

MUSICKING *AYMARA* AND *QUECHUA* IMMIGRANTS TRANSLOCALITIES IN SÃO PAULO

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DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT

Walking through some streets and squares in the city of São Paulo, on Sundays throughout the year and on days of Bolivian community feast, we go through altiplanic locations (Appadurai 1996) built three thousand kilometers away from the Andean Highland. Thousands of Bolivian Andean transmigrants rework their cultural and emotional dynamics through the creation of transnational (Glick-Schiller, Basch & Szanton 1992), commercial and symbolic networks. Also through indigenous music (Small 1998), especially the musical practice of Aymara and Quechua repertoire and players, the affective structures that constitute and affirm performatively and synesthetically indigenous highland locations are strengthened. Through theoretical and ethnographic articulation with an anthropological and ethnomusicological basis, we seek to reflect on how the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya, an autochthonous group of Aymara and Quechua formation, by activating and integrating networks between indigenous people and collectives, immigrants and paulistanos, is musicalizing and locating the Bolivian Andean Highland in São Paulo.

KEY WORDS

Musicking;
Immigration;
Aymara; *Quechua*;
São Paulo.

ALTIPLANO ROUTES OF SÃO PAULO



Figure 1. Facades of Coimbra Street (Cristina de Branco, analog photography, São Paulo, 2018)



Figure 2. Walking down Coimbra Street with the Vientos del Ande (Cristina de Branco, analog photography, São Paulo, 2018)

We got off at Brás station, subways and trains flowing through the São Paulo megalopolis, representing so well the vertigo of cement and crowds in the capital. Leaving the station, between street vendors as well as military and civil police, the minimally attentive eye will notice these dozens, hundreds of brown people, with features that we commonly recognize as indigenous, straight, black hair, carrying large bulks of merchandise, backpacks and bags, many of them with children in their hands and babies in the cart or in the *aguayo*¹. Spanish is heard here and there; more cautious ears will sometimes hear *Aymara* and *Quechua*. Following Avenida Rangel Pestana and Celso Garcia, almost in front of the colossal and disproportionate Temple of Solomon, they appear among the clothing and shoe stores, hairdressers and restaurants with signs in Spanish. By entering the four blocks of the short Rua Coimbra, the street trade multiplies, the faces and sales change, *cholitas*² selling *mocochinchi*³ soft drinks, flaxseed juices and quinoa. In the shops of Andean varieties, open to the street, plastic bags with *hojas de coca* and *palo santo* are sold⁴, as various types of corn and potatoes, colored, dehydrated, among the bags of various seeds and Bolivian bread. In other stores are sold *polleras*, feminine and masculine clothes of folk groups, piles of *aguayos* of many colors and formats. From the restaurants and newsstands, *huaynos* and *chichas*⁵ can be heard, announcements from Bolivian community radio stations, advertisements for Portuguese classes, sewing and entrepreneurship, in Spanish, *Aymara* and *Quechua*. During all days of the week, especially on Sundays and Bolivian festive days, these four blocks of Rua Coimbra and part of this and other neighborhoods in the city of São Paulo (Cymbalista and Rolnik 2007, Souchaud 2010), visually and sonically affirm the creation, maintenance and transformation of migrant locations, Andean locations reinvented and readjusted to the urban fabric of São Paulo.

1 *Aguayo* is a type of Andean fabric, associated with the *Aymara* and *Quechua* indigenous weaving of the Altiplano west of Bolivia and southeastern Peru. Strongly linked to the sacred and motherhood, the uses of *aguayo* range from ritual to everyday uses.

2 *Cholas* or *cholitas* are both terms that affectionately or pejoratively identify *Aymara* and *Quechua* or *mestizo* women indigenous to Bolivia and Peru. They dress with *polleras*, longer or shorter pleated skirts, of heavier or lighter fabrics (depending on the sub-region), with two long braids, *aguayo* or blanket and with a hat (also depending on the reference sub-region).

3 Made with water, dried peaches and caramel, the *mocochinchi* refreshment is related to indigenous highland food conservation practices, although normally consumed throughout Bolivia and much of Peru.

4 Coca leaves are grown in the Andean valleys and are one of the most important elements of *Aymara* and *Quechua* rituals. *Palo santo* is also used in offering rituals, in celebration by the *Aymara* and *Quechua* populations, among other Latin American indigenous people.

5 *Huayno* is a musical genre widely practiced in the Andean regions and *chicha* is a style that derives from *Huaynos*, *Cumbias* and other genres in the Amazon region.

Part of the dozens of Bolivian folk and autochthonous⁶ groups active in São Paulo also perform on the Sunday closest to July 16 of each year, in celebration of Dia de La Paz (La Paz Day). With its various wind bands, metal or cane, trumpets or *zampoñas*, Bolivians and their daughters and sons, perhaps already born in Brazil, parade through the Brás' streets celebrating the first act of republican independence in the South American region. They celebrate a local and regional historical landmark, expanding it to another, distant, warmer, greener and cemented territory. We review La Paz, El Alto, altiplanic cities of indigenous majority, quite arid, cold and translucent due to such altitude, raised by the presence, body, speech and melodies of highland migrant people who make themselves seen and heard among the streets of São Paulo.



Figure 3. Banner of the autochthonous community Vientos del Ande. (Cristina de Branco, analogic photography, São Paulo, 2018)

⁶ We evoke “autochthonous” to characterize musical practices of indigenous highland reference (Wahren 2016; Cespedez 1984; Bigenho 2002) as it has been used by *Aymara* and *Quechua* migrants to characterize their musical practices with a territorial and spatial identification, which is commonly used as a synonym for indigenous or *originario*. It is also worth mentioning that in the Bolivian Political Constitution, the use of the terms indigenous and *originario* is related to human collectivities that share “cultural identity, language, historical tradition, institutions, territoriality and cosmovision, whose existence is prior to the Spanish colonial invasion” (Art 30, Political Constitution of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009).



