

©Copyright 2013
Kim Anne Carter Muñoz

Huapangueros Reclaiming Son Huasteco in Trans-local Festivals: Youth,
Women and Nahua Musicians

Kim Anne Carter Muñoz

A dissertation submitted
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2013

Reading Committee:

Shannon K. Dudley, Chair

Patricia Sheehan Campbell

Michelle Habell-Pallán

Philip Schuyler

Christina Sunardi

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

School of Music
Ethnomusicology

University of Washington

Abstract

Kim Anne Carter Muñoz

Huapangueros Reclaiming Son Huasteco in Trans-local Festivals:
Youth, Women and Nahua Musicians

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Shannon K. Dudley
Ethnomusicology
School of Music

This dissertation analyzes a complex and multifaceted Huastecan identity that is created and performed at *encuentros huapangueros* and how it relates to pluri-multicultural politics and policies of folklore in Mexico, through *El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca* (hereafter referred to as the PDCH).

Encuentros, meetings or congresses, *huapangueros*, of practitioners of *huapango*, are open participatory concert-dance events, where elder tradition bearers, youth, cultural promoters, and community members gather to dance, sing, perform poetry and play Huastecan music at different festivals as part of this trans-local cultural scene, in festivals, such as, *El Festival de la Huasteca*, and *La Fiesta Anual de Huapango Amatlán*.

The following chapters focus on three groups of important representatives in this process at the *encuentros*: *maestros* (who are also workshop leaders) and their students, *mestiza trovadoras* (women poetess-singers) from Pánuco, and *nahua* musicians from Hidalgo. By comparing their staged performances at the festival

with informal performances—both in their home communities and in informal settings in and around the festival—I analyze how the agency of musicians combines with cultural policy to transmit local and regional practices associated with *son huasteco* to new generations through their performances.

Other scholars examine how local music and dance are reformed by nationalists and cosmopolitans (Turino 2000; Mendoza 2000). However, my research analyzes performance in these participatory *encuentros* as moments when *son huasteco* musicians exert their agency in selecting which aspects of local musical and culture they will give to the region and nation. They also decide which local practices they will keep, and which regional and other trans-local practices they will make their own.

While these performances create ties between diverse Huastecan communities, the political process of folklorization and the performances of individual musicians also mark important differences among musicians and other participants along the lines of ethnicity, class and gender. My analysis adds to the understanding of sustainable development of musical patrimony through government policy, the use of local and regional music and dance to empower youth, as well as how the intersections of gender, race and ethnicity impact the performance of music and identity in participatory *huapangos* in Mexico.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	iv
List of Tables.....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	viii
SECTION 1 -- Foundations	
Ch.1 Introduction Dynamics between regional organization and local practice in the <i>Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca</i>	1
Ch. 2 <i>Huapangueros: A trans-local music scene, seen through</i> <i>El Festival de la Huasteca</i>	45
Music Genres: <i>Huapango, Son Huasteco, Sones de costumbre</i>	49
Ch 3. <i>El Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca</i>	72
SECTION 2---Teachers, Students, <i>Nahua</i> and <i>Mestiza</i> Identity	
Ch.4 Xochipitzahuatl (thin flower): Maestros defining the Huasteca.....	93
Maestros as egalitarian teachers and pluri-multicultural agents	97
The Huasteca region through the Chicontepec lense: Mestizo and Indigenous.....	99
Ch. 5 Teachers as Cultural Missionaries.....	105
Indigenismo, revolutionary women and cultural mission teachers,..... anthropologists, and information about huapango 1920s-1940s	106
Rafael Saavedre El Huapango: Ensayo de costumbres huastecas	111
Gregorio López y Fuentes El Indio and Realist	118
Indigenismo from the Huasteca	
Hilario Menéndez's <i>Cantares de mis Huasteca</i> 1925.....	125
Ch. 6 Son Huasteco Music Workshops.....	130

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONT'D)

No a los concursos, sí a los encuentros.....	130
Who is Don Ponciano Fajardo Martínez?.....	138
Eduardo Bustos Aguacero de Sones.....	146
El Balcón Huasteco Rolando Reyes Hernández.....	151
Viva El Huapango Ciudad Mante Tamaulipas August 2004.....	154
La Herencia de Don Ponciano at the Seventeenth Edition of El Festival.....	157
Trío Ármonia Querétana perform Original Verses and Xochipitzahuatl	160
Apprenticeship with Don Ponciano	163
Musical Gatherings.....	167
Soraima y sus Huastecos perform Xochipitzuatl (thin flower)	170
Transmission of Culture from Chicontepec.....	172
Transmission by Don Ponciano at Encuentros.....	177
Xochipitzahuatl Travels to Querétaro and Back in El Festival de la Huasteca.....	180
SECTION 3--- <i>Viejos Huapangueros</i> Case studies: trans-local festival performance and local values	
Ch.7 Rocking the Cradle of Huapango: Pánuco Trovadoras and Trovadores	184
Panuco: gender and participation	
Erasing Women Trovadoras and Musicians.....	189
The Invention and Political uses of a National Huapango from Pánuco.....	194
Excavating Women's Rich History.....	198
The History of Professional Women Son Huasteco Instrumentalists.....	200
Tamazunchale: Lugar Donde la Mujer Mande,.....	204
'Place Where the Woman Would Rule'	

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONT'D)

