# <u>Unpredictable elements in the music</u> <u>of the Feast of La Tirana</u>

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#### Introduction

Suzel Ana Reily and Katherine Brucher, in the book *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism,*Colonial Legacies, and Local Music Making, consider that

In bands, there is a rich space for the academic exploration of various themes that have become the focus of current debate, such as globalization and its counterpart, localization (or 'glocalization'); colonialism, post-colonialism and modernity; space, place and the ecology of sound; community musicking and music sociability among other themes(...). Ethnomusicology, likewise, has shifted away from a search for folk cultures unpolluted by Western influences to perspectives that consider hybrid musical forms as well as the power dynamics and identity politics underlying the relationship between the colonizer and colonized or centre and periphery. <sup>1</sup>

Some of these academic topics (e.g., globalization-localization, community musicking-music sociability) will be discussed in this article, which focuses on the brass-band music in the Feast of La Tirana, Northern Chile. This pagan-religious celebration of the Virgin Carmen's day is considered the most popular in the Atacama Desert, and it has increased in the number of attending during the last decades. In 2012 the small village of La Tirana received more than two hundred thousand visitors, including dance companies, brass bands, the faithful and tourists.

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<sup>1</sup> Reily and Brucher, Brass Bands of the World, 3-4.

This article seeks to identify how the music of La Tirana has changed over the past decades, focusing on the musical parameter of structure or form.<sup>2</sup> More specifically, this research seeks to establish whether the use of binary symmetrical forms, which has been considered to be a fundamental characteristic of this music and has been linked with an Andean world-view by previous scholars Rosalía Martínez and Juán Van Kessel, is still predominant in the structure of the music in the Feast of La Tirana.<sup>3</sup>

This research suggests that the use of extended forms in the music of the Feast of Tirana is a result of the increase in the number of brass bands that include performers-composers in charge of renovating the melodies each year and who are interested in changing the symmetrical-dual forms whilst searching for their own musical identity. Therefore, these new structures have become a representative characteristic that should be included in the analysis of the current music of this celebration.

To justify this conclusion the researcher will consider previous research on the Feast of La Tirana, especially works that focus on musical elements, comparing these with an analysis giving from fieldwork in La Tirana conducted during the Virgin Carmen celebration days in July 2012. The fieldwork included audio-visual recordings of the brass band music at the square and interviews with musicians and villagers.

The aim of the fieldwork was to identify whether there were new forms in use in the current version of this Northern Chilean religious festival and, if so, to what extent it was present in the general context of the celebration, and what causes can be identified that could explain the use of these forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I will refer to musical structure or form as the parameter that shows how the music is built in terms of number of bars per melodic sequence and repeating sections. In terms of the analysis of the music in La Tirana I will consider as 'symmetrical forms' songs with two repeated sections (aabb) and as 'asymmetrical forms', songs with other types of structures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Martínez (1988) and Van Kessel (1984).

First, previous research related to the concept of dualism and its relation with the Andean world-view will be reviewed. Second, the researcher will show how this idea has been linked with the symmetrical dances and musical forms of the Feast of La Tirana by previous scholars. Third, the results of the analysis of the forms of 190 melodies recorded during my field research will be presented. Fourth, potential reasons will be given to explain the use of these forms. Finally, some conclusions from this study will be presented.

## Dualism in Andean World-view

Previous ethnographic research conducted in Aymara and Quechua communities that currently live in the southern Andean region of Bolivia and Chile refers to the presence of dual socio-cultural structures that originated in the Andean indigenous communities in ancient times.<sup>4</sup> This dualist worldview encompasses two portions: *Araj-saya* (upper half) and *Manqhasaya* (lower half). 'This paradigm appeared represented in the top two divisions of the city of Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Inca Empire, and reappears on the social organization of the regions of the Tawantinsuyu Empire'.<sup>5</sup>

Tristan Platt, in his article 'Mirrors and maize: the concept of *yanantin* among the Macha in Bolivia', indicates that there is written evidence of the use of a dualist concept in this area since the sixteenth century, represented in the term *yanantin*. This expression is found in Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás' writings in 1560; he translated it as 'two equal things' that are exemplified in 'a pair of eyes, shoes or gloves. Its opposite would be the *chulla* term which is identified with the uneven, odd or things that should be in a relationship'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Grebe (1980), Van Kessel (1981), Platt (1986) or Nuñez (1989).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Grebe, 'Generative models', 142-48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Platt, 'Mirrors and maze', 249.

