

A group of people, likely from the Andes, are shown in traditional attire. They are wearing blue tunics with red and white stripes and white stars. They are also wearing elaborate headdresses made of blue, red, and yellow fabric, decorated with flowers and other items. The people are playing wooden whistles. The background is blurred, showing more people in similar attire.

Edgardo Civallero

Traditional whistles of the Andes

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Introduction

Andean whistles (421.111.21 in the Hornbostel-Sachs classification) are ductless end-blown flutes: wind instruments in which a ribbon-shaped stream of air produced by the player strikes the edge of the opening at the upper end of a tube, setting the air enclosed within the instrument in motion. They are also single flutes (that is, simple rather than multiple), stopped (the lower, or distal, end of the flute is closed), and without finger holes.

In the Andes, this type of whistle (single end-blown flutes) is associated with panpipes (multiple end-blown flutes). The two types of instrument share structural and performance principles, as well as cultural and historical

features. In the southern Andes in particular, whistles were directly linked to the celebrated *antaras*.

Part 1. The precursors

The Southern Andean *antara*

The *antara*, a Quechua term, is a single-row Andean pan-pipe. Its pre-Hispanic form, extensively documented by archaeological artifacts found across much of the mountain range, was made from a block of stone, ceramic, or wood into which a variable number of ducts of different lengths were bored, generally arranged in descending order (see Pérez de Arce, 2000). These ducts belonged to the category known as "complex tubes" (Haeberli, 1979): a combination of two cylinders of different diameters that produced a dense, highly unstable sound rich in harmonics (*sonido rajado*; see Pérez de Arce, 2002; Gérard, 2013). Reed *antaras* also existed, with simple tubes of different diameters and lengths grouped in descending order. This is the only variety that has sur-

vived to the present day, and it continues to be used primarily in the central highlands of Peru.

According to Pérez de Arce (1993), the *antara* was one of the most significant instruments in the musical tradition of the central Andes. Magnificent examples have been found among the Paracas (sixth century BCE–second century CE), Nasca, and Moche cultures (first–seventh centuries CE). It was also used in the Lake Titicaca basin by the Tiwanaku culture (first–twelfth centuries CE). As Tiwanaku expanded into the southern Andes (seventh–twelfth centuries CE), the instrument appears to have spread throughout the rest of what is now Bolivia. Cavour (1994) notes archaeological remains of stone and ceramic *antaras* among the Wijsisa, Calamuchita, Mojo Kollas, and Chicha cultures; Pérez de Arce (1995) and Gérard (2013) add the Cochabamba, Yura, and Oruro cultures to this list.

From Bolivia, the instrument spread into northwestern Argentina, including among the La Paya and Santa María cultures, and into what is now northern Chile, where it

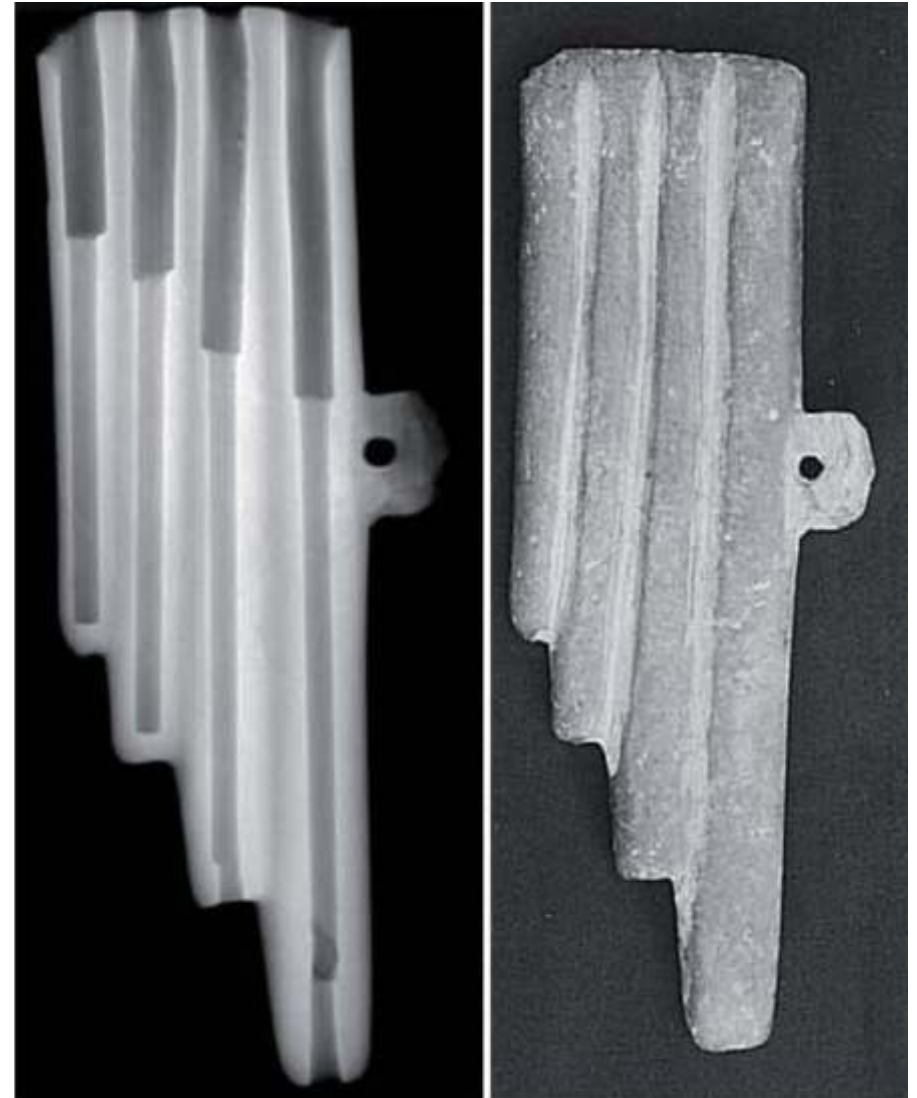


Image 1.
Antara Yura.
[Photo: Gérard, 2013].