Family Fiesta Huapangueada in Pánuco, Veracruz.....	218
Writing and Rocking the Cradle of <i>Huapango</i> , and the Controversía	223
Rocking the Cradle of <i>Huapango</i> El Cielito Lindo on Huasteca TV.....	232
Ch.8 Nahua Musicians' Performing Identity at Encuentros Huapangueros	238
Huejutla: language, music and sound-scape	
To Sing or not to Sing in Náhuatl on "Citlaltepetl," 'Star Mountain'	243
Nahua Trío Huasteco Musicians.....	250
La Leva Cruzada (the Crossed Uprising) at the Huastecan Festival.....	253
Crossing the Festival Grounds	255
Staging the Huasteca in the XV <i>Festival de la Huasteca</i>	258
Representing the State of Hidalgo's Huasteca	261
Náhuatl Repertoire and Playing with Identity in the Encuentro Huapanguero.....	264
Unpacking Two Huastecas Aesthetics at Play on Violin and Language	266
<i>Nahua</i> , Language, Masculinity and Identity in <i>coplas</i> for <i>son huasteco</i>	268
The Performance of Separate Huastecas in Zapateado.....	269
and Unification of through Signals	
The Sizzle, Whistle and Boom of <i>Nahua</i> identity.....	273
Ch. 9 La Danza de Tres Colores Dancing for the Cross.....	278
Ch.10 Conclusion.....	294
Bibliography.....	306

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Number	Page
1. Drawing from Bilingual Tének and Spanish El Huapango.....	18
2. Basic Rhythm of Huapango	53
3. Basic <i>Rasqueo</i> for Huapango	52
4. Basic Zapateado Rhythms for Huapango	55
5. Huapango.com.mx Webpage devoted to <i>son huasteco</i>	58
6. Anatolio Vásquez’s Webpage Xichulense.com.mx	59
7. Announcement of El VII Festival de la Huasteca	60
8. Directions to El VII Festival de la Huasteca	61
9. Program from El VII Festival de la Huasteca.....	63
10. Huasteco de Corazón Bumpersticker	66
11. Map of the Huastecan Region According to the PDCH	85
12. <i>Rasqueo</i> taught in the <i>Viva el Huapango</i> Workshop.....	94
13. Mnemonic Phrase for the <i>Rasqueo</i> with the Rhythm of <i>Huapango</i> ...	94
14. Zapateado Step Chocolate.....	95
15. Chords in Saavedra’s Play “ <i>El Huapango</i> ”	111
16. Directions for Musicians in Saavedra’s “ <i>El Huapango</i> ”	112
17. Cover of the Saavedra’s One-Act Play “ <i>E; Huapango</i> ”	116
18. Eduardo Bustos at the House of Ponciano Fajardo Martínez.....	136
19. Presentation of Cantares de mi Huasteca	137
20. Repertoire in the workshop, <i>Viva El Huapango</i>	157

LIST OF FIGURES (CONT'D)

20. Presentation of <i>La Mejor Herencia</i> CD	158
21. Presentation of <i>Trío Armonía Querétana</i>	162
22. Gathering at the House of Ponciano Fajarado Martínez	169
23. Mother of Noe Ibarra Baking Bread from Chicontepec.....	174
24. ¡Viva el Huapango! Playing Xochipitzahuatl at Amatlán.....	178
25. Youth Playing <i>Sones de Carnival El Encuentro de Niños y Jóvenes</i> ...	179
26. Armonía Querétana Performing Xochipitzahuatl.....	182
27. <i>Huapangos Huastecos con los Cantores del Pánuco</i> [and Ema Maza]191	
28. Ema Maza del Ángel with El Sol Poniente	192
29. <i>Raul Pazzí and Rosita Chirinos Debating the Costume of Pánuco</i>	196
30. Album Sleeve Primer Concurso de <i>Huapango</i> Ciudad Victoria	202
31. Esperanza Zumaya, Soraima Galindo and Santiago Fajardo.....	208
32. Transcription of Performance of El Gallo (The Rooster)	213
33. Maria Antonieta Váldez Flores.....	231
34. Natalia Váldez Flores.....	231
35. Controversia Between Esperanza Zumaya and Miguel Compeán... 236	
36. <i>Trío Perla Huasteca</i>	248
37. Announcement for <i>El XV Festival de la Huasteca</i>	259
38. <i>Trío Calamar</i> Performing at the <i>XV Festival de la Huasteca</i>	262
39. Zapateado Deslizado	271
40. Zapateado Doble	271

LIST OF FIGURES (CONT'D)

41. Zapateado Redoble	274
42. <i>Trío Calamar Danza de Tres Colores</i> Vol. II	275
43. The Cross of Nuestro Señor	280
44. La Danza de Tres Colores Group Preparing to Dance.....	280
45. <i>La Danza de Inditas</i> inside the church in Huautla, Hidalgo	281
46. Bottle Rocket Announcing the Start of the Dance	289
47. <i>Trío Calamar</i> Victor Moedano Cues from the Cuete	289
48. Dancers Kneel La Danza de los Tres Colores	290
49. La Danza de Tres Colores Begins After Kneeling	290
50. Dancer with the Bull.....	291

LIST OF TABLES

Table Number	Page
1. Population that Speaks indigenous languages in the Huasteca	22
2. Municipalities in the Huasteca According to the PDCH	86
3. Repertoire in the workshop, <i>Viva El Huapango</i>	156

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many people, organizations and foundations I must thank. I will start with the people have mentored me, guided me, believed in me, helped me with my research and honored me. First, I would like to thank my dissertation committee.

Shannon Dudley always kept a critical eye on my ideas and theories, but he never censored me. As my chair, he allowed me to be creative and to take several trips to do field research during my studies. I was fortunate because Professor Dudley, Marisol Berríos Miranda and Michelle Habell-Pallán