each, the mestizo forges his own original style which is a natural articulation of his cultural identity and medial social position.

The innovation of *t'ipi* is also linked to changes in charango performance contexts from the traditional family and village fiesta to stage and radio performance, as is the expansion of song genres included in the charango repertory (see below). The strict strumming style was considered boring by mestizos in the context of stage performance for an audience who were not, themselves, involved in the singing and dancing. Stage performance of "folk music" first originated in Peru as an indigenista activity, and it certainly began in an urban-*criollo* or middle-class context. The desire to take the charango to the stage, like the development of *t'ipi*, was a means of demonstrating the instrument's validity in the eyes of the elite. This is indicated, for example, by an older *charanguista*'s statement that if a musi-

Ex. 3 Capuliñawi Cusqueñita-wayno played in A minor tuning.

[\*note: the strummed patterns have been simplified to:  but

in actual performance will be varied considerably. Furthermore, the melodic rhythmic figures: , , , are

interchanged freely. Section A represents the strummed introduction—interlude; Section B is the first part of the sung melody; and Section C is the second melodic part.]

cian is truly to be considered successful, he has to be accepted by Lima audiences (indicating a stage situation). Note, however, that when mestizo charanguistas play for dancing in contexts such as family fiestas, they may begin in the t'ipi style, but they almost always revert to the purely strummed style of performance. This is due to the fact that, by their own statements, the rhythmic strength of the strumming style is better suited for dance accompaniment. So too, when accompanying singing, the charango is often strummed by mestizo performers. Thus, while the t'ipi idiom is considered fundamental in stage performance as a means of demonstrating the purely instrumental capacity of the charango, as well as demonstrating one's own worth as a musician, t'ipi is often not used in fulfilling traditional functions such as dance accompaniment. This notion, by the way, may shed important light on one reason why campesinos maintain the strumming style: song and dance accompaniment remain central to their use of the instrument.

The type of instrument used provides another obvious distinction between the campesino and mestizo charango traditions. Mestizos state and demonstrate an aesthetic predisposition for charangos with a deeper, less strident timbre (i.e., a larger, or round-backed instrument) with a low octave E string in the center course providing more bass (frequently absent on campesino charangos). The older, more traditionally minded musicians continue to use metal strings and a flat-backed wooden instrument, as is characteristic of the Cusqueño charango.<sup>8</sup> Increasingly over the past two decades, however, the majority of mestizos are beginning to use nylon strings and round-backed (either of wood or armadillo shell) "Bolivian-styled" charangos. The adherents of this charango type explain their preference in that the round back, and especially the nylon strings, produce a "deeper," "clearer," "sweeter" sound. Their emphasis on clarity (nylon strings produce fewer overtones than metal) is a further extension of the criollo-oriented preference for a distinct melodic line that originally gave rise to the t'ipi technique and demonstrates a further shift toward criollo-western taste.

In discussing why he preferred the "Bolivian-styled" charango with nylon strings, one man commented that its more subdued sound was better for playing all types (genres) of music. He disclosed that one of his primary goals in charango performance was to elevate the instrument above the level at which campesinos play:

People in Cusco do not accept the idea that the charango is good for anything besides waynos. It is my *mission* to demonstrate that it can play all kinds of music (personal communication, Cusco, Peru 1/82, my stress).

And he specifically mentioned the waltz as being important for the expansion of the charango repertory. Thus, another way in which mestizos perceive themselves as raising the level of charango performance is through the increase of the variety of genres played, and I frequently heard mestizos critically remark that campesinos can only play waynos (which is in itself inaccurate, see above).

While the wayno, the mainstay of the mestizo repertoire, is closely associated with sierra culture nationally, it is at present primarily a mestizo genre, at least in its most commonly heard form. The waltz has been adopted and identified as the national music by the criollos of Lima, and thus has been renamed the "*vals criollo*." Besides the waltz and the *marinera* (a mestizo song-dance genre), the *yaraví* has also been adapted to mestizo charango performance. The *yaraví* is a Peruvian mestizo lyric song genre which is closely associated with the coastal city of Arequipa (see Pagaza Galdo 1960).