Platt identifies those elements in his ethnography, which was developed in the seventies in the village of Macha, Bolivia. He explains the use of mirrors in rituals as a symbol of symmetrical dualism corresponding to the cosmic order sought. This explains why a series of symbolic rites are repeated twice during the Andean marriage ceremony, seeking to correct the polar antagonism between the sexes (male and female).<sup>7</sup>

Henry Stobart presents the results of his fieldwork, developed during the nineties in Quechua communities in the highlands of Bolivia, in his book *Music and the Poetics of Production in the Bolivian Andes*. In his field research Stobart reports the use of the term *yanantin* by community members of Kalankira, in northern Bolivia, and relates it to the alternating performance of Julajula panpipes, where two performers are required to create a common melody. This type of interlocking performance represents a human existence 'where one would die without the other'.<sup>8</sup>

However, symmetrical dualism was questioned by the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss in a chapter, 'Do dual organizations exist?'. The author argues that anthropologists who have worked in America and Indonesia develop an intuitive conviction that the social principles are the same: in this case, dualistic. The author argues that 'in these seemingly symmetrical social structures, the relationship between each half is never as static, or as fully reciprocal as one might tend to imagine'.<sup>9</sup>

Olivia Harris conducted fieldwork in the Aymara community of Laymi, in northern Bolivia. In her research, Harris shows that in the case of Laymi, its social structure is based on tripartite and asymmetrical structures, which she defines as asymmetrical dualism.<sup>10</sup> This

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>8</sup> Stobart, Music and the poetics, 150-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Lévi-Strauss, 'Do dual organizations exist?', 135.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 10}$  Harris, 'From asymmetry to triangle, 261.

view is consistent with the concept of concentric dualism used by Levi-Strauss to define 'any attempt to move from an asymmetric triad to a symmetric dyad'.<sup>11</sup>

In Tarapacá ethnographic research was conducted on the indigenous communities living in the area, and some of this specifically relates to the Feast of La Tirana. Among the first group of researchers, Maria Ester Grebe presented extensive ethnographic work in the seventies within the Aymara communities of the Tarapacá Highlands in her doctoral thesis. Grebe argues that 'the performance of sikus and *lakas* panpipes recreates a heritage from a distant past related with the Andean *Aymaras* dualistic worldview'.<sup>12</sup>

The researcher suggests that this is represented in the complementary *macho-hembra* (male-female) opposition on which the interpretation of *sikuras* and *lakas* and its musical forms is based. While 'the *sikuras* symbolically recreates an old representational model of kinship and descent, the *lakitas* shows the effects of acculturation that includes old Spanish colonial influences and popular modern repertoires'. <sup>13</sup>

Grebe also analyzes the structure of the songs played on these instruments and finds that *sikuras* uses two repeated sections in all the songs analyzed; the *lakitas* uses the same binary forms in 76% of the melodies, but 24% have three, four or five sections corresponding to 'acculturated *cumbias* and some *taquiraris*'.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the *sikuras* represent the cultural inheritance, using symmetrical dual forms, whereas the *lakas* melodies manifest a percentage of extended forms related to foreign influence.

Manuel Mamani conducted field research about the harvest Aymara ritual pachallampi, in the village of Pachama, northern Chile. This pre-Hispanic ritual celebrates the potato-planting season in November, and he asserts that there have only been minor

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<sup>11</sup> Lévi-Strauss, 'Do dual organizations exist?', 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Grebe, 'Generative models', 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Grebe, 'Generative models', 483.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ibid., 449.

changes made in the old rites. In this ritual, music plays a central role and is considered essential by its participants for the success of the harvest. In the melodies analyzed for the article, Mamani found mostly binary musical forms divided into two sections: A (antecedent) and B (consequent).<sup>15</sup>

## Symmetrical forms in La Tirana

In 1984, Juán Van Kessel focused on identifying the Andean cultural heritage of the religious dances in Northern Chilean festivals. In his analysis of the dances Van Kessel reports:

Claros elementos fundamentales de la antigua cosmovisión andina subyacente; cosmovisión que así resulta históricamente activa en la cultura mestizo-popular, y que funciona en la actualidad como un rico subconsciente y un poderoso motor sicosociológico(...) El análisis estructural de la coreografía deja en claro, que existen dos tipos tipos de danza clásica, que ambos se caracterizan por una asombrosa cantidad de formas simétricas, que básicamente son a) De tipo bilateral y b) De tipo traslación jerárquica.