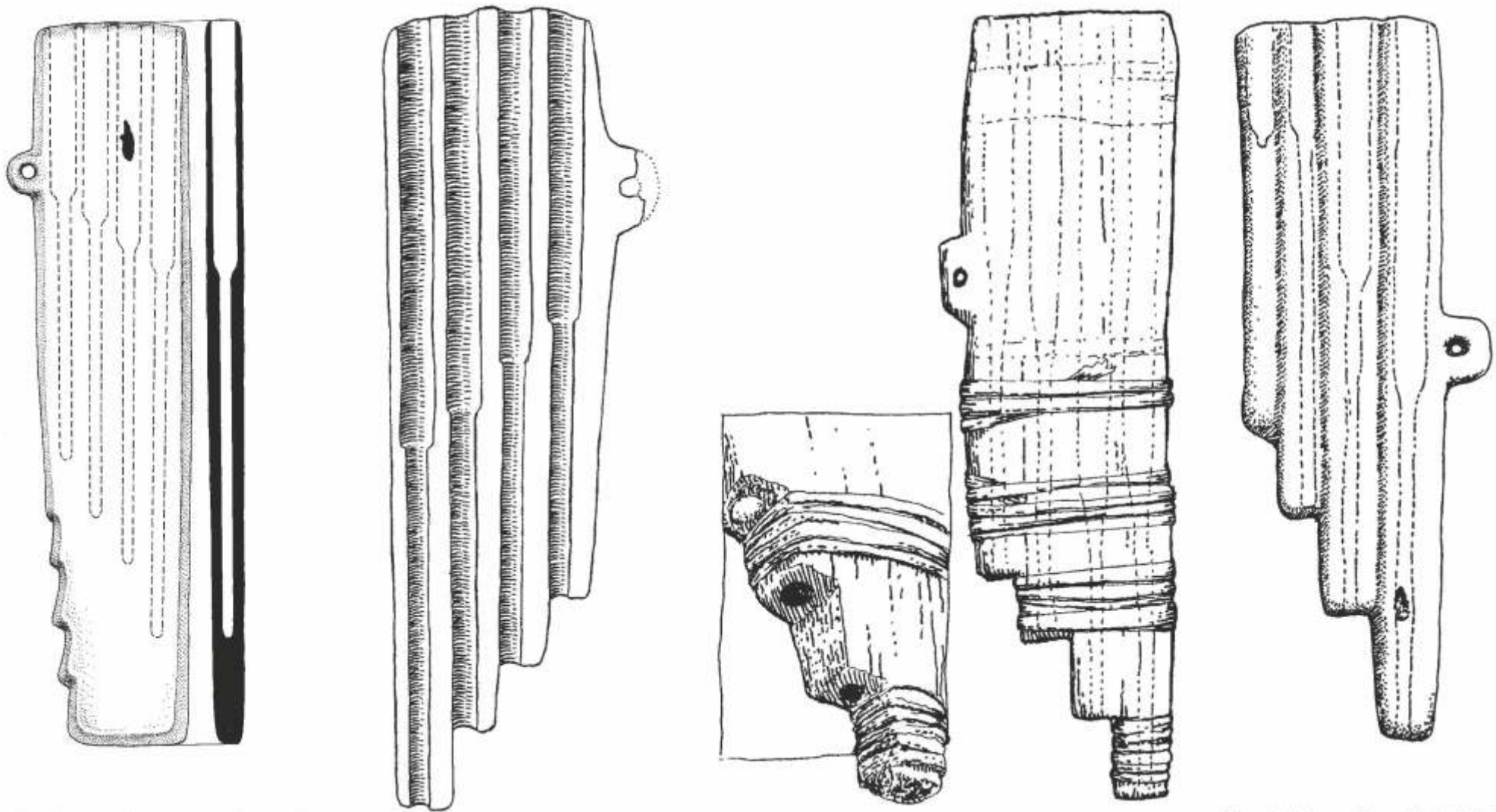


Image 2.
Antaras Aconcagua, Diaguita, San Pedro and Yura.
[Illustration: Pérez de Arce, 2002].

was adopted by the San Pedro de Atacama culture (Antofagasta Region, Coyo phase, seventh–ninth centuries CE). From there, it continued southward and became part of the Las Ánimas and Copiapó cultures (Copiapó and Huasco valleys, Atacama Region, tenth–fourteenth centuries), the Diaguita culture (Elqui, Limarí, Choapa, and Illapel valleys, Coquimbo Region, sixth–fourteenth centuries), and the Aconcagua culture (Aconcagua, Mapocho, and Maipo valleys, Valparaíso Region, ninth–sixteenth centuries).

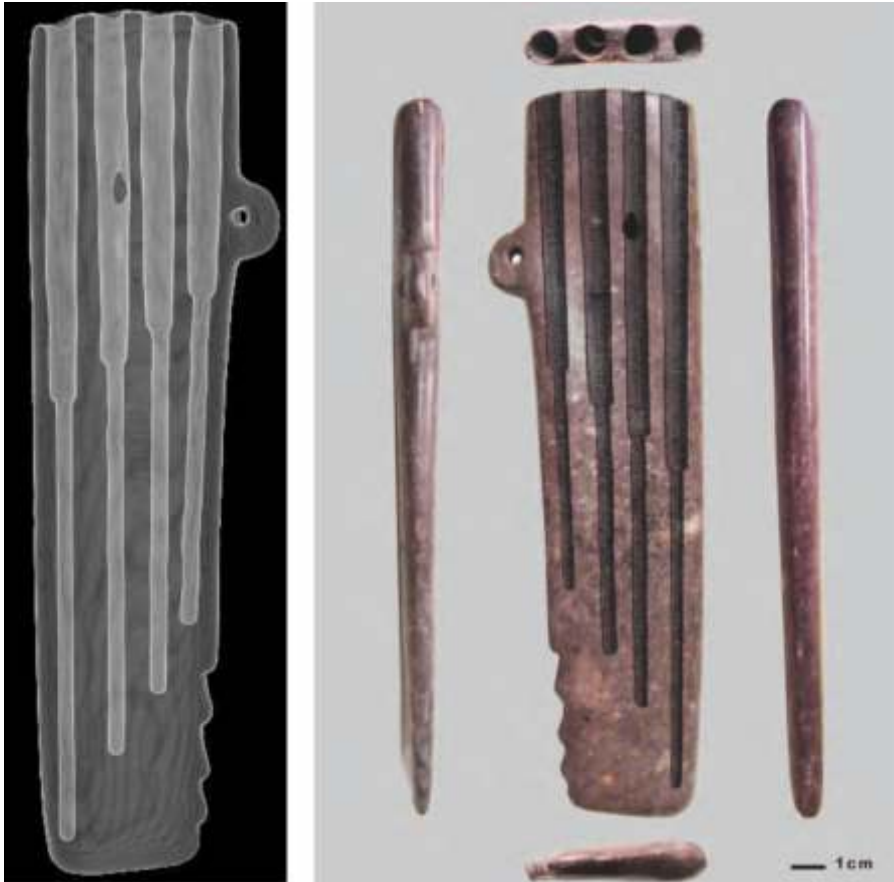
The *antara* made in the territory of the San Pedro culture, from the oases of the Loa River to the southern edge of the Atacama Desert in Chile's Norte Grande, was an adaptation of the classic Nasca complex-tube ceramic instrument. In northern Chile, it was made of stone, in colors ranging from black to greenish white, or of wood. Its makers reduced the number of pipes or ducts to four. They also gave the flutes a rather rounded silhouette, removed the earlier stepped contours, probably an imitation of reed pipes, and added a side handle, a feature absent from Peruvian and Bolivian instruments



Image 3.

Antara Aconcagua.

[Photo: Fabre, De la Cuadra & Pérez de Arce, 2012].



Images 4 and 5.
Antaras Aconcagua.
 [Photos: Pérez de Arce, 2014b].

(Fernández, 1993). Archaeological sites in the area have yielded not only instruments but also representations of

their players, both on vessels and on the wooden tablets used for the ritual inhalation of narcotics. In fact, *antaras* in northern Chile are believed to have been associated with the consumption of *cebil*.

Across the border, in present-day Argentina, one example of this type of flute is the wooden specimen found at the Río Doncellas archaeological site (Cochinoca, Jujuy Province).