Figure 4. End of Vientos del Ande's performance on La Paz Day at Coimbra Street (Cristina de Branco, analogic photography, São Paulo, 2018)

Amid them, several members of the Comunidad Autoctona Vientos del Ande will meet during the early afternoon, there in a block near the streets crossed by the procession in Coimbra. Formed in 2016, between families and friends, mostly *Aymara*, almost all members of the Vientos del Ande come from the Bolivian Altiplano. Among them there are several players who simultaneously integrate other groups, such as the Morales Churqui family and César Chui Quenta⁷, the nucleus of the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya (which we will write more carefully below). With their flutes in hand and two more bass drums, the male members and Beatriz Morales (at that time, the only female player in Vientos del Ande and Kollasuyo Maya), started the rehearsal prior to the parade.

In these streets of houses, families and small sewing factories, between the conversations of women and girls who are braiding each other's hair

⁷ In an attempt to build and affirm dialogical and collaborative researches, the people mentioned have read, revised and authorized the publication of this text.

and fixing their pink *aguayos*, the flute winds are already being heard between pairs, strengthening the repertoire that will be presented later. Three young people, dressed to play in some *salay* group, leave one of the houses, and later some *caporales* cross the street, while a lady comments from the window, with a Brazilian accent, about the wonder of the Bolivian feast with a neighbor sitting at the corner bar, also apparently Brazilian. In their linguistic, performative and ethnic-cultural diversity, groups of people are distinguished between Brazilians and Bolivians, composing a dynamic location between the coexistence and tension between various types of collective organizations, between different rhythms, melodies, costumes, colors and physiognomies, all this in a single procession during a Sunday afternoon in July, in Brás.

TRANSLOCATING THE ALTIPLANO: MIGRATORY AND CONCEPTUAL CONTEXTS

Among the Andean immigrants living in the city of São Paulo, Andean Colombians, Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Bolivians, Chileans and Argentines, those who were born in the Plurinational State of Bolivia correspond a migratory majority, not only among immigrants from the Andes, but also in relation to the entire migrant population of the capital. Today, there are more than 100,000 people from Bolivia living in the city of São Paulo, already corresponding to the first largest immigrant population in the capital (OBMigra/Nepo-Unicamp 2020). Most of them come from the Andean areas of western Bolivia (Silva 2008, Xavier 2012), the country in the South American region with the highest proportion of indigenous population by census self-declaration: they total 41%, of which more than 70% declared themselves *Aymaras* and *Quechuas* (INE 2012). Although we don't yet count on the intersection between ethnic-racial data and statistics on immigrant populations in São Paulo and Brazil⁸, it's possible to predict that a considerable part of this migrant sector would self-declare as indigenous, more specifically as *Aymaras* and *Quechuas*⁹.

8 Referring to the social construction of the indigenous migrant subject in Latin America, Sérgio Caggiano and Alicia Torres warned about the “trend towards the “nationalization” of the populations involved in migratory flows. That is, the preference to identify them by the country they come from, eliminating regional, ethnic differences (...) A homogenization that highlights, on the one hand, “methodological nationalism” – defined as the conception in social sciences that assumes that the nation/State/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002, 302). On the other hand, the invisibility of diversity in the ethnic composition of these migrant populations, explained either by assimilationist or directly racist reasons” (Caggiano e Torres 2011, 178).

9 We consider people and practices *Aymaras* and *Quechuas* in São Paulo in a concomitant way because we realized that several of the autochthonous Altiplano groups currently active in the city are made up of a majority of *Aymaras* and some *Quechua* families. Faced with the great sharing of ritual practices, cosmogonic perceptions, regions of reference and linguistic terms, we also realize that in the groups, speeches of synergy rather than ethnic-cultural difference prevail between *Aymara* and *Quechuas*. It's also worth mentioning that several authors, among them Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, debate terms such as *quechumara* (Palomino

This statistical invisibility inevitably leads to a systematic ignorance of the ethnic-racial particularity of this migrant population and its nominal non-existence in the spheres of public policy of São Paulo city and Brazil. This absence in the municipal, state and federal governmental prisms is also understood as a selective silence about the ethnic-racial diversities of the migrant populations in the country and, consequently, about the specificities of their demands as a sector in the Brazilian society. In this context of selective silences and invisibilizations, we can understand the symbolic force of the public and performative appearance of these *Aymara* and *Quechuas* people in the city, musicalizing and localizing their autochthonies from the Altiplano, and also their diversity as indigenous people from different Andean regions in the middle of São Paulo, in the same territory that institutionally does not recognize their multiplicity of identities. We will be then, through active listening and looking, traveling routes of encounter with these *Aymara* and *Quechuas* people throughout the city, searching to find them in their musical and public performative expressiveness.

Both in relation to the *Aymara* and *Quechua* sectors and to the Bolivian community as a whole, there is a search for recognition of their presence as citizens through the occupation of city public and convivial spaces, mainly through cultural performances that represent “Andean, *Quechua*, *Aymara*, Guarani, or simply as Bolivians” identities (Silva 2012, 30-31). As described by Sidney Silva: “festive practices become an important mediation in the process of identity reconstruction of immigrants, thus opening a possible channel of dialogue with the country of adoption” (2012, 26). In São Paulo’s context, besides autochthonous performatic practices such as the *Aymaras* and *Quechuas*, there are also folkloric dance and music manifestations such as *caporales*, *morenadas*, *salays*, besides groups and artists that express themselves by other musical genres or artistic languages. In general, most of the folkloric collectivities and autochthonous groups perform publicly on Bolivian commemorative dates, in spaces of great circulation such as Parque Dom Pedro II, Latin American Memorial, Paulista Avenue and in other places, such as Praça da Kantuta and Largo do Rosário, in the neighborhood of Penha.

In order to understand the musical processes of constitution of these migrant Altiplano localities in São Paulo, we look for the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* people and performative expressivities with an ethnographic attention. Starting from the participant observation in São Paulo, semi-structured interviews and shared audiovisual realization, we also looked for a theoretical apparatus to potentiate our reflections. First of all, we used the

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apud Cusicanqui 2015, 223), *urbandino* (Camacho apud Cusicanqui 2015, 223), as well as bring to the theoretical reflection of the Social Sciences terms of *Aymara* and *Quechua* inspiration. However, given the brevity of this essay, no greater consideration will be made about the diversity and density of this debate.

term “musicking” by Christopher Small, to situate all and any activity “that may affect the naturalness of this human encounter that we call a musical performance” (Small 1999, 5), that is, any form of engagement with music. Also, in migration contexts, music is capable of promoting relationships between individuals, groups and spaces, narrowing and generating social and emotional bonds that are concretized in daily life and that do not necessarily detach themselves from those relationships that each one brings from their places of reference or background.