To elevate the status of the charango, and their own status as musicians, many mestizos feel drawn to execute these genres as well as other urban-popular forms such as the tango during stage performance. Inherent in the charanguista's comment about his "mission" to raise the status of the charango is the need to prove to the criollo group that the charango and, hence, sierra culture and his own mestizo identity are valid. Indeed, he must have a criollo-oriented opinion in mind when he perceives the performance of a "*vals criollo*" as raising the charango's prestige. Who else would it impress? It is also perfectly logical that the *vals criollo* and the *yaraví* are the two genres that are used most importantly in the prestige-raising process since each is associated with one of the two major centers of political-economic domination: Lima and Arequipa. Clearly, with at least some part of their consciousness, many mestizos feel that the urban-popular genres are somehow better or more refined. While their regionalistic sentiment, their own mestizo-ness and their opposition to criollo domination is demonstrated by their very use of the charango, these mestizos' desire to prove something to the criollos clearly reveals the continued power and influence of dominant class values. This force is basic to the expansion of the charango song-genre repertory among mestizos.

A particularly telling instance regarding the status of the various song genres, and the mestizo attitude toward them, may be seen in the performance sequence of song genres used by one charanguista in two separate formal concert situations (one in Cusco, June 1981, and the second at the University of Texas at Austin, December 1982). These two concerts were atypical in that the artist's stated goal in each was to demonstrate the "evolution of the charango and its music." The sequence of genres used was identical in both cases, which indicates that he was not merely trying to

please or appease the local upper class in Cusco. He began with an arrangement of a campesino agricultural song, played untraditionally in t'ipi style. Following this, he performed a series of waynos (the most numerically significant genre in these performances) to illustrate the variety of moods and topics treated in this genre. Following this he performed *marineras* and *yaravis* coupled with waynos (as in the mestizo custom in Cusco) and a *muliza* (a mestizo song-dance genre from central Peru). The climax of his planned performance demonstrating the evolution of charango music, however, was none other than the *vals criollo*!

Numerically, and in terms of his actual sentiment, as he states frequently, the wayno appeared as the most significant song genre in these performances. Clearly, however, his own evolutionary scheme led up to the waltz as the pinnacle of development, just as it had begun with the campesino agricultural song. These performances are an exact microcosm of the mestizos' social position in reality: framed at both ends with expressions of campesino and criollo culture, but the bulk of the presentation uniquely mestizo. It is also obvious that the performance sequence presents this man's internalized conception of Peru's social hierarchy with campesino in low-, the mestizo in center-, and the criollo in high-status position, as is indicated by his evolutionary ranking of the song genres associated with each group.

These performances, however, are not mere reflections of the social situation. Rather, the socioeconomic context is the determining force which gave rise to his value orientation, world view and cultural identity. In turn, these performances were a natural articulation of that orientation and world view, just as his own identity as a sierra mestizo, born in a rural setting and growing up surrounded by indigenista sentiment, gave numerical and artistic prominence to the sierra-based wayno.

## CONCLUSION

The socioeconomic hierarchy, the shift from a semifeudal to a capitalist system, and demographic changes were primary causes of the rise and acceptance of indigenista ideology, which in turn was fundamental in the creation of the urban-mestizo charango tradition, as was the outmigration of the criollos from the sierra, a movement also based in economic causes. The performance style and the type of repertoire and instrument used by sierra mestizos are in part determined by their intermediate position on the social spectrum, that is, as a natural outcome of their own cultural identity, which draws from both criollo and indigenous sources but forges a

new uniquely synthetic mode. A basic paradox that juxtaposes the "identity factor" with the "hegemonic factor," however, is also basic to the evolution of the mestizo charango style.