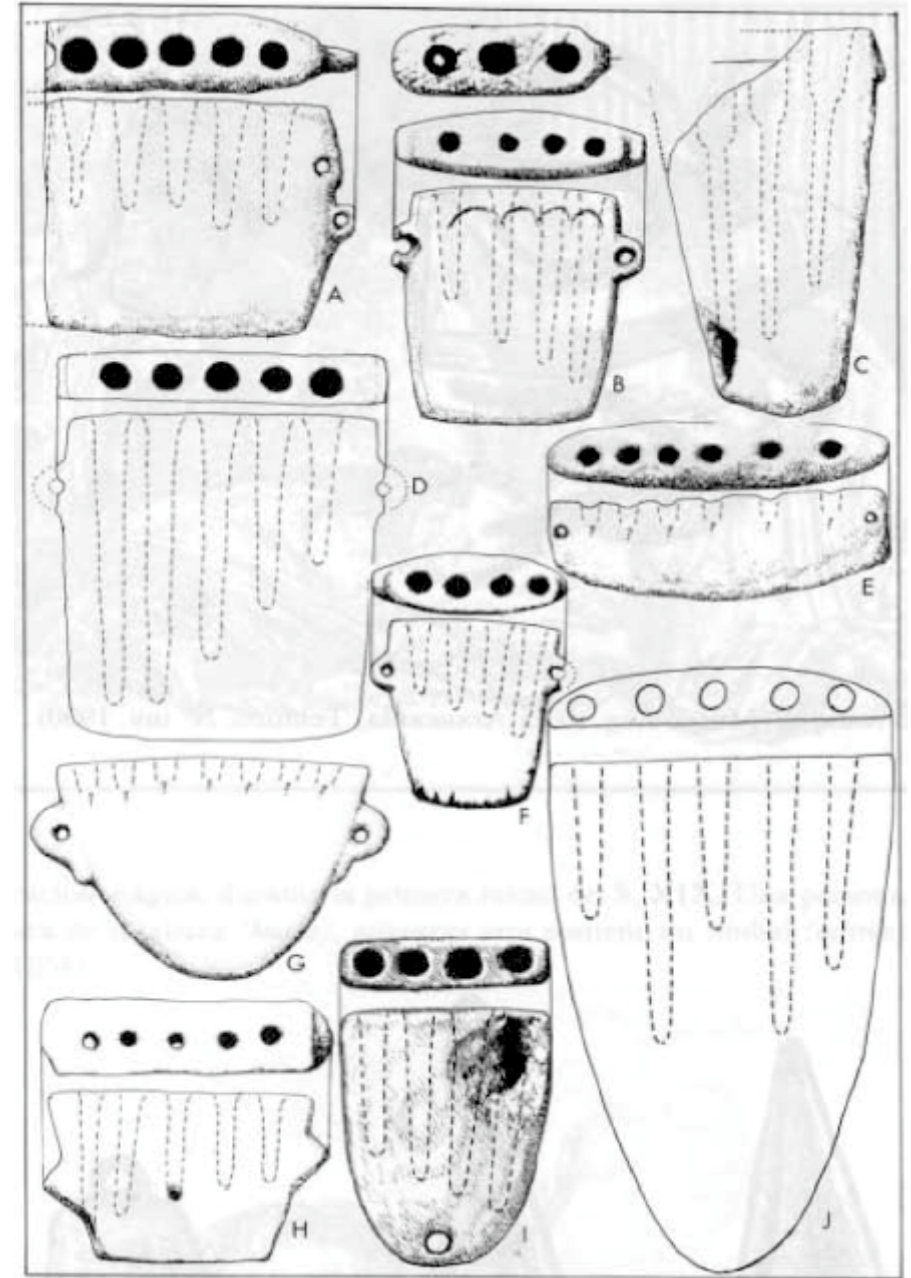
Farther south in Chile, both Diaguita and Aconcagua makers achieved a remarkable level of craftsmanship in the production of stone *antaras* (Pérez de Arce, 2012; Fabre and De la Cuadra, 2012). These aerophones have the same structure preserved today in certain wooden end-blown flutes, such as those used in the *bailes chinos*.

Diaguita *antaras* from Chile's Norte Chico come in various sizes and forms and display highly diverse decoration. Although their construction technique was less sophisticated than that achieved by artisans of the neighboring Aconcagua culture, the sound they pro-

duced was excellent. The ducts were open at the distal end and closed with small wooden plugs that allowed the length of the air column to be adjusted until the desired sound was obtained. These features can be seen in specimens found at Ovalle and La Serena, and in an instrument found in the hands of a child in a burial at Carrascal (Mercado, 2005).

Aconcagua flutes, in turn, fall into two groups. The first is a fine, delicate "classic" *antara* made of combarbalita, a mottled red stone found at Illapel (see Fabre, De la Cuadra, and Pérez de Arce, 2012). It has four complex tubes, closed at their distal ends and arranged from longest to shortest. These instruments have slender, fully rounded silhouettes, a small ribbed step along the lower edge, two handles, and higher-

Image 6.
Archaeological Chilean stone *antaras*.
[Illustration: Pérez de Arce, 1986].



pitched scales than those of the Norte Grande. This group would include the fragments of twenty-four instruments found at Panquehue and the twenty-nine complete *antaras* cited by Pérez de Arce (2014a). The second type is an *antara* with Mapuche influences. It has a rougher, heavier structure and shows less delicacy of workmanship than the preceding examples. Neither type is decorated.

In present-day Mapuche territory in southern Chile, the use of *antaras* and end-blown flutes began with the early Pitrén culture (Los Lagos Region, sixth century), which later blended with the El Vergel culture around the eleventh century. Made of green stone, Pitrén instruments produced very high-pitched, unstable sounds. Their use in the area continued among the Mapuche until the seventeenth century. According to chroniclers, the Mapuche called the single-tube instruments *pivilcahue* and the multiple-tube instruments *pitucahue*. The former, which were more numerous, had a single tube and a greater variety of external forms. The latter had between two and nine ducts, bored in a row and arranged in dif-

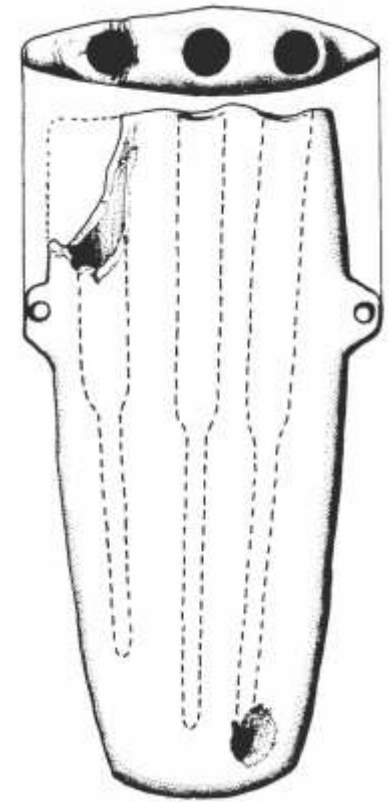


Image 7.
Pre-Mapuche *antara*.
[Illustration: Pérez de Arce, 2002].

ferent patterns of order and length. Each of the 144 known specimens has a different pattern.

Pérez de Arce (1986) mentions an archaeological variant of the *pitucahue* with a low, broad rectangular silhouette and two to seven short, conical ducts arranged in no apparent order. He suggests that it was probably a local

invention that predated contact with the Aconcagua culture and its slender *antaras*.

From the seventeenth century onward, and certainly by the nineteenth century, only wooden instruments were used: the single-tube *pifilka* (see below) and the multiple-tube *piloilo*.

The *piloilo*, or *pitucahue*, is made from a block of wood or clay that may take different shapes and sizes and into which several ducts, generally between five and seven, are bored, usually in descending order of length. Febrés (1765) describes the *pitucahue* as "a small board with many holes, blown during their drinking gatherings like a castrator's whistle." Valdivia (1887), for his part, defines it as a "whistle with which they whistle." Amberga (1921) writes:

Some elderly Araucanians were able to explain to me how this flute was played.

I played it pitch by pitch to form a melody, but they found this ridiculous. "That is not how it is played,"

they told me.

They began to show me how to play it, moving it rapidly up and down.

But they themselves admitted that the performer who used to play it in earlier times must have had lungs superior to those of modern players to sustain this manner of playing.

Its present-day use is residual, both in Chile and among the Mapuche of neighboring Argentina. Pérez Bugallo (1996) notes that the *piloilo* has been documented only sporadically and that, at least in Argentina, there are no ethnographic sound recordings documenting either its sound or its playing technique.

Archaeological end-blown flutes

In addition to making complex stone panpipes, the pre-Columbian cultures of the southern Andes made end-blown flutes with one or two ducts, following almost the same structural pattern and using the same material as the *antaras*. Gérard (2013) documents similar ceramic aerophones in the Yura culture (Potosí Department, Bolivia), while Pérez de Arce (1986) mentions stone aerophones with two side handles and a "complex tube" among the Diaguita and Aconcagua cultures.

Diaguita flutes show greater morphological diversity than Aconcagua flutes. Specimens have been found in a wide range of sizes, with lengths between 40 and 200 mm. The tube could be open or closed at the distal end. The first type disappears from the record in the sixteenth



Image 8.
Antara Yura.
[Photo: Gérard, 2013].