At the same time, we activate the “production of locality” notion from Arjun Appadurai (1996). For the author, locality is understood as a “structure of feelings”, that is, a value that is built on social relations and their forms of interaction, such as community engagement in musical practices. We also understand it as “an ideal of living and coexisting, continuously recreated by a group of people who inhabit the same space” (Reily, Toni and Hikiji 2016, 11), a space that is not necessarily physical. As we will see further on, it is remarkable how *Aymara* and *Quechuas* migrants engage in various musical activities and at the same time strengthen and transform their social ties with other sectors of the Bolivian community and São Paulo society, producing and musicking their migrant places around the city. However, when we come across these migratory musicals from São Paulo and the affective and migratory dynamics of the members of the groups under study, we realize that the bonds that mobilize these musical practices transcend the daily place. Through the intimate and shared memory, the digital communication, the annual or biannual return trips to the Andean Altiplano, there is a constant and expressive re-elaboration of this music so marked by these comings and goings of the transmigrant mobility (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992). In this sense, it is worth recovering the transnational approach proposed by the authors Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, which strengthens the perspective on the agenciality and dynamism of migrant lives, between different places and universes of reference. In this sense, in the face of ethnographic evidence on the physical, cybernetic, symbolic and affective transnational mobility of the members of these groups, we understand the *Aymara* and *Quechua* musicking from São Paulo in their transmigrant and translocal nature, that is, as musicking constituted by various social and emotional connections, referenced by the Andean Altiplano and interpreted in São Paulo.

The relationships cultivated in daily life, between those that are maintained, those that have been transformed and the new connections promoted by migration, can be observed as migratory social networks “that maintain recurring contacts among themselves, by means of occupational, family, cultural or affective ties (...) complex formations

that channel, filter and interpret information, articulating meanings, allocating resources and controlling behaviors” (Kelly apud Truzzi 2008, 203). Oswaldo Truzzi (2008) engages Abdelmalek Sayad (1998) to reflect on the existence of networks and bonds that the immigrant has carried since his origin¹⁰ and that from his arrival in a new context he experiences constant changes, or creates new ones, extrapolating the ethnic and family bonds linked to his origin: “the migration experience itself is capable of proposing and redefining new identities and recognitions that can be translated into new networks” (2008, 211). Nina Glick Schiller and Ulrike Meinhof (2011) propose thinking from individual experiences of transmigrants to look at the “transnational social fields and networks” that interconnect with each other. This perspective contributes, according to the authors, to reflect on the production of multiple and simultaneous identities and on the relationship between migration and cultural production, considering the subjects as agents of a national and local construction (2011, 25). Identifying networks and partnerships built during transmigrant trajectories and understanding them as strategies activated by the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* migrants themselves, allows us to analyze how the migrant music from the Altiplano is built and perceived by themselves, by others involved, by Andean communities and by viewers of São Paulo.

Among the various groups of native musical and performance practices in São Paulo, we will prioritize the analysis of the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya, attending its musical engagements, contacts and actions with other artistic collectives of immigrants in the city, participation in festivities and other local immigrant events. These engagements encourage us to understand which networks and relationships are activated and dynamized through the group’s music and how these altiplanic translocalities are produced and musicalized by the city. In the course of this work, we will try to trace the characteristics of some altiplanic musicals, their practices within the South American regional context and their specificities within the São Paulo context through Kollasuyo Maya.

MUSICKING THAT BLOWS WIND AND PULSES LIFE: ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

The *Aymara* musician César Chui Quenta in one of our interviews told us: “Everything we live, everything we are, it’s air. Music would be the soul of life, the essence of life it’s the breathing of life. When we do this – he breaths – that would be music”. In this tone, the composer Alberto

¹⁰ Aiko Ikemura (2019) investigated social and spatial mobility among *Aymara* immigrants between El Alto and São Paulo pays attention to the expansion of social and practical networks, maintaining connections with their rural origins, even in transnational migrations.

Villalpando affirms that the wind is like a musical instrument of the Altiplanic regions, and it is through the wind and the air that it's possible to hear the warm regions and the cold weather of the mountains, sometimes like a flute, with hissing sounds, sometimes like a storm, with violent noises. Based on these perceptions, it is not difficult to understand the strength of wind musical instruments (aerophones) in regional autochthonous manifestations and the importance of this sound in the composition of the soundscape of the Andean Altiplano. The sound produced by blowing in aerophones, from several sizes, shapes and registers, commonly accompanied by *bombos* or *cajas*, is heard in the altiplano regions with specific timbristic and formal characteristics of each province, or even of each settlement, with change of audible textures in the periods of rain and drought, which on the one hand, reveals the existence of several musical styles, but on the other hand, requires an extensive research work to cover all the multiplicity of existing musical practices in the region.

The practice of these instruments and their musical styles in rural communities is related to the agricultural festive calendar, which is structured through the dry and cold weather (*Awti Pacha*, March to December) and the wet weather (*Jalla Pacha*, December to March). This alternation of periods is what makes possible the plantations and harvests that are always accompanied by corresponding celebrations. During *Jalla Pacha*, *Quechuas* and *Aymaras* play several flutes, like: *tarkas*, vertical airfoil representative of *Anata*¹¹, made of solid wood with six front holes and a bottom and nozzle mouth; *pinquillo*, vertical airfoil with six holes that can be of various sizes, with nozzle mouth; *moseños* that would also belong to the family of *pinquillos*, but with larger dimensions, some of which are touched in a transverse way, originating from the Cantón Mohoza region in the department of La Paz; besides many others which touched in the celebrations of this period establish a relation with the natural and supernatural phenomena. In this sense, Hans von Berg (1990) states:

Music is an important, if not indispensable, element in the agricultural rites [of the *Aymara*]. As we have seen when talking about the rites of the dead and rain, the tones produced by the musical instruments influence natural phenomena and thus contribute to the regular growth of plants (Berg 1990, 125).