Clear fundamentals underlying the ancient Andean world; a worldview that is so historically active in the *mestizo*-popular culture and works today as a rich and powerful subconscious psycho-sociological recreation...The structural analysis of the choreography shows that there are two types of classical dance, both characterized by a staggering number of symmetrical shapes, basically they are: a) lateral type and b) hierarchical translation type'. <sup>16</sup>

During the fieldwork for the present research, the symmetrical shapes that Juán Van Kessel reported in his book *Danzas y Estructural Sociales de los Andes* in 1981 were observed in most of the dances performed in La Tirana square. It was also possible to see references to the dualism Andean world-view in the dancers' costumes, with the use of mirrors and pairs of elements such as sun-moon, earth (*pachamama*)-sky.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Mamani, 'El rito agrícola de Pachallampi, 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Van Kesssel, 'Los bailes religiosos del Norte Chileno, 125-34.

In 1988, Rosalía Martínez developed an analysis of the music of the Feast of La Tirana based on fieldwork carried out during that decade. Martínez points out that repetition is a characteristic parameter in La Tirana, in which the band-music alternating of aabb form reflects a commitment to dualist organization. <sup>17</sup> The researcher suggests that this element is more important than the melody, which could be modified by the musicians. However, she states, it is never possible to abandon repetitions because of this dualist organization. 18

Martínez presents structures based on two sections with variations (aa' bb', with a 4 or 8-bar melodic sequence per section) concluding that the use of symmetrical binary forms was one of the main characteristics of this music at that time. 19 She does mention some songs with three sections or with a bridge without the sections, but she argues that such new elements do not affect the general dualistic character and are rarely found. 20

Asymmetrical elements in La Tirana are reported in a more recent book written by Rafael Diaz in 2012. In a chapter devoted to popular-religious music of central and northern Chile, the author describes the main features of the music of the oldest group of dances in La Tirana, a style that he called 'estilo cofradía'. <sup>21</sup> In his opinion the most notable characteristics of this music are the unpredictable forms generated by repetitions of melodic patterns:

La más notable, es la propiedad que posee el discurso instrumental de repetirse permanentemente sin recurrir a fraseologías cuadradas, predecibles, lo que evita percibir con claridad cuando se está repitiendo una formula. Esto genera un discurso basado en fórmulas melódicas asimétricas, de "eterno retorno".

The most notable, is the property that the instrumental discourse has of repeating permanently without using fixed or predictable phraseology,

19 Martínez, 'Quelques Aspects Musicaux', 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Martínez, 'Quelques Aspects Musicaux' 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid., 138-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Rafael Díaz relates this style with performance indigenous groups or *cofradías de indígenas* that have participated in Catholic celebrations in Santiago de Chile since the 1600s. See 'Cofradías de Indígenas en el Santiago Colonial: Estrategias de construcción de una identidad musical soterrada' in La Música Originaria, 35-37.

preventing to perceive clearly when a formula is repeated. This generates a discourse based on asymmetrical melodic patterns, of 'eternal return'.<sup>22</sup>

During the present fieldwork, the researcher interviewed the Musical Director of Banda Mallkus, Juan Pablo 'Chester' Cortes. He explained that the *aabb* form has different origins:

Esa forma *aabb* (en donde la segunda *a* se acompaña de un contracanto de los bajos) tiene diversos orígenes. Los bailes como Indios y Kuyacas tienen su escencia propia de inspiración andina pero bailes como Diabladas, Gitanos y Morenos ocupan esa forma influenciados por los mambos de Perez Prado que se escuchaban en las salitreras antiguamente. Era lo que se pasaba en la radio, igual como pasa en la actualidad.