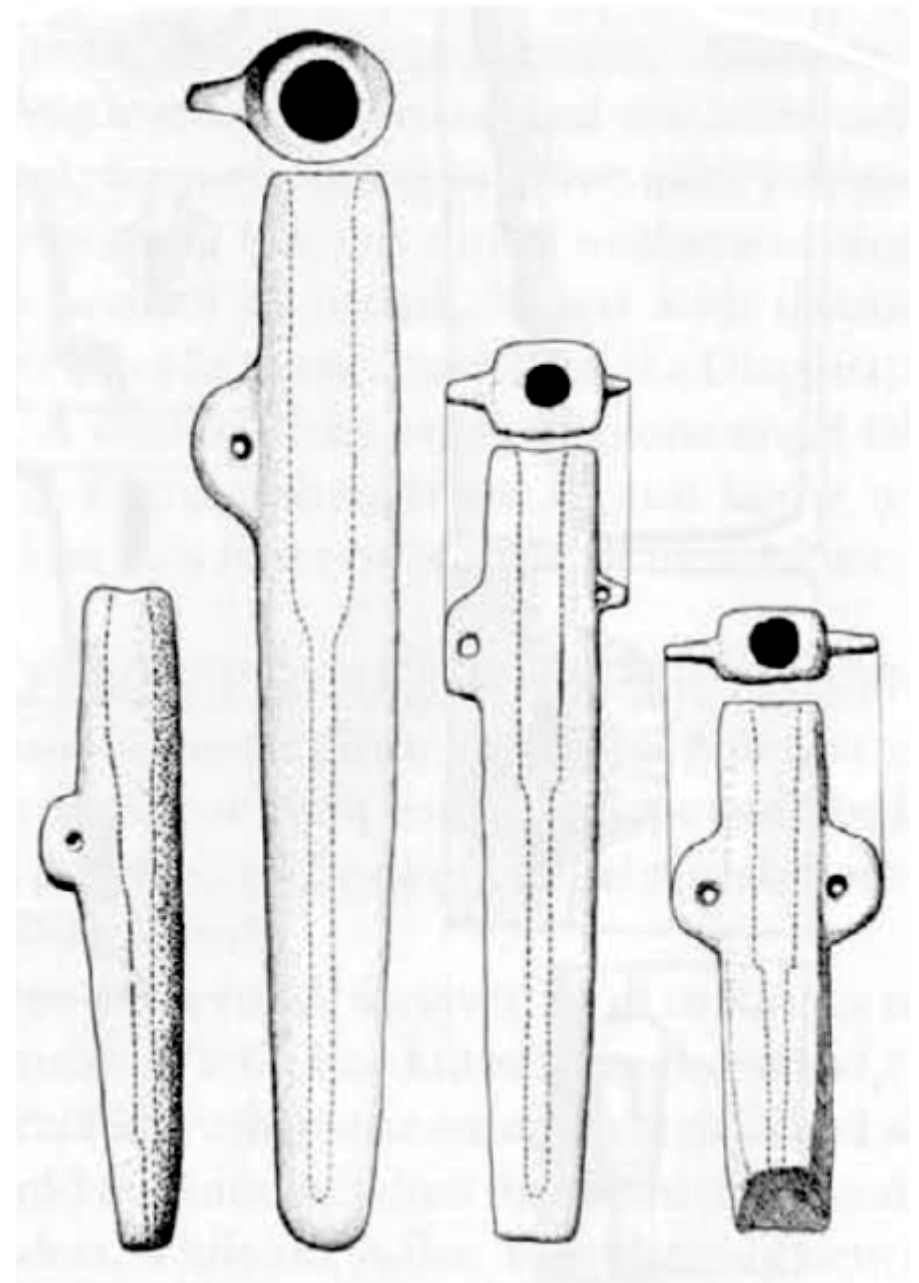


Image 9.
Stone flutes Diaguita, Aconcagua and Mapuche.
[Illustration: Gérard, 2013].

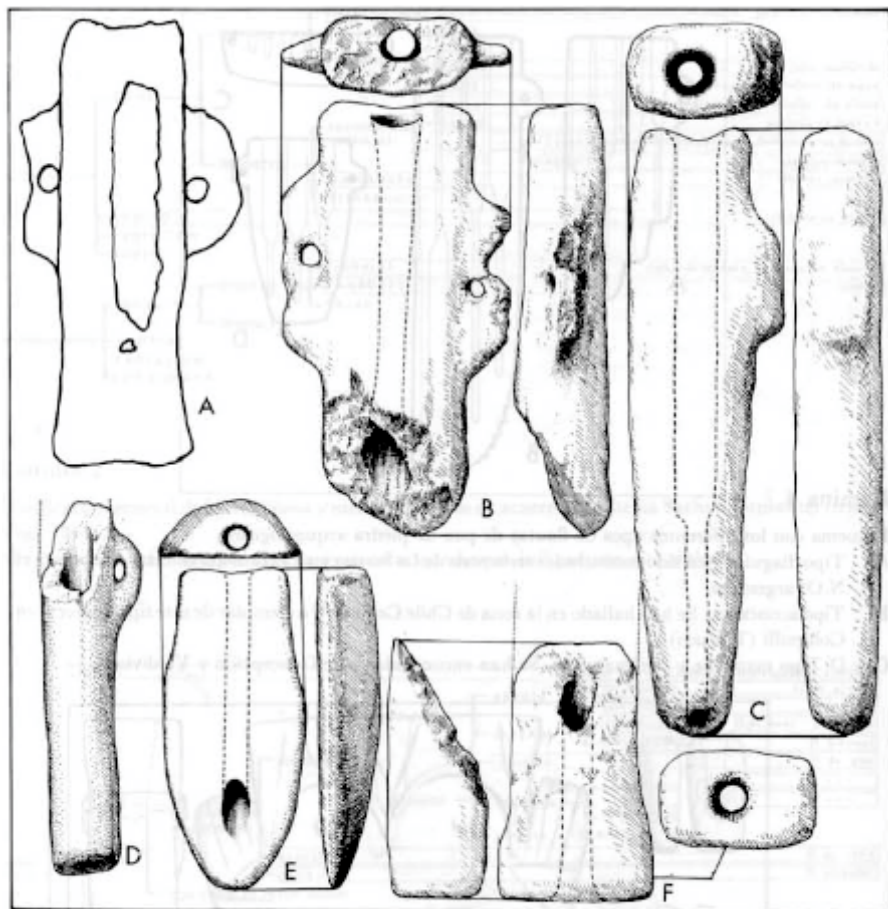


Lámina 6.

Flautas de piedra con extremo inferior abierto:

- A. Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago 5012 (1586); actualmente se halla en el Museum of American Indian, New York. Basado en Philippi 1903: 15, lám. VI.
- B. Museo Nac. de Hist. Natural, Stgo. 5013 (1587); Philippi 1903:15 lám. VI.
- C. Encontrado en el río Perquilauquén, Concepción. Col. particular.
- D. Museo Nac. de Hist. Natural, Stgo. 11.537.
- E. Col. Universidad de Concepción G II 4 (41) CAP P 4.
- F. Museo Regional de la Araucanía, Temuco 350.

Todos los ejemplares basados en fotos del autor excepto A. Para un mayor detalle de estos objetos ver "Flautas arqueológicas del área extremo sur andino", en Boletín N° 2 del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino (en prensa).

century, while the second appears to have survived until the nineteenth century, when stone flutes seem to have been replaced by wooden instruments.

There are also reports, although they have so far received very little study, of angled stone flutes, a type of archaeological aerophone structurally similar to pre-Hispanic pipes. Finally, early European chroniclers mention the use of *tutucas* in what is now central Chile: end-blown flutes made from a piece of bone, sometimes human, about 70 mm long, with the distal end closed, the proximal end open, and no finger holes (Pérez de Arce, 1995, 2014b).

Image 10.

Archaeological Chilean stone flutes.
[Illustration: Pérez de Arce, 1986].