Commonly, *tropas* are the name for the groups which play aerophones and percussion instruments. The number of participants is also variable,

¹¹ The *Anata* is a pre-Hispanic agricultural ritual that in some rural regions is linked to the end of agricultural tasks in the month of February, being called in other areas as Carnival (Aramayo 1994, 124).

depending on the size of the village and the festivity. Percussion is present in most of the *tropas* by instruments such as *bombos*, drums and *cajas*, usually made of wood and leather from sheep, llamas, and other animals. The *wank'ara* is a typical hand drum from the Jalla Pacha period, often accompanying the *pinquillos* in carnival festivities, during which the player plays the *wank'ara* and the *pinquillo* at the same time. The *moseñada* is accompanied by the *moseño* drum, specific to this style¹². In the tarkeadas the accompaniment can be with *bombos*, cylindrical membranophones with leather in the extremities and like in the aerophones, they have variations depending on the region, being able to be of tanned leather or not – which modifies the sonority – but normally they are instruments which the size of the cylinder is bigger than its diameter and they are carried on the shoulders by the players during the practices (Aramayo 1994). The presence of these instruments in the *tropas* not only guarantees the rhythmic pulse, but also symbolically, according to César Chui, is very important because it “represents the heart”, the internal pulse, both of the group and of the nature.

In the *Awti Pacha*, people usually play a great diversity of pan flutes (*sikus* in *Aymara*). Among several *viento* instruments that are played in the Andean Altiplano, it is remarkable the predominance of studies and investigations of the various practices of *sikus*. According to archaeological researches, Walter Canedo (1996) points out the presence of this instrument in almost the entire region and as we will see below, there is an extensive bibliographical production dedicated to understanding the practice of *sikus* and *sikuris* (*siku* players) in their musical and anthropological aspects. The *siku*, also known as *zampoña* (in Spanish) and other variations¹³ such as *lakita*, *maizu*, *chiriwanu*, *antara* and *jula-jula* – depending on the region and size variations and number of tubes – is a blowing aerophone, usually of hollow cane, formed by a row of parallel tubes ordered from the largest to the smallest, closed at one end and opened at the other where the blowing is performed. Many times, there is a secondary row that adds harmonics and both the first and second row tubes are tied by wires. There are size variations both inside the *tropas* – pairs of *sikus* with distinct tunings, in octaves and fifths for example – and from village to village, and even inside them, as in Conima (Turino 1933) – to distinguish themselves from each other, guaranteeing specificities of the style and mainly the diversity of sonority/density between the *tropas*.

12 For each style it is possible to find instruments such as drums and characteristic *bombos* depending on the province. The variations are numerous, beyond what we can hold in this text, for more specific definitions see Aramayo (1994).

13 Some researchers classify *jula-jula*, *maizu*, *chiriwanu*, *antara* and *lakita* as variations of *siku*. However, there are divergences on this classification, especially between interpreters of other pipes that are braided other than *siku*.

The intrinsic relationship of these musical practices with Andean cosmogony was a field of study for several researchers, such as Max Baumann (1980; 1996), Henry Stobart (2006) and Thomas Turino (1993). Based on analyses of the performance and musical structures of these expressivities, these researchers understood more about musical, performatic and spiritual interconnections, as well as about the transposition of cosmogonic principles to the musical and choreographic exercise, as is evidenced, for example, in the vertebrality of the *Aymara* and *Quechua* principles of reciprocity (*Ayni*) and complementarity (*Chachawarmi*) within the melodic and performatic organization of *sikuri* practice. The melody created through the *siku* is achieved with the alternated sounds and produced by two complementary instruments, the *ira*¹⁴ (which guides) and the *arka* (which follows and has one less tube than the *ira*), and together they form a pair that corresponds to the unit. In *Aymara*, the *siku* technique is called *jjaktasiña irampí arcampí* which in an approximate translation, would be “to put itself according to the *ira* and the *arka*” (Chacón 1989). Understanding the dialogical interdependence of the technique, after all, the practice always needs two *sikuris* to form the melody, Chacón named it “Andean musical dialogue of the bipolar *siku*”. It is not possible to generalize when it comes to the structures, musical forms and styles of *sikus*, because according to their regional particularities, either by the number of participants, rhythmic accompaniments, or other characteristic forms, the *sikuri* exercise is changing. However, when we look at melodies, there is a tendency in descending lines, usually in unison and sets with at least three sizes of instruments tuned in octaves and fifths guaranteeing the density of the texture. The form of interpretation (*dialogada*) indicates a non-predilection of individuality within the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* musical practices, that is, “no individual instrument should appear more (or escape) from the integrated fabric of the sound of the ensemble” (Turino 1989, 12), guaranteeing its community, medullar character to the Altiplano indigenous social forms. The number of players and the choreography of the play also reveal this community sense: the *sikuris* usually play among several pairs, and hundreds of players can join together, according to the characteristics of each region; and they often do it in a circle, listening and responding among pairs that complement each other, among all. Thus, these characteristics of *sikuri* practice also show the structural strength of reciprocity and complementarity in this duality between *sikuris*, in a constant round dialogue, publicly and communally re-establishing particular ways of relating to music and the world (Podhajcer 2011, 277).

¹⁴ Commonly, the flute called *sikus* has 7 + 7 tubes (*ira*) and 6 + 6 (*arka*), but as explained, there is a huge variation in the number of tubes.

BEYOND LOCAL MUSICKING: SOUTH AMERICAN REGIONAL CONTEXTS

While these musickings continue to be practiced in the Bolivian and Peruvian Altiplano, migratory flows and the advance of technologies, especially in the 20th and 21st centuries, have led to the expansion of the practice of wind instruments beyond this territory. From the 1980's on, groups that practice *flautas del viento* have emerged in some South American cities, such as Lima, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Bogotá and São Paulo. On the one hand, part of the *Aymara* and *Quechua* migrant communities that live in these capitals are reworking their recreational, ritualistic and performative practices, founding groups with family formation, respecting, as far as possible, the musical ties and rituals proper to the Andean agricultural calendar, interpreting, above all, the *sikus*, *tarkas* and *moseños*, maintaining the choreographies and clothing from the Altiplano. On the other hand, non-indigenous students and intellectuals, not necessarily linked to the family practices of the Altiplano, are forming groups of indigenous music that are predominantly dedicated to the practice of *sikus*, forming a “transnational regional movement” (Castelblanco, 2018), which has been referred to as the Sikuri movement. In another sense, through these musical practices, rituals, organizational methods and a set of cosmogonic assumptions intrinsic to *sikuri* music are also approached in order to experience and build forms of alternative societies in large cities (Castelblanco 2018, 487). This *movimiento sikuri* has been potentiated by the edition of magazines, conferences and international events, especially dynamized by metropolitan academic *sikuris* dedicated to various topics that intersect *sikuris* practices, such as the gender perspective (Vega 2012, Pizarro 2017), urbanization, politicization and patrimonialization of the practice, among others.