That aabb form (where the second a is accompanied by a counterpoint of lowbrass) has different origins. The dances Indios and Cuyacas have their own essence on Andean inspiration but dances such as Diabladas, Gitanos and Morenos use that form influenced by Perez Prado's mambos that were heard in the nitrate towns once. It was what was broadcasted on the radio, just as happens currently  $^{23}$ .

## Structural musical analysis of La Tirana 2012

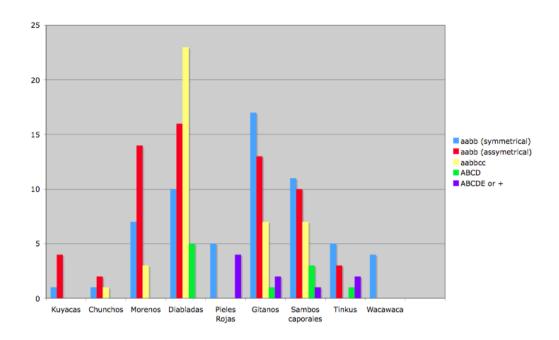
The following analysis focuses on the structure of 190 melodies performed at the square in the days preceding the Virgin's day. The dances selected were *Kuyacas, Chunchos, Morenos, Diabladas, Pieles Rojas, Gitanos, Sambos Caporales, Tinkus* and *Wacawaca*. These dances are among of the more than twenty types of dances that are currently performed in La Tirana.<sup>24</sup> Graph 1 shows the result of the structure analysis of 190 melodies, divided by type of dance:

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Juan Pablo 'Chester' Cortes, August 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Díaz, Cultura originaria y Música Chilena de Arte, 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> There has been a steady increase in the number and diversity of the dances since the first reports of the feast in the local press in 1892. This melting-pot of dances is the result of multicultural influences that have influenced this region: From pre-Hispanic indigenous cultures (*Cuyacas, Indios, Baile Chino*), nationalist military campaign post-Pacific War (*Morenos, Chunchos*), Western Broadway movies (*Pieles Rojas, Indios Sioux, Indios Dakota*), Bolivian Oruro Carnival (*Diabladas, Sambos caporales, Tinkus, Wacawaca*) and immigrant cultures (*Gitanos, Indios Dakota*).

Graph 1: Structure analysis per dance



In this analysis the researcher assigns 'symmetrical form' as the songs with two repeated sections playing the same melody. As presented in the previous chapter, this form is still used by indigenous communities in current south Andean rituals: *julajula* panpipes in Northern Potosi (Bolivia), *sikuras* in Isluga (Chile) and the *pachallampi* ritual (Chile). In graph 1 above, different colours have been used to analyze the songs with two repeated sections; light blue represents songs with having same numbers of even bars per section and red, the songs with different numbers of bars (*aabb* asymmetrical).

Graph 1 shows that the melodies with two repeated sections are mainly used in the oldest dances such as *Kuyacas*, <sup>25</sup> *Chunchos* and *Morenos* (although with both symmetrical

Ali-baba). (See Alvarez, PhD Portfolio Feast of La Tirana 2012 (Chile): Musical analysis and compositions based on field research for further information about the history of the Feast of La Tirana).

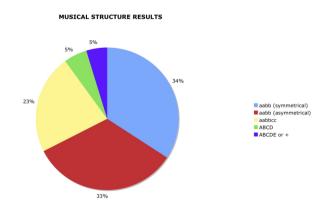
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The *Kuyacas* dance is a female dance that represents the herding labours of Andean women in the hills and they are lead by Rogelia Perez since 1929. They wear Aymara symbols in their dresses and ornaments. *Kuyacas* are the only dances that still uses *lakas* panpipes instruments rather than brass instruments in their performances in La Tirana.

and asymmetrical number of bars respectively). The dances created since the 1930s, such as *Pieles Rojas* and *Gitanos*, show the transition between the old symmetrical forms and the new arrangements. While the *Gitanos* melodies have mainly kept to the *aabb* form in their melodies, *Pieles Rojas* are incorporating melodies with more than two sections, especially when they are accompanied by professional brass bands.