This paradox is defined on the one hand by the mestizos' need to create and fortify their own regional-cultural identity and autonomy in the face of coastal-criollo domination and disparagement. In so doing, mestizos took up symbols that most radically differentiated them from the criollo group, that is, symbols from the indigenous sierra culture (see Linton 1943 for a discussion of the types of symbols used in nativistic movements). To this end, musical symbols are particularly appropriate for several reasons. First, music and dance are two major artistic expressions of Andean campesino culture, rivalled only by weaving. Secondly, musical performance has a number of natural public contexts, thus facilitating widespread public articulation of the underlying ideology expressed by the musical symbol. Furthermore, musical activity, like literary activity, can be detached from one's actual life style. That is, a mestizo can perform charango thereby expressing his solidarity with campesino or sierra culture without having actually to trade his middle-class home and occupation for a peasant's hut.

The other side of the aforementioned paradox is that, while mestizos seek to differentiate themselves from the criollo by the ideological and symbolic identification with campesino culture, they nevertheless remain greatly influenced by the cultural and aesthetic values of the dominant group. While mestizo identity, by definition, partakes of criollo culture just as it draws from the indigenous orientation, other important factors give strength to the dominant class values. First, in a conscious or unconscious attempt to join the wealthier, more powerful group, and thus benefit materially, a dominated group will imitate and/or internalize elite values. Secondly, due to coersion and/or their own realistic assessment of their weaker socioeconomic position, a dominated group may often accept the superiority of the elite. Such notions, by the way, should be central to all discussions of the influence of so-called Westernization on the process of musical change, since the "developed" and "underdeveloped" nations interact in ways analogous to class interaction within a single society.

Both internalized feelings of inferiority and the desire to be accepted by the elite are basic to the mestizos' own goal of elevating the status of the charango, and hence their own status in the eyes of the criollo group. Mestizos' constant disapprobation of the campesino charango tradition and their "mission" to distinguish themselves from it through the performance of criollo song genres, *t'ipi*, and other innovations not covered here, such as the shift toward a Western harmonic vocabulary, likewise indicate a desire to align themselves with the dominant group at the expense of campesino culture. This, however, does not negate the other side of the paradox: the



ideological-symbolic identification with indigenous culture when in confrontation with a threat posed by criollo society. Indeed, the paradox is inherent in the mestizos' contemporary situation and is a root cause for many aspects of their charango tradition as well as for their vacillating sociocultural identity. As I have tried to show, these forces are grounded in the changing economic infrastructure and changes in the social structure of Peruvian society, and are necessarily central to an ethnomusicological analysis seeking to explain the nature of this mestizo musical tradition.

#### NOTES

1. While a number of variants exist, the charango is most commonly guitar-shaped with a peg head including wooden friction, and more recently, metal geared pegs. The neck has between five and eighteen wooden, bone, or metal frets. The sound box (usually ranging in size from 10x7 to 6x4 inches) may have a flat wooden back of cedar or walnut, or a round back made of armadillo shell or a single piece of carved wood. The face of the sound box, featuring a round sound hole, is made of pine, spruce, cedar, or walnut, and the attached bridge is cedar or walnut. The total length of the instrument may vary from eighteen to twenty-six inches. The strings, arranged in four, or more commonly five single, double or triple courses, range in number between four and fifteen, and are made of gut (now rare), metal, or nylon. Regional and personal tuning variants are abundant. Two standard tunings, "A minor" and "E minor," however, are found most frequently among mestizo players:



2. The field research upon which this paper is based was conducted in southern Peru (June 1977-December 1977 and June 1981-May 1982). The latter trip was partially funded by a research fellowship from the Inter-American Foundation which I gratefully acknowledge. The sample of mestizo *charanguistas* (charango players) is comprised of 28 individuals from the departments of Cusco, Puno and Ayacucho. All are nonprofessional musicians, and the selection process for the sample was based largely on the self-identification and community identification of these men as charanguistas. These musicians are bilingual Spanish-Quechua (or Aymara) speakers of the middle class who reside in the departmental capitals or larger sierra towns. Their class identification is determined by their lifestyle, and largely by occupation. For the most part, they are employed as school teachers, government employees, private businessmen, instrument builders, or in agriculture. I would like to express my gratitude for their willingness to work with me and for sharing their knowledge of the Peruvian charango traditions.