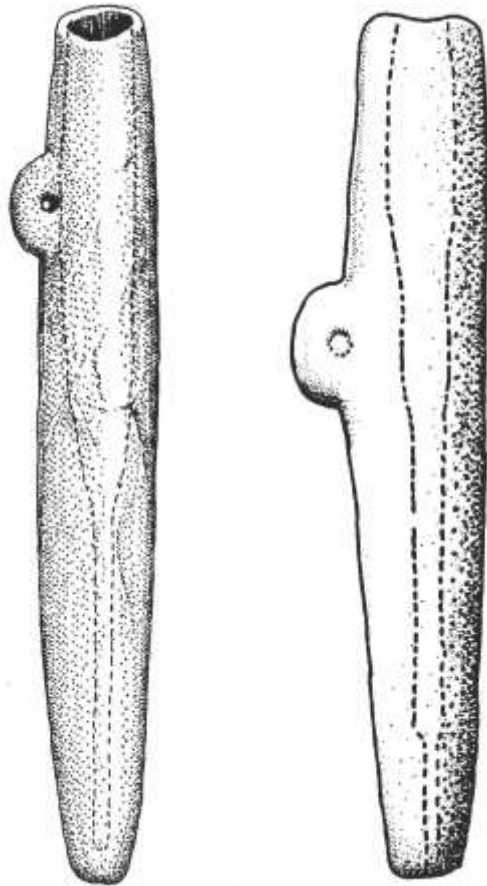


Image 11.
Stone flutes Aconcagua and Diaguita.
[Illustration: Pérez de Arce, 2002].

Part 2. Present-day whistles

The flutes of the *bailes chinos*

A number of end-blown flutes are still used in Chile's Norte Chico (Coquimbo Region) and central zone (Valparaíso Region). They retain many of the acoustic characteristics of their pre-Hispanic predecessors, particularly complex tubes and *sonido rajado*. These are the flutes of the celebrated *bailes chinos* and related ensembles (Mercado and Rondón, 2003).

The *bailes chinos*, also known as *hermanaciones* or *compañías*, are ensembles of musician-dancers who perform at ritual festivals (Pérez de Arce, 1995). Traditionally male and community-based, these groups play some twenty flutes of various sizes, a pair of small drums, and a bass drum.



In central Chile, the flutes are made from blocks of wood between 20 and 50 cm long and about 6 cm in diameter. Using two drill bits of different thicknesses, makers bore a longitudinal duct through the piece from end to end. The result is a complex tube with two sections of equal length and different diameters. A mouthpiece with a rim or bevel is carved into the outer surface of the proximal end, and a wooden plug is inserted at the distal end to help adjust the sound. The sound can also be adjusted by varying the internal diameters or cutting the mouthpiece deeper. The exterior is carved into a characteristic shape, usually with a pair of trapezoidal handles. In the Norte Chico, by contrast, the flutes are made from two pieces of reed or hemlock stalk of different diameters. These are joined to form a complex tube capable of producing the desired sound and then encased in two pieces of carved softwood. In both regions, all the instruments

in an ensemble have the same shape but differ in size and tuning.

These flutes produce a highly distorted, dense, imprecise, vibrant sound rich in harmonics, known as *sonido rajado*, literally "split sound." To bring out all the upper harmonics while retaining the low notes, the player must blow very forcefully in short bursts lasting one second or less. Because of their distinctive internal configuration, and because no two flutes are identical, each instrument has a different timbre, which also depends on the player.

Almost all the flutes produce some degree of *ganseo* or *gorgoreo*, a rapid vibrato that changes the timbre and intensity and is highly valued by players. In the flutes known as *lloronas* or *catarras*, the desired effect is *catarreo*, a sound with an enormous amount of vibrato that is preferred by the *chinos*. Blowing without sufficient force produces what they call *sonido de botella* ("bottle sound"), consisting of high harmonics. It is regarded as a false sound except when used as an orna-

Image 12 (prev. page).

Baile chino of Lourdes of Cay Cay, Valparaíso.

[Photo: SIGPA].



ment, in which case it is called *bombeo*. Poor blowing is known as *pitear*, and the resulting sound is not used musically.

The sound quality of the flutes can be altered by the slightest scratch or trace of dirt inside them, so the instruments are handled with great care. Before playing, performers generally pour a little water into the bore to smooth it and obtain a better sound. Good instruments, especially *catarras*, are rare and highly prized.

In a *baile chino*, the flutes are arranged by size in two parallel rows. The largest instruments are placed at the front and played by the most experienced musicians, the *punteros*, while the smaller ones are played by children and beginners, the *coleros*. Each row plays in unison, producing an extremely dense, dissonant chord to which the other row responds. The resulting dialogue may con-

tinue for hours. There is no melody, only two immense masses of timbre alternating with one another.

The percussionists stand in the center, between the two rows of flute players, and mark the beat. At the very front stands the lead *tamborero*, who directs the dance and sets the rhythm. Behind him come the apprentice *tamborero* and then the *bombero*.

The small drums are membranophones made from a can or a piece of curved wood. Their heads, sealskin on the coast and donkey or cowhide inland, are secured with leather lacing and struck with drumsticks. The bass drum is made from an oil barrel and fitted with donkey-hide heads, considered the best because they are the most durable. It sometimes has wires stretched across its interior to give the sound an additional vibration.

Both the flutes and the dancers' costumes are brightly colored and make it possible to distinguish one baile from another. Each group also usually displays its name and a representative image on the bass drum.

Image 13 (prev. page).

Baile chino of Chile.

[Photo: t13.cl].



The dance of the *bailes chinos* consists of a series of *mudanzas*: acrobatic leaps and forceful turns performed by all the musicians at the same time. In addition to marking the rhythm, the lead *tamborero* directs the dance and shows the *chinos* which *mudanza* to perform. These movements, combined with the physical effort of blowing the flutes for long periods, cause extreme fatigue and, according to some observers, may lead the musician-dancers into altered states of consciousness (see Mercado, 1995–96; 2005).

The dance's *mudanzas* correspond to the flutes' *tañíos*, of which at least four can be identified. They have no vernacular names:

- Short *rajado*: the most common *tañío*, consisting of a rapid succession of brief bursts of *sonido rajado*.
- Long *rajado*: the bursts of *sonido rajado* become longer and more connected, and the sequence slows down. The *tamborero* lowers his drum and swings it like a pendulum to signal that the musicians should reduce the tempo.
- Long *rajado botella*: similar to the preceding *tañío*, but with a trace of *sonido de botella* at the end of each breath.
- *Bombeo*: a *tañío* used occasionally, generally when entering the church. It consists of very soft, low-volume melodies played entirely with *sonido de botella*.

Image 14 (prev. page).
Baile chino of Puchuncaví, Valparaíso.
[Photos: cultura.gob.cl].

Image 15.
Flutes of *baile chino*.
[Photos: Pérez de Arce, 2002].





According to Pérez de Arce (1998), the *baile chino* tradition extends from the Limarí Valley to the Aconcagua Valley and is fairly homogeneous, although it includes two main styles. Between Illapel and La Serena in the Norte Chico, fewer flutes are used, the dancers' movements are more measured, the choreographic structure is less clearly defined, and additional dancers known as *turbantes* and *danzantes* appear. Between the Petorca and Aconcagua valleys in central Chile, by contrast, the groups have many more instruments, the dance movements are livelier, the choreographic structures are clearly defined and more complex, and the "pure" *chino* ritual is preserved, although *danzantes* were introduced in the 1960s.

The *chinos* perform only at *fiestas de chinos*, the principal community celebrations of central Chile. These day-

Image 16 (prev. page).

Baile chino of Las Palmas, Maitencillo, Valparaíso.

[Photo: YouTube.com].

long festivals take place before each locality's sacred image. This is the part of the country where the tradition is most deeply rooted and vigorous. Participants live in rural communities in the inland valleys, such as Olmué, Granizo, Pachacamita, El Tebal, and Palmas de Alvarado, or on the coast, including Maitencillo, Horcón, and Zapallar. Inland communities consist of farmers who hold festivals in honor of the Virgin so that she will ensure rain and a good harvest; coastal communities celebrate Saint Peter so that he will protect them at sea.

A local *baile* and invited *bailes* take part in the celebration. Each is accompanied by an *alférez* who is not a member of the *baile* and does not play an instrument; his role is to improvise verses addressed to the Virgin or saint. A *fiesta de chinos* has three parts: sung greetings in the morning, led by the *alférez*; an instrumental procession at midday, in which the flutes take center stage; and sung farewells in the afternoon, again led by the *alférez*.

Although it has weakened, the competitive character once associated with these festivals can still be





Image 18.

Flute of *baile chino*.