In Lima, Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile, the internal and external migrations, mainly from regions with a large *Aymara* and *Quechua* presence in their respective countries, are one of the main reasons for an approach of musicians and urban students to the musical practices of Altiplano communities. In Lima, some researchers have developed investigations on the emergence of the movement in the 1970s (Acevedo 2007, Falcon 2013, Sanchez 2007, Turin 1993) and link it to the effervescence of social and political movements of the time (Falcon 2013, 24). Also strongly encouraged by migration from the department of Puno, a southeastern Peruvian region with an *Aymara* indigenous majority, the *Sikuri Limeño* movement usually differentiates players based on regional reference standards, categorizing them as *Sikuris altiplánicos* (*Aymaras* from Puno), regional (non-Indigenous Puneños migrants), and metropolitan (Limeño people or migrants from other areas not necessarily linked to Puneños practices and region). Although initially the *sikuris*

Limeñas groups had this great Puneña influence, Acevedo (2007) points out some transformations in the ways of organization of the groups, by the feminine involvement in the instrumental practices and the greater circulation and interconnection between groups, due to the internet and the new technologies.

In Buenos Aires, since the mid-1980s, indigenous and non-indigenous migrants have been strengthening processes of identity appreciation in which with not only music, but also cosmogonic principles and Andean ritualities are increasingly evoked. Over the years, in this *Porteño* context, several groups have emerged that are not strictly family-based, dynamized between indigenous and non-indigenous, men and women who, with different experiences, have ensured the heterogeneity of musical styles of *sikus*, such as *j'ach sikus de italaques*, *k'hantus*, *sikureadas*, *tuailos* (Bolivia), *sikuri de varios bombos* or *sikuri mayor*, among others (Barragan and Mardones 2012). This *Porteño* movement is also characterized by its participation in political and social manifestations, mainly related to indigenous movements. In this context, Adil Podhajcer (2015, 51) signals the possibility of musicians (migrants or not), through the performance, to live “the Andean dream and imagination” which would generate, in practice, new creative processes that innovate the repertoire, new forms of musical interpretation, new uses of the body and new strategies and demands to ensure the maintenance of this specific practice.

In Santiago de Chile, the emergence of collectives of *sikuris* and *lakitas* was motivated by regional migratory flows active since 1980 and the success of Andean urban music through the *conjuntos andinos*¹⁵, which had Chilean representatives of international reach since 1950 (González 2012, Ibarra 2016, Ríos 2012). Miguel Ibarra (2016) points out some characteristics that preceded the migrations from the north of Chile and that supported with educational proposals, presentations of *Aymara* groups in the capital and the dialogue with urban musicians contributed to the interest in the practices of *sikus* and *lakas*. The author also mentions sound and discursive transformations as a trend among the *Lakitas* groups resulting from the urbanization of the practice and the resignification of its social and cosmological dimensions (2016, 146).

Differently from that experienced and registered in other South American cities, the *Sikuri* movement in Bogotá had few migrant references (Sinti

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¹⁵ *Conjuntos andinos* (Ríos 2012) would be ensembles formed primarily by urban folklorists in some South American countries such as Bolivia, Argentina and Chile, which in the mid-twentieth century were internationally successful, promoted by the recording industry. The instrumental formation is composed of *quena*, *zampoñas*, *charango*, *bombo leguero*, guitar and voices. Their repertoire presents adaptations of some native melodies or new compositions with the predominance of pentatonic scales, descending melodies, predominance of binary metrics and accelerated cadential times (González 2012, Ríos 2012).

2017, Castelblanco 2019). Nirvana Sinti (2017) refers to the “boom of Latin American music or *criolla* music” between 1970 and 1990, the circulation of vinyl records, cassette tapes, television programs, as the major factors for the emergence of Andean ensembles and the formation of the first Sikuri groups. Castelblanco finds in the Bogotan scene some specificities motivated by the lack of “authentic” models, since most of the performers had no relation with the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* family and community practices. In the same sense, Júlio Bonilla (2007, 2013) mentions the difficulty of access to music, written materials, and Altiplanic instruments. In this context, some groups also interpret the *kuvi*, transverse flutes of groups of *chirimía nasa* from the Colombian Cauca region. Sinti (2017, 93) states that the inaccurate way of learning styles and the few pretensions to copy Bolivian and Peruvian *tropas* have favored the non-exclusivity of specific styles of *sikus*, which implies the expansion of new practices to the established *sikuri* music.

WINDS BLOWING IN BRAZILIAN LOWLANDS: SÃO PAULO CONTEXT

Unlike the aforementioned South American cases, São Paulo is not included in this *movimiento sikuri*, although it shares characteristics of some of the contexts mentioned above. The existence of a “*ola latinoamericana*” (Garcia 2012) is one of them, which through discs, radio programs, recording of folkloric repertoire – mainly Argentine and Chilean – artists and intellectuals, Brazilian and exiles, stimulated in the middle of the decade of 1970 the formation of *conjuntos andinos*, which found spaces for performance, with a mainly university audience (Teófilo 2017). This period forged an imaginary of the “sonority of the Andes” in the city that still persists – represented by some groups – but that does not characterize the indigenous practices of *Aymara* and *Quechua* immigrants who are now playing in the city. In this sense, the capital of São Paulo does not currently experience a cultural and musical dynamic that can configure an extension of this *movimiento sikuri*. As we will see below, in broad strokes, the São Paulo context is configured either by its diversity of instruments and interpreted musical styles (and not primarily *siku*), by different altiplanic regional references, or by the tendency towards homogeneity in the formation of groups, commonly constituted between relatives, neighbors and friends, including male players and female dancers, almost all *Aymara* and *Quechua* migrants from different parts of the Bolivian and Peruvian Altiplano.