The graph also shows that the most recent group of dances introduced to the Feast from Oruro Carnival since the fifties, such as *Diabladas, Sambos Caporales and Tinkus*, are using structures of *aabbcc* or four sections. These dances are accompanied by professional brass bands from Iquique and Arica who present new musical arrangements and compositions every year.

Graph 2 summarizes the totals: 67% of the songs are still using the dual structure of two repeated sections (although 33% use an asymmetrical number of bars) and 33% use structures having three or more sections. These extended forms are mostly used in the dances that have been incorporated into the feast since the fifties: *Diablos, Sambos Caporales, Pieles Rojas, Gitanos, Tinkus* and *Wacawaca*.

<u>Graph 2:</u> Summary of the structure results of 190 melodies recorded in La Tirana 2012:



It is important to point out that when these forms are repeated they are generally performed with variations related to changes decided during the performance by the *caporal* or musical band director. That prevents one from considering the attached transcription as a fixed structure. In order to explain these forms, an analysis of the field recordings made of the Tinkus Antofagasta will be presented, informed by interviews with band members.

#### The Tinkus dance in La Tirana

The Tinkus dance is inspired by a pre-Hispanic rite in Northern Potosi (Bolivia) communities that consists of one-to-one fighting and stone throwing; this has been interpreted as an offering to feed Mother Earth (*pachamama*) with the blood of the fighters. However, Stobart discovered locals in Kalankira that denied this and instead compared *tinku* with a sport or game.

For most of the people I spoke to, *tinku* is about expressing courage, strength, manhood and *ayllu* (team!) identity. This focus on life, potential and invincibility, which also emerges from *julajula* music, might explain why people disputed its widely reported connection with blood sacrifice and death.<sup>27</sup>

The term *tinku* can be translated as an encounter (*encuentro*) and the aim is to keep harmony and balance between the communities. This tradition is visible in northern Potosí and especially in the city of Macha, which is considered the capital of *tinku*. However, in other parts of the Andes 'the ritual fighting has been abolished by state authorities or transformed into a dance'. <sup>28</sup> In the eighties, this rite was adapted for the Oruro Carnival as an artistic recreation of the Quechuas tradition, imitating their fighting movements. <sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See Allen (1988) and Sallnow (1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Stobart, *Music and the poetics*, 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Stobart, *Music and the poetics,* 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> www.oruroCarnaval.com website.

In order to research the main motivations of the *tinkus* dance participation in La Tirana the researcher interviewed Veronica Ramos, second *caporala* or head of the Tinkus Antofagasta dance. Ramos explained that *Tinkus Antofagasta* started dancing in Chilean religious festivals in 2003:

En nuestros inicios se nos presentaron varios problemas de aceptación ya que somos un baile de corte andino y no se nos entendía nuestra forma de venerar a Maria por nuestro alto carisma y forma brusca de bailar. Siendo así, nuestra primera fiesta religiosa fue en julio del 2003 en Tirana chica donde se nos rechazó y nos sacaron de la fiesta de mala forma. Luego de eso a través del dialogo y la fe se nos abrió finalmente las puertas de Federación Antofagasta y Tirana.

In our begginings we had many problems of acceptance because we are a dance with Andean inspiration and they did not understand our way of venerating Mary due our high charisma and abrupt dancing. Our first religious feast was in July 2003 in Tirana *chica* where we were rejected and expelled in a bad way. After that, only through dialogue and faith, they finally opened the doors of the Antofagasta and Tirana Federation.<sup>30</sup>

In this answer it is interesting to analyze the reasons for the initial rejection: the 'abrupt dancing' that Ramos refers could be misunderstood by other dancers because they modified the symmetrical dance structure in two rows mostly used in La Tirana incorporating circular shapes. The 'Andean inspiration' rejected could be related to their evident inspiration by

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Alvarez, interview, 16 August 2013, 1.

Bolivian dances, using the same colours as the Bolivian flag in their costumes that could be considered provocative in a border dispute zone such as La Tirana.



Fig. 1: Tinkus Antofagasta presentation in the Feast of La Tirana.