[Photo: museohistoriconacional.cl].

observed. Each *baile* represents its community and, during the procession, attempts to throw the others off the beat by accelerating and decelerating its own tempo. An experienced *baile* can maintain its rhythm independently of the others, slow down so that its flute players can rest, and then accelerate again rapidly. This disrupts the other groups' coordination and may even force one of them to stop playing, an utterly humiliating experience. This competitive element is also found among

other Andean flutes, including the Bolivian *alma pinkillos* or *muqunis*.

Similar expressions are also found in peripheral areas: at Lora, where northern and Mapuche elements blend; on Isla de Maipo, where the tradition is much diluted; at Copiapó, without *sonido rajado*, costumes, or choreographic elements; and even at Iquique, where the tradition arrived through migration.

Image 17 (prev. page).

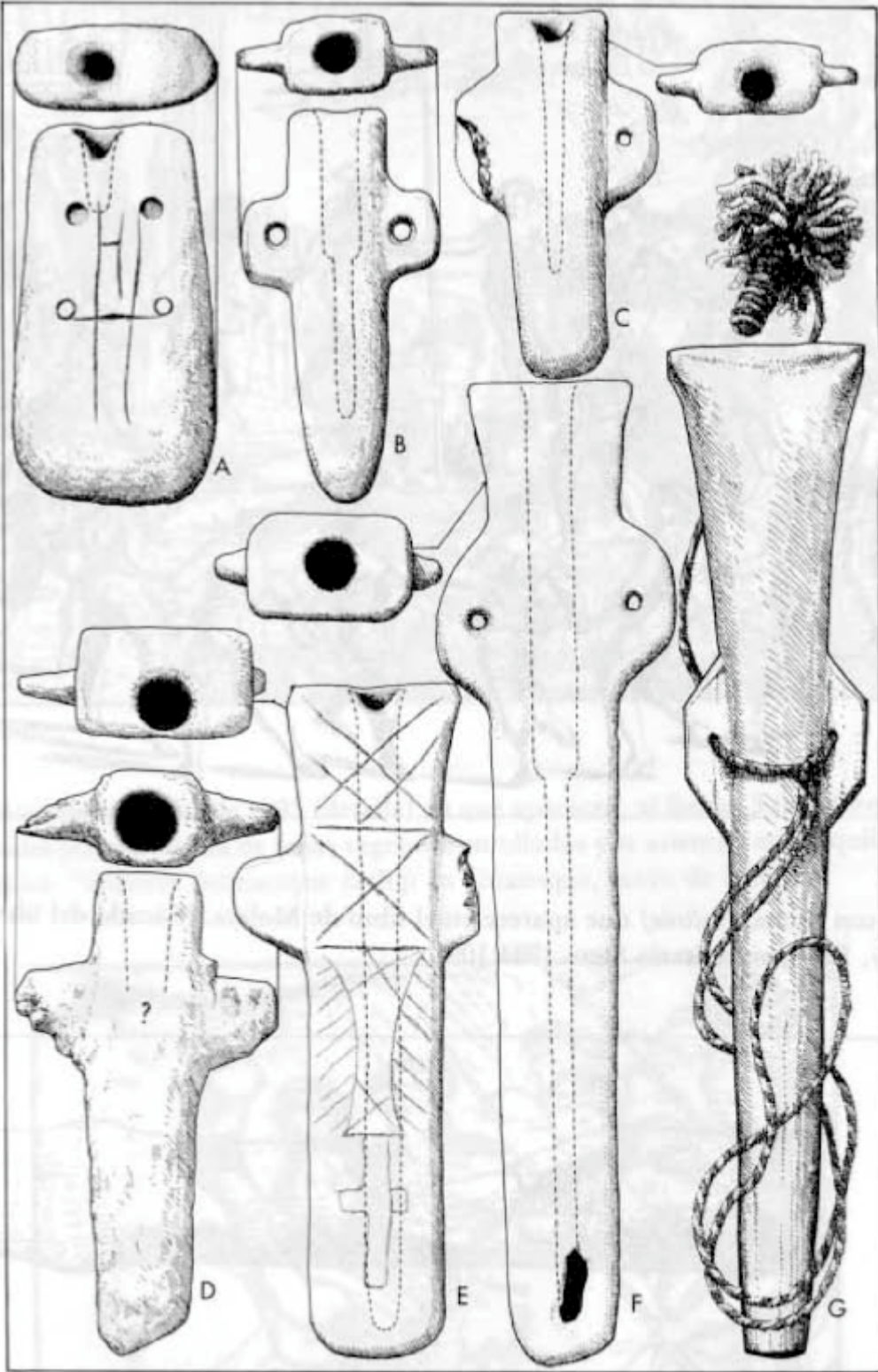
Baile chino of Caleu, Chacabuco.

[Photo: YouTube.com].

The Mapuche *pifilka*

The archaeological stone flutes of Chile with one or two ducts, and probably the bone tutucas, survive in the *pifilka* (*pivillca*, *pivilca*, *pifülka*, *pifilca*) used by the Mapuche today. Valdivia (1887) records this aerophone under the name *pivillcahue*, while Febrés and Havestadt present it as *pivillca*. Other names for the instrument are *picullhue* in Chile, and *pitacahue* and *huihueñhue* in Argentina.

There are two varieties of this end-blown flute (Pérez Bugallo, 1996). In the Argentine Andes and in Chile, it is made by carving a piece of wood, such as lenga, cypress, maitén, roble pellín, raulí, alerce, lingue, or pine, into a tube 20 to 40 cm long. It is slightly flattened at the proximal end and has two perforated side lobes through



which a woolen cord is passed so that the instrument can be hung. An internal duct, or more rarely two ducts, is burned through the wood. It is generally conical and usually has no outlet at the distal end. The instrument is decorated with pompoms, and some examples have a woolen plug that closes the blowing hole when it is not in use. Although examples are increasingly rare today, this type of *pifilka* has also been made of stone and ceramic.

On the Argentine Patagonian plateau, by contrast, *pifilkas* are made from a section of hemlock, fennel, thistle, or pampas grass. The distal end is closed by one of the plant's natural nodes, while the proximal end is cut into an inverted V.

Both versions of the instrument produce a single sound that, depending on the shape of the internal duct, may

Image 19.
Archaeological and ethnographic *pifilkas*.
[Illustration: Pérez de Arce, 1986].



be more or less dense and rich in harmonics. They are generally played in pairs, alternating their sounds in a sequence that follows the rhythm marked by traditional Mapuche membranophones such as the *kultrún* or *kakekultrún*.

In the past, this aerophone was used in all kinds of shamanic, propitiatory, martial, and funerary ceremonies. Today it is played exclusively during the *ngillatún*, a traditional religious ceremony of supplication and thanksgiving to Ngenechén, the most powerful spiritual entity in the Mapuche universe.

Images 20 to 23 (prev. page).
Pifilkas made of wood and hemlock.
[Photos: conar.senip.gob.ar].

Image 24.
Performer of *pifilka*.
[Photo: chileprecolombino.cl].