Currently, there are several active groups in the city, such as: the Conjunto Autóctono Jach’a Sikuri de Italaque – Nuevo Amanecer, the Grupo Autóctono Huaycheños del Corazón, the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya,

the Comunidad Autóctona Vientos del Ande, the Bloque Moseñada Hijos de Luribay, the Conjunto Moseñada Hijos de Murumamani 100x100 Brasil Bolívia, the Juventud Moseñada 5ª Sección Araca, the Juventud Chicheña, the Comunidad Autóctona Coquero and the Conjunto Autóctono Waly Wayras. Others are made up of *Aymara* people from southeastern Peru, such as the Conjunto de Música y Danza Autóctonas Qhantati Ururi de Conima – Filial Brasil and the Grupo de Arte 14 de Septiembre¹⁶. Mostly mentioned by the Andean immigrant communities in São Paulo as indigenous groups, that is, as groups dedicated to the practice of native altiplanic music and dance, in general they comprise a majority of *Aymara* people, immigrants from the territorial axis between the Poopo and Titicaca Lakes, that is to say, of the altiplanic departments of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, such as Oruro, Potosí, La Paz, and to a lesser extent, *Aymara* of Puno, Peru. Among them there are also, to a lesser extent, *Quechua* families and people from these same regions and also from the department of Cochabamba¹⁷. It is worth mentioning that some of these groups also incorporate some Brazilian members, usually sons, daughters, wives and girlfriends of Bolivian *Aymara* players.

Between some groups formed since the mid-nineties, others with a few years of formation, these autochthonous groups share some similarities, but also several differences that differentiate each one. Almost all are formed between families and close friends, with the presence of babies and people in their sixties, maintaining a majority or totality of male players and female dancers. In São Paulo, these groups dedicate themselves to music different autochthonous altiplanic styles, interpreting diverse aerophonic instruments, such as *siku*, *tarka*, *pinquillo*, *moseño*, *quena*, *zampoña*, according to seasonality and repertoires referenced in specific areas of the Bolivian and Peruvian Altiplano. Some of them, such as the Bloque Moseñada Hijos de Luribay, the Conjunto Moseñada Hijos de Murumamani 100x100 Brazil Bolivia and Juventud Moseñada 5th Sección Araca, interpret exclusively *moseñadas* coming from the southeast of the department of La Paz. Others, such as the Vientos del Ande and the Huaycheños del Corazón, rehearse and present different altiplanic repertoires, including *sikuriadas*, *khantus* and *j'acha sikuris de Italaque*. Some meet to rehearse and perform only within the calendar of Andean community festivals, respecting the correspondence of the musical style with each season, for example, in carnivals times, in February and March, almost

16 There are also other informal groups, which are almost strictly family members, who work at Bolivian community feasts, especially on the most active dates of these migrant communities.

17 In addition to these groups with a majority of *Aymara* and *Quechua* members, there are other groups dedicated to the interpretation and dissemination of indigenous highland music, created and maintained by a majority of non-indigenous people, such as the Lakitas Sinchi Warmis (Pizarro 2017).

all groups dedicated to *moseño* and *tarka* play, respectively, *moseñada* and *tarkeada*, as is customary in their reference regions. Few are dedicated to *sikus* and *zampoñas* throughout the year, regardless of the seasonality of the playing of these instruments. Although we consider several links between these groups, it is important to note features that differentiate and particularize them, fundamental in their intercommunity dynamics, in their internal group identity processes and in their altiplanic local restructuring.

Anyway, by bringing instruments, costumes and practices to the capital of São Paulo and by articulating between the altiplanic musical diffusion and the community maintenance in São Paulo, all these groups are asserting themselves in the city as Bolivian and Peruvian people, but also as expressively *Aymaras* and *Quechuas*. Conforming, then, their strongly transnational character, these players and these dancers build forms and expressions of existence in São Paulo.

THE MUSIC OF KOLLASUYO MAYA: ITS PATHS AND NETWORKS THROUGH THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO



Figure 5. Kollasuyo Maya (Mariana Teófilo, digital photography, São Paulo, 2019)

All of these groups are constituted as “communities of practice” (Wenger 1998) that interrelate in constellations of communities, more or less formalized by articulations between some of these groups, as in the case of the Centro Cultural Andino-Amazonico, or beyond them, for example, along with Bolivian folk collectives, such as the Associação Cultural Folclórica Bolívia Brasil (ACFBB). In this sense, most of them tend to circulate

in places already constituted by various sectors of the Andean immigrant communities of São Paulo, such as Praça da Kantuta, Rua Coimbra and Largo do Rosário, in Bairro da Penha. Among them, currently, the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya¹⁸ is the only group that in a more systematic way exercises articulations with other cultural circuits and builds networks of contact and synergy with non-native people, neither Bolivians, Peruvians or even Andean.

On June 21, 2014, the group was founded, asserting itself now as a way of “the struggle for cultural resistance of the *pueblos originarios* of Bolivia in São Paulo, Brazil¹⁹, and it was born as a need to encourage, link, transform and disseminate in different languages the cultural wealth of the original peoples to the immigrant youth in São Paulo and the country Brazil”. This intentionality put into speech and activated in the group’s practices leads to circulation in other spaces and the creation of new networks and partnerships in the production of Altiplanic and Bolivian immigrant locations in the city.

Since 2014, the members of Kollasuyo Maya have been creating a very wide and intentionally representative and musical repertoire of various regions of Bolivia, from the highlands departments, from La Paz and Potosí, to the lower altitude departments, from Pando to Santa Cruz. Without necessarily following the seasonality of each music and ritual performed, the group prioritizes building an eclectic representation of their country of origin. According to César Chui, the group’s current musical director, the repertoire is designed to represent the three climates of Bolivia, the cold climate, the climate of the valleys and the hot climate. Each of them would be represented by indigenous genres of the region: in the cold climate, the corresponding genres are from the departments of Oruro, La Paz and Potosí, represented by *Aymara* and *Quechua* songs such as *pinquillada*, *khantus (sikus)* and *pifanada*. In the climate of the valleys, the genres are from the departments of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca and Tarija, and the warm climate would be portrayed by the musical genres of the departments of Santa Cruz, Pando and Beni. Through its musical performance, Kollasuyo Maya intends to travel all over Bolivia, uniting the east with the west of Bolivia, the *collas* with *cambas*, the *Aymaras* with the *Guaranis*. Even so, since they still do not have the instruments characteristic of other regions, the group

18 According to César Chui, Kollasuyo Maya could be translated as “healing land”, as something white, related to healing and medicine (*kolla*), linked to one (*maya*) territory (*suyo*). Complementing this translation, it can be added that *Kollasuyo* refers to one of the four territories of *Tawantinsuyu*, the extensive Inca territory, corresponding to the Andean zone between the city of Cuzco and northern Argentina, crossing the current Peruvian southeast, Bolivian west, and part of Argentina.