In terms of music, Ramos relates this aspect with the dance:

La música es algo que va en conjunto con la danza llena de alegría. Tenemos canciones y melodías que se pueden considerar como fijas pero en realidad lo que es melodía para danzar, se renueva en su mayoría cada año. El compositor de la melodías es José Galván, integrante y fundador de nuestro baile Tinkus.

The music is something that goes together with the dance full of happiness. We have some fixed songs and melodies but the majority of the melodies for dancing, are renewed each year. Our composer is Jose Galvan, founder member of our Tinkus dance.<sup>31</sup>

During the thirty-minute presentation of Tinkus Antofagasta in La Tirana their brass band performed some traditional Andean melodies, such as *Señora Chichera*, which it is very popular in Bolivia's celebrations and refers to a *chicha* drink seller. This song is a good

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. (My translation).

example of a four-bar melody that is repeated twice, using an *aabb* structure and adding a two-bar coda at the end of the repeating sections (fig.2).<sup>32</sup>

Fig. 2: Señora chichera melody



However, during the same presentation the brass band performed another melody with an extended form divided into seven sections. Each section combines a symmetrical or asymmetrical number of bars when it is repeated. The structure of this song is organized as follows:

Figure 3: Structure of *Tinkus Antofagasta* melody.<sup>33</sup>

A: 36 bars E: 32 bars

B: 52 bars F: 32 bars

C: 36 bars G: 35 bars

D: 18 bars

In section A the melody is performed by low brass players (baritone horns). This section is formed by a 16 bar melody which is repeated, adding four bars at the end as a coda. Section B is played by high brass horns (trumpets). This melody is formed of a first section of 24 bars, divided into 8+8+8 with a repetition organized as 8+8+6+6. Figure 3

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The same form is used in one of the oldest melodies in La Tirana *Campos Naturales* which is performed for all the bands when they arrive at the village.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See Appendix for the whole transcription.

shows an example of a symmetrical section in section C, with 32 bars divided into 16 bar melodic sequences.

Fig. 3: Section C (32 bars divided in 16 symmetrical repeated bars).



Section D could be considered as an eighteen-bar bridge between the first three sections of the melody and the following three because it is not repeated as is usual in this music. Section E is a symmetrical sixteen-bar form (see figure 4, next page). The last two sections are good examples of the use of both forms: while F is a symmetrical 32-bar form, divided into 16 bars each, section G is asymmetrical in the rhythmic displacement of the melody and structural organization into 15 and 20 bars.

Fig. 4: Bridge section without repetition in d before ee' section (18 and 32 bars, respectively).



When the researcher asked Veronica Ramos if they are seeking their own identity as a group with the new melodies created each year she replied:

Nosotros como baile religioso, al igual que los demás bailes, no buscamos hacer una diferencia ya que nosotros solo bailamos con el afán de venerar a Maria y Dios por sobre todo. De hecho nuestras melodías no se comparan ya que son melodías mas movidas y alegres, pero diferentes temas o composiciones que otros *tinkus*.

We as religious dance, like the other dances, don't seek to differentiate because our only motivation is to venerate the Virgin Mary and God above all. Indeed, our melodies are not comparable because they are more driven and cheerful, but different songs or compositions than or other *tinkus* dances.<sup>34</sup>

Although in this answer she declares that the main motivation of the dancers is to meet their promises to Virgin Carmen each year, she also considered their music 'different' to the other dances groups in La Tirana.

During the field research original compositions and arrangements were mainly presented by professional bands such as Wiracochas, Mallkus, Rebeldes, Santa Cecilia and Auténtica (the band accompanying Tinkus Antofagasta in 2012). In most of these bands at least one performer is in charge of composing and arranging the melodies each year. In Mallkus Banda Internacional, this role is assigned to Juan Pablo 'Chester' Cortés, a young, gifted baritone horn player with the skills to write arrangements and compositions for the band and who was chosen as its musical director.

The researcher interviewed Cortés about the forms found in the analysis. When I asked him if these new and extended forms are being incorporated on purpose by the brass bands in La Tirana he confirmed those changes saying that in the last years they have been renovating the compositional style from the old forms *aabb*.