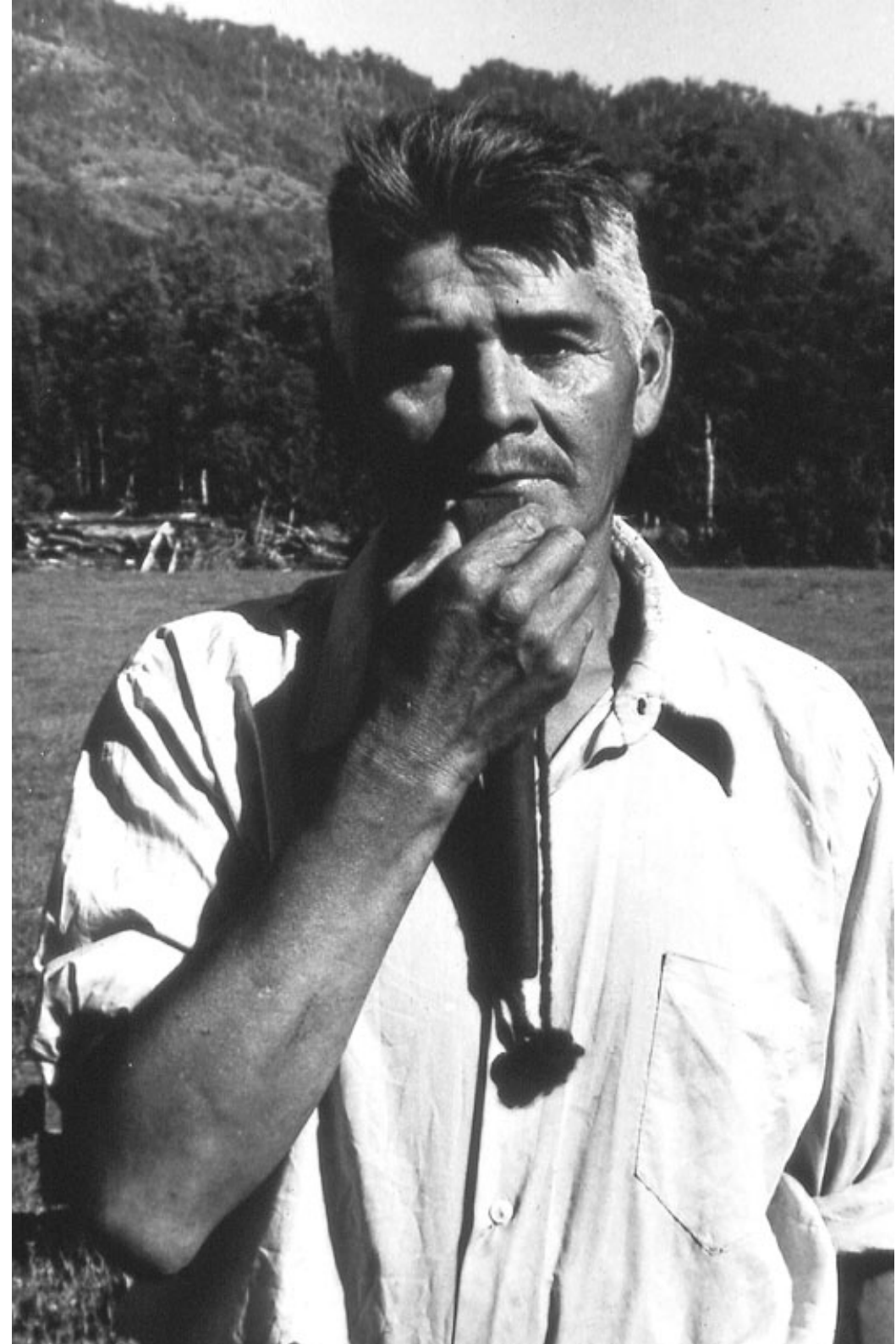






Image 27.

Pifilkas: blowing holes.

[Photo: Ernesto González, 1980].

Images 25 and 26 (prev. page).

Pifilkas made of wood.

[Photos: Ernesto González, 1980].

The *tuquru* flutes of the Lake Titicaca *uxusiri*

The dance of the *uxusiri* (*uqusiri*, *ujusiri*, *oxosiri*; in Aymara, "one who raises a din or outcry") originated in the circum-Titicaca area of the Collao plateau, in southern Peru and northwestern Bolivia. Today it survives only in the *ayllu* of Wakullani (Tiwanaku Municipality, Ingavi Province, La Paz Department, Bolivia).

The dancers, all men, represent the traditional night watchmen of potato fields. These guardians made noise to frighten away pests and thieves and to ward off hailstorms, and they covered the plants with *ichu* grass to protect them from frost. Traditionally, the dance was held during the potato harvest, between March and April. This period corresponds to *q'asiwi*, or *t'arwa yawi*, the first third of what the traditional Aymara calendar



calls *juyphi pacha*, "cold season": a time of frost and hail that is also a season of harvesting and shearing (Pueblos originarios, n.d.). The dance is still held during the same period, which now coincides with Holy Week and Easter (Sigl, 2009).

The dancers wear a kind of black poncho or *unku*, fastened at the waist and decorated with white paper stars or light-colored embroidery. They also wear a characteristic skirt made of *ch'illiwa* straw, which ripens during the same harvest season. The skirt is shaped like a *phina*, or potato-storage silo. Their heads are wrapped in a *parwa*, or turban, topped with a small crown of *tatora* rushes representing another type of silo, the *sixi*. As they dance, they bend sharply forward and continue in a rhythmic, uninterrupted rocking motion that makes the straw skirt move like a broom.

Image 28.

Uxusiris.

[Photo: Unrecorded source].





Image 30.
Uxusiris.
 [Photo: panoramio.com].

As they dance, between fifteen and thirty men blow enormous end-blown flutes made from *tuquru* reed. The

Image 29 (prev. page).
Uxusiris.
 [Photo: Unrecorded source].

flutes have notches like those of *quenás* (Baumann, 1982), or no notch at all (Sigl, 2009; CRESPIAL, 2012), and they have no finger holes. These aerophones, which bear the same name as the material from which they are made, are more than half a meter long. Each produces a single sound containing a large number of harmonics because of the force with which the instrument is blown, precisely when the dancer bends sharply forward.

Because the dimensions of these tubes are not fixed and are therefore often quite uneven, no two instruments produce exactly the same sound. Broadly speaking, as in the *bailes chinos*, the aim is to produce two groups of "notes" clustered more or less closely together and sounded in alternation: first the lower group, then the higher. When harmonics are added to these sound clusters, already saturated with beats, the result is two vibrant, dense "chords" whose sound is highly valued in Indigenous Andean societies.

The *jant'arki* of the Bolivian highlands and its eastern neighbors

The *jant'arki* (*jantarque*, *jantarka*, *antarka*) is an end-blown flute currently played in Calcha and the surrounding area, including Ara, Llavica, Ayuma, Wallparancho, Chinchula, and other localities, in Nor Chichas Province (Potosí Department, Bolivia).

It is made from a rectangular piece of wood, between 8 and 50 cm long, cut from *taqo* or *algarrobo* (*Prosopis* sp.), *najna* (*Escallonia millegrana*), or *churqui* (*Acacia caven*). The piece is bored from end to end with a heated iron rod (Cavour, 1994), producing an internal duct that is slightly oval in cross-section and conical in profile: the proximal opening is wider than the distal one.

The instrument has no finger holes. A cord is passed



Image 31.
Jant'arkis.
[Photo: Gérard, 2013].

through a pair of perforations on one side so that it can be hung. On some instruments, one face, regarded as the "front," is carved with diamond-shaped motifs and stepped crosses.

When blown, the *jant'arki* produces a basic note and a variation of it, obtained by covering and uncovering the



Image 32.
Performer of *jant'arki*.
[Photo: Martínez, 2000].