19 Excerpt taken from the group’s release, made available to the authors and used to publicize the group.


currently focuses on the interpretation of songs from cold climates, from altiplanic contexts. Faced with this difficulty in accessing the instruments, they improvise with their hands, for example, styles played with *pinquillos* are adapted to the available flutes. It is worth remembering that the group currently consists of about seven *Aymara* and *Quechua* people, migrants from the Bolivian highland's departments. Therefore, as indigenous Andean people, they take for themselves the possibility of musicizing, performing, constituting and representing all Bolivian plurinationality²⁰ and simultaneously expanding sonically and synesthetically the affective and sensitive creation of Altiplanic locations throughout the city. Thus, they assume, at least discursively, a double representative mission, a plurinational Bolivian and an autochthonous altiplanic one.

The group has its own compositions, including lyrics sung about the gratitude felt by *Aymara* and *Quechua* peoples and cosmogonies, as well as by Bolivians and Brazilians in general. They rehearse with some regularity, usually at the home of one of the members. The repertoire is learned through oral transmission, through listening, mimesis and sound memory, without the support of any audiovisual record or written transcription of the melodies. César comments that his grandparents used to say “listen to the wind and play the flute”. In rehearsals, the group tries to maintain this practice: they sometimes listen to the same melody and start playing repeatedly until the melody arrives. The preservation of these altiplanic pedagogical practices asserts itself as a strong affective foundation of the group, as a nostalgic way of maintaining internal fraternal and musical relationships. The preservation of a certain performance sequence in their public performances, usually initiated by a ritual of thanks and permission to *Pachamama*²¹, as illustrated in the video made by the group²², also underlines both the continuation of affective and nostalgic meanings about common practices experienced by them in Altiplano territory, in family and community contexts, with the explicit intention of complementing and enhancing music and dance interpreted with ritual practices, in order to more fully represent the Altiplanic indigenous expressivities.

20 Corresponding to historical demands from Bolivian political, cultural and ethnic fronts, Bolivia is formally named as a Plurinational State by the 2009 Constitution, in consideration of the various indigenous nations that integrated the Bolivian Republican Nation-State project and the ethnic-cultural diversity of the territory. From the governmental public discourse, the term plurinationality institutes, therefore, a strong rhetorical apparatus for the expansion and rearticulation of the notion of Nation. This discursive apparatus has been put into practice by state action and also by the performance of artistic, political and cultural groups.

21 *Pachamama* corresponds to a cosmogonic entity related to the earthly world in its feminine form, related to fertility, motherhood and renewal.

22 The mentioned video can be seen through the link: <https://youtu.be/-j8RzOV9R-s> (Last accessed: 10.11.2020)



Taking advantage of some personal and professional connections of a few members already involved in theatrical, peripheral and political circuits in São Paulo, Kollasuyo Maya has been experimenting with acting in schools and universities, theaters and cultural centers, and in other spaces that are not usually frequented. by Andean migrant communities. In this way, the group is re-articulating the dimensions and densities of the Andean migrant localities that are being built in the city, expanding the construction of meanings of the altiplanic and Bolivian autochthon beyond those constituted in conventional Andean migrant locations. In this sense, we will briefly list two performances of this set, episodes that illustrate the involvement in the constitution of new migrant locations and in the consolidation of networks between different collectives of São Paulo.

In mid-February 2017, at Praça Coronel Fernando Prestes, also known as Praça da Amizade, at one of the entrances to Bom Retiro, symbolically between a state school and the Municipal Archives, between a Catholic church and the State Public Security Secretariat, the third Território Artístico Imigrante – TAÍ, was held, through the collective Visa Permanente – Acervo Vivo das Culturas Imigrantes de São Paulo (www.vistopermanente.com). Supported by the municipal public cultural fund Redes e Ruas and by the Coordination of Policies for Immigrants, of the Municipal Secretariat for Human Rights and Citizenship of the City of São Paulo, the Visto Permanente continued its proposal to transpose the virtuality of its collection to the face-to-face meeting between artists, cultural agents and immigrant artistic groups active in São Paulo from a perspective of immigrant artistic appropriation of the public space and confirmation of the creative and constructive immigrant presence in the city. Among Latin American, African and Arab immigrant artists, such as the Palestinian singer Oula Al-Saghir, the Guinean dancer Boubacar Sidibé and the Cuban band Batanga & Cia, Kollasuyo Maya performed in the promotional materials as “Bolivians”.

In their work, they introduced themselves as “Bolivian Aymara and Quechua Indigenous people” who would perform songs and dances from Bolivia. They followed their usual repertoire, started by presenting a musicalized ritual of offering coca leaves to Pachamama, playing choquelas, followed by “songs of prayer and thanksgiving”, in the words of César Chui, j’acha sikus, pifanada, pinquillada, tarqueada, italague, khantus, sikuris, quenas, mediated by the theatrical performance of one of its members, Juan Cusicanqui, as kusillo. In a second part of the performance, less autochthonous and more mixed Bolivian, Kollasuyo Maya presented a song and dance of each style, among morenada, cueca, cullaguada, tinku and caporal. The entire performed repertoire referred mainly to musical and cultural practices, especially in the

altiplanic department of La Paz and, to a lesser extent, Oruro and Potosí, with some of these styles also being shared, with some differences, with Aymara communities in the Peruvian Altiplano and northern Chilean and with broader popular sectors, as in the central and eastern Bolivian region, in the case of caporal, and northern Chilean and Argentine, in the case of cueca. On the other hand, among artists and groups identified by republican nationalities, Kollasuyo Maya reaffirms, through discourse, music and dance, its Bolivian plurinational identity belonging, opening up the expressive existence of indigenous immigrant Bolivianities. Thus, presenting itself in a neighborhood historically associated with São Paulo immigrant diversity, far beyond the Andean one, supported by a network of immigrant artists and formally legitimized by a municipal public power (at the time closest to the São Paulo migrant political movement), the group expressed itself through his Andean and Bolivian musicians, expanding local affective senses, bringing us, in this transnational exercise, the Bolivian Altiplano from La Paz to São Paulo, making itself present in its ethnic particularities and in its plurinational breadth. However, it is not only in migrating and artistic articulations that Kollasuyo Maya undertakes the expansion of its networks and, with them, of the Bolivian Altiplano through São Paulo. Over time, its members have also been linked to other political, identity and musical connections around the city.