When Cortés was asked whether or not these new forms had been rejected by older musicians he replied that:

No es que los viejos maestros se enojen pero les molesta lo que se hace hoy en día con los ritmos al incluir *reggaeton* y música popular en el folclore.

The older masters are not angry but annoyed about what is been doing currently of including rhythms like *reggaeton*<sup>35</sup> and popular music in folk music.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Alvarez, interview, 16 August 2013, 3. (My translation).

When I asked about his work as composer-arranger in Banda Mallkus, he explained his method in the following way:

En los Mallkus trabajo en la composición propia y en la adaptación de música actual al baile que se realice. Por ejemplo, tomo una cumbia boliviana y la adapto a Caporal con acompañamientos de mi propio estilo. Tratamos que todos lean partituras. Es complejo pero tenemos métodos de nemotecnia agregando palabras a las figuras rítmicas para facilitar la lectura. Así es La Tirana, no tan superficial como se ve. Tiene un montón de ritos y música tan variada de tiempos de 2/4, 2/8, 5/8.

In the Mallkus I work in composing and adapting current music to the dance performed. For example, I take a Bolivian cumbia and I adapt it to caporal with my own arrangement style. We try to have everyone read sheet music. It is complex but we use mnemonic methods of adding words to the rhythmic figures to facilitate reading. This is La Tirana, not so superficial as it looks. It has a lot of rites and music in varied times of 2/4, 2/8, 5/8.

The participation of young players with musical knowledge in La Tirana that are aware of changing forms of the melodies has been confirmed by Chilean composer Carlos Zamora. 'Yes, I have taught composition at universities in Iquique and I have had music students who perform in bands for religious festivals in the weekends. I'm sure that they are using their new musical skills to change the musical arrangements'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Popular music of Puerto Rican origin that combines rap with Caribbean rhythms (http://www.merriamwebster.com/dictionary/reggaeton, accessed 6th August 2015).

## Conclusion

The summary of previous research has shown that the symmetrical musical element in Andean celebrations has been linked with a world-view based on dualism. The aim of this research has been to analyze that element in a current version of the Feast of La Tirana in order to identify whether this Andean characteristic is still predominant in the music of this celebration, as previous research has suggested.

The results of the analysis of one hundred and ninety songs recorded during the 2012 version of the feast shows that 67% of the songs are still using the dual structure of two repeated sections (although 33% use an asymmetrical number of bars) and 33% use structures having three or more sections. These new forms are mostly used in the dances that have been incorporated into the feast since the fifties: *Diablos, Sambos Caporales, Pieles Rojas, Gitanos, Tinkus* and *Wacawaca*.

The interviews with members of Tinkus Antofagasta (who are using songs with as much as seven different sections) and Banda Mallkus have revealed their intention to create new melodies each year that differentiate them from the rest of the bands. This process has created problems of coexistence between new and older dances companies in recent years.

These musical characteristics are creating a particular type of brass band music in La Tirana that results from the combination of particular multicultural influences that have influenced this celebration since its beginnings. The use of unpredictable forms, unusual in folk and popular music, could be considered as a hybrid result of the necessity of developing new identities by the dance companies and the globalization process that is affecting these local celebrations.

The new regulations of the *Federacion de Bailes Religiosos de La Tirana* of 2012<sup>36</sup> attempted to address the debate between tradition and modernity in La Tirana. In these regulations there are strict restrictions on changes in the dances and costumes. However, there are no specific references to changes of musical structures.

This omission may result in an increase in new musical forms in La Tirana in the future. Whether these changes will continue to generate new hybrid compositions in La Tirana and whether they can coexist with views that see such the loss of the Andean heritage in these celebrations as 'cultural genocide', as Dr. Van Kessel states, <sup>37</sup> is a question to be investigated by future researchers.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Federacion de Bailes Religiosos de La Tirana is the federation in charge of the organization of the dance companies performances in La Tirana who have to pay a membership in order to be allowed to dance each year. The organization is linked with the Catholic Church and has the facilty to ban a dance company from performing in La Tirana if they are not following the regulations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Van Kesssel, 'Los bailes religiosos del Norte Chileno', 134.

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# APPENDIX: TINKUS TRANSCRIPTION (CD ATTACHED)