3. Two early statements of this idea are found in Linton's classic article on nativistic movements (1943) and in Karl Marx's "The German Ideology" (1972). Linton writes (p. 237): "The situation in which a [politically-economically] dominant group acknowledges its cultural inferiority to the dominated is one which must arise very infrequently." and Marx states:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellec-

tual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production....(1972:136).

4. This is an example of rural migration to urban areas which affected value and culture changes in the Peruvian cities themselves (see Schaedel 1979). This is part of a bidirectional process presently taking place in Peru which Cotler (1968) has called "the ruralization of the cities, and the urbanization of the country," in regard to sierra-peasant migration to coastal Peruvian cities. Over the past decades, peasant migration to sierra and coastal urban centers has had a profound effect on urban values and musical life. This has a parallel in the United States regarding the incline of country music and its commercialization around the time of World War II (see Malone 1968:184-192). The potential markets created by the masses of ex-peasants in Peruvian cities did not go unnoticed by the owners of the media, and as Cotler notes:

Radio and television stations [now] dedicate more space to programs of published notices and music of the indigenous culture, [and] to advertisements in Quechua....the record production of music from the sierra has a considerable volume, folkloric programs of sierra music have a growing interest, and for the first time are combined with [the music of] criollo bands (1968:189).

In spite of Cotler's comments and those of other anthropologists monitoring this process, the sierra music (mainly waynos) that fills the airways both on the coast and in the departmental capitals of the sierra is only partially grounded in the traditional music that is performed in the indigenous communities. In addition, the fact that this music is receiving significant airplay does not contradict the fact that the media remains in the hands of the urban elite. It merely points out that they recognize a vital market in the masses of ex-peasants who are becoming a viable force in the cash economy. On the other hand, the spread of mass media, mass transportation, and the return of the peasant migrants to their rural villages has also aided in diffusing urban values to the rural sector.

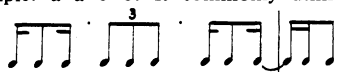
5. De Janvry writes:

The only difference between a capitalist producer and a peasant one is the capacity to generate and expropriate a surplus via the use of hired labor: the closer this surplus is to the average rate of profit, the closer one producer is to capitalist production (1981:152).



The semifeudal system refers to, say, a large hacienda estate that was tied into the market economy (hence the prefix, *semi*) but which depended on internal labor relations in which peasants were induced to work the land in return for access to a small plot for their own subsistence, as well as due to debt systems or other forces of cohesion. The shift to a capitalist system implies an internal labor relationship in which the worker sells his labor for a wage. Again as de Janvry (1981:82) notes:

However, it was not until labor scarcity fully disappeared that coercive forms of labor bondage were eliminated. As Pearce observed, "In most countries [of Latin America] a crucial movement was reached in the third or fourth decade of this century where the supply of free available labor caught up with and overtook the demand and the market replaced coercion and the squeeze on subsistence lands." Thus a profound process of transformation of Latin America's agrarian structure was initiated.

6. The *wayno* is the most popular song-dance genre in the central Andes. While it has associations with the indigenous-sierra culture, it is the mainstay of the mestizo musical repertory. It is a strophic song with texts in Quechua, Spanish or both. It is in a moderate or rapid duple meter and is usually comprised of two or three short phrases which are repeated, for example: a a b b. It commonly utilizes a number of syncopated rhythmic figures such as:



and the rhythmic underpinning of the song-dance

form falls between:  and  (see Josafat Roel Pineda "El Wayno del Cusco" 1959).

7. Two men with whom I worked stated that they were the first to develop the "harmonic t'ipi" style in Cusco and Puno respectively, although they conceded that it had been developed in Ayacucho previously. Mestizo vocal and kena performance also utilizes the trait of parallel-thirds harmony, as does mestizo and criollo guitar performance. Mestizo and criollo mandolin style may have been an inspiration for the clear rendition of the melodic line of t'ipi performance.

8. Until the late 1800s, before metal strings became widely available, charangos were strung with gut. Older campesinos who could remember the gut-strung charangos, however, usually stated that metal strings were far superior due to the dense strident sound that they produce (they "*chilla más*," or cry out more, *chillar* refers to a high-pitched cry). Campesinos favor metal strings over the newer nylon for the same reason.

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