Figure 6. Kollasuyo Maya in the Andean-Amazonian new year (Mariana Teófilo, digital frame, São Paulo, 2019)



Figure 7. General view of the Andean-Amazonian new year (Mariana Teófilo, digital photography, São Paulo 2019)

In São Paulo, since 2014, on every June 21, the Andean-Amazonian New Year²³ is celebrated. The event marks the winter solstice, a moment when the sun reaches its highest point in the sky – in angular relation to the equator line – which represents for some South American indigenous societies, the beginning of a new cycle and renewal. The moment of the sun's arrival is preceded by the longest night of the year, which in the celebration of the *Aymara* and *Quechua* communities in São Paulo, is a meeting place, filled with sounds and colors that refer to the Altiplano. In its first years, the act was organized by the conjunto autóctone Jacha Sikus de Italaque – Nuevo Amanecer, with the support of the Andean immigrant community. In 2019, to commemorate the year 5527²⁴, there was a collective organization, with the creation of the Centro Cultural Andino-Amazônico, formed by five groups: Conjunto Jacha Sikuris de Italaque Nuevo Amanecer, Grupo Autóctono Huaycheños de Corazón, Lakitas Sinchi Warmis, Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya and Conjunto Autóctono Waly Wayras. Within the *Aymara* and *Quechua* agricultural festive calendar, the festival took place during the *Awti Pacha*, so what you could hear and see in the festivity, at dawn, were the different styles of the sound sets of braided flutes (*sikus* and *lakas*)

²³ In 2019 the event was called *Ano Novo Andino amazonico*. It's celebrated in other cities and countries, with their particularities, usually linked to the arrival of the winter solstice. On June 17, 2009, during Evo Morales' government, by Supreme Decree 173, June 21 was made official as a national holiday of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

²⁴ The event took place at the CMTC Club in the north zone of the city. Video of moments of the event: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1gt2miiVcLo&t=2s> (Last access: 20.10.2020).

accompanied by bass drums, *cajas* and the *polleras* and *ponchos* of those who danced and played. The program was scheduled to begin at 00:00 a.m. until 11:00 a.m. and included: reception of the participants, musical presentations by the organizing groups and guests; ecumenical meeting; preparation of the offerings and ritual of the arrival of the sun, made by the *yatiris*²⁵; word of the invited institutional authorities; *aphtapi*²⁶; and continuation of the celebration. In addition to the indigenous groups present, the event was attended by authorities from the Peruvian, Ecuadorian, and Bolivian consulates, the Afro-Bolivian Saya group, the Ay Vida – Fred Guzman group, media representatives who televised the event, and immigrant and Brazilian audience. The singularity of the relations constituted in this event around Kollasuyo Maya is interesting to be commented, because at the same time that they make music, they concretize the relations established from personal trajectories and interests of the group.

Starting with the organization of the event, the creation of the Centro Cultural Andino-Amazonico, with the gathering of indigenous groups that would establish social bonds that go beyond these groups, as for example, with the presence of the Lakitas Sinchi Warmis, who not only mark the female presence in the realization of a festivity tending to be masculinized in their organizational and musical practices, but also place the presence of non-indigenous, neither Andean people, although mostly immigrants. This collective organization also symbolizes the continuity of networks built daily in the community, in which the players cooperate (*Ayni*) in the realization of events linked to seasonality and altiplano cosmogonies, lend instruments and take turns in more than one group when playing, strengthening the bonds that are built during the music.

Another interesting point that attracted attention on this day was an excerpt from César Chui's opening speech. He talked about the valorization of indigenous cultures – “We are indigenous, we are native people, we have culture, we know medicine, we know how to organize ourselves and that's why we are here” – and at the same time, the event was proposed to be an ecumenical act, with representatives of Catholic, African, Islamic and indigenous Kariri Xocó. The presence of *yatiris* who came from Bolivia for the event triggered transnational ties. At the time of the ritual, the presence of other religious authorities symbolized not only the interest in building intercultural relations, but also, in São Paulo's context, the demands of valorization of their indigenous knowledge in equivalence with others, resuming the need

²⁵ *Yatiris* are shamans, healers and wise among the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* societies.

²⁶ *Aphtapi* is a time of sharing the food and community coexistence, very common to the *aymara* and *quechua* societies.

for affirmation within a daily life in which their presences are commonly invisible.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Looking at the participation of the Kollasuyo Maya group in these events interests us to see how the transnational and local networks that the group mobilizes in the construction of its own trajectory interconnect and produce translocalities, while ensuring the maintenance of links and practices. In the face of new networks activated by themselves or articulated by others, new stages and new spectators emerge, with whom they dialogue and negotiate the music of this Bolivian and São Paulo Altiplano. Through choices of musical and performatic repertoire, among a majority of Altiplanic musical references and ritual *Aymara* and *Quechua* reenactment, Kollasuyo Maya links identity and affective belongings of their own, both by *Aymara* and *Quechua* autochthonies and by plurinational bolivianity. Thus, while activating and transforming indigenous identities, they also reestablish relations with the Andean immigrant communities, strengthen ties with Brazilian partners, and legitimize their discourses before government representatives and indigenous community references. In other words, the Kollasuyo Maya extends not only altiplano locations but also reaffirms the Altiplanic indigenous as Bolivian and as an immigrant in São Paulo. All this, by performing and musicking the Altiplano in the city, presenting it through the air and wind blowing.

TRANSLATION
TECHNICAL
REVIEW:


Miguel Schneider

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