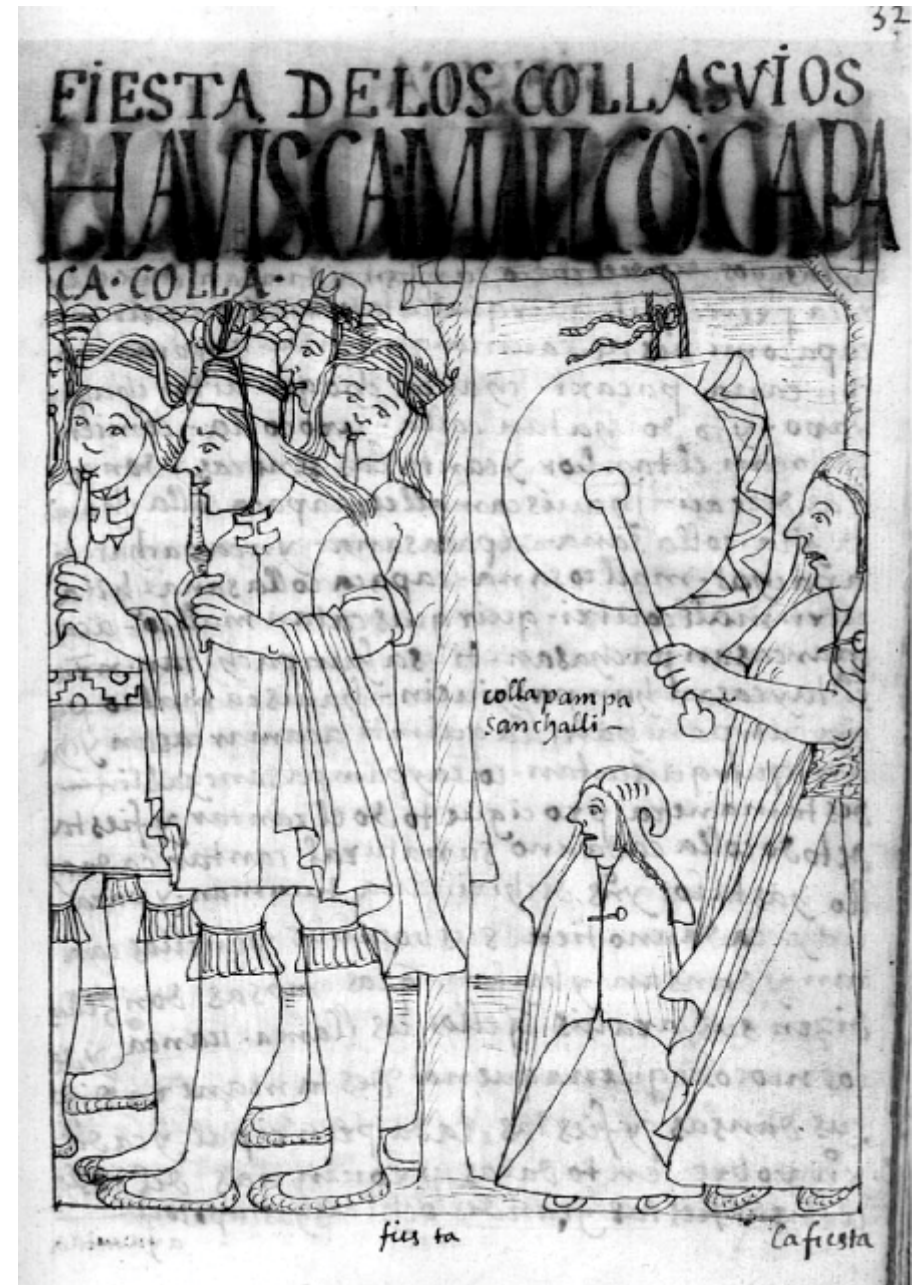
distal end with a finger. Players are usually older people, both men and women, although the flute is more often seen in women's hands. It is played during Carnival in

genres such as *taquipayanacus*, or "counterpoints" (Martínez, 2000).

The instrument is regarded as "very old" by its players, an opinion supported by Stobart (1992). He suggests that the whistles depicted in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (ca. 1615), in the plate "Fiesta de los Collasuyos," may be *jant'arkis*. This would confirm their use among the peoples of the *Qullasuyu*, or *Collasuyo*, the southern division of the *Tawantinsuyu*, or Inca Empire, which included present-day Bolivia, between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

In support of this idea, Cavour (1994) notes that the Museum of Musical Instruments of Bolivia in La Paz displays an end-blown flute similar to a *jant'arki*, made of black stone and excavated in Nor Chichas Province

Image 33.
"Fiesta de los Collasuyos".
[Illustration: Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615].



(Potosí Department). Similar archaeological stone whistles have been found in various parts of the department, as have instruments made from the bones of *pariwana* and rhea, the latter in Sud Lípez Province.

Some sources suggest that the *jant'arki* originated in the Qara Qara and Chicha lordships, Aymara "kingdoms" located in what is now Potosí Department and incorporated into the *Qullasuyu*. This would explain both the references in Guaman Poma's book and the instrument's survival among the Indigenous communities of the region. From there, its use appears to have spread eastward into what are now the Bolivian lowlands, where it was adopted by the peoples then living there.

One of those peoples was the Ava, or "Chiriguanos." Formidable fighters of Guaraní descent, their repeated attacks prompted the construction of a chain of Inca fortresses along the eastern frontier of the Qara Qara and Chicha lordships. The subjects of those lordships served the *Inqa* of Cusco as defenders of these strongholds, and it was probably through them that the Ava encountered

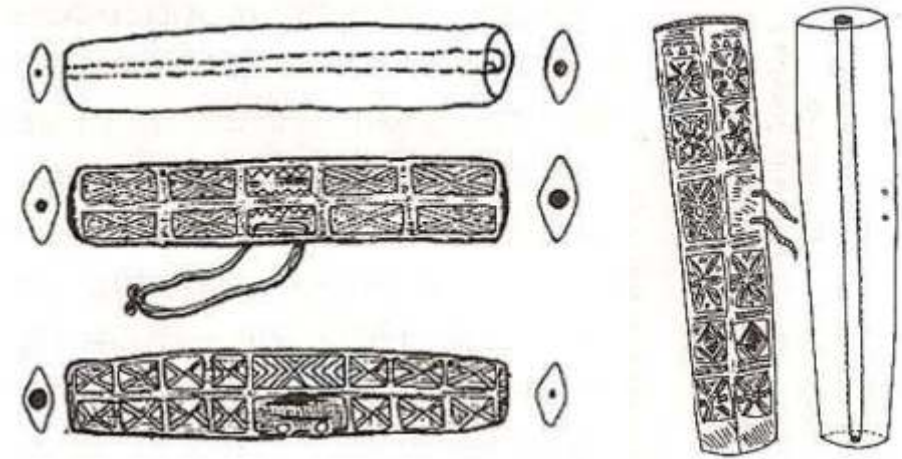


Image 34.
Sereres of the Ava or "chiriguanos".
[Illustration: Sánchez, 1999].

the *jant'arki*, which they called *serere*, *senene*, or *jocüro* (see Vega, 1946).

Díaz Gainza (1977) writes of this instrument:

The Chiriguano *serére* belongs to the family of end-blown flutes. It is made by boring through a piece of

wood to form the tube. Its two fixed sounds point to a biphonic, or minimal, scale, although influences from Andean whistles also appear to be present.

Sánchez (1999) compiles accounts by numerous authors who describe the aerophone as a long, angular whistle made from the hardwood of the *igüirayepiro* tree, decorated with carved figures and signs, and played by men both at festivals and in battle. Its playing technique, covering and uncovering the distal opening while blowing into the proximal end, is also documented. The construction techniques, type of wood, ornamentation, and sound-production technique of the Ava instrument are similar to those of its Andean counterpart.

Outside Ava territory, Métraux mentions the use of this aerophone among the Yuracaré of the Bolivian lowlands in Beni and Cochabamba departments, neighbors of the Ava. He describes it as a "rectangular piece of wood with a diamond-shaped cross-section and a longitudinal bore; it was not only an instrument but also a prized ornament that men hung around their necks." Nordenskiöld

(1929), for his part, cites its use among the neighboring Nivaklé, Chané, and Churapa.

Curiously, after many years of work among the Ava, Pérez Bugallo (1988–89) stated that he had never seen them play the instrument in question. For the debate prompted by this position, see Velo (1995).

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Image 12.

http://www.sigpa.cl/media/upload/sigpa_cultores/cay_cay.jpg

Image 13.

http://static.t13.cl/images/sizes/1200x675/1417026040_152557770745f7b82975ah.jpg

Image 14.

http://www.cultura.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Registro-Baile-Chino-de-Puchuncavi.-Credito-CNCA_Luis-Pi%C3%B1ango.jpg

Image 16.

<https://i.ytimg.com/vi/QjabWuLY1zA/maxresdefault.jpg>

Image 17.

<https://i.ytimg.com/vi/cBLxRHCX9fw/maxresdefault.jpg>

Image 18.

http://www.museohistoriconacional.cl/618/articles-9527_imagen_08.jpg

Images 20 to 23.

<http://conar.senip.gob.ar>

Image 24.

<http://chileprecolombino.cl/wp/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/mapuche3.jpg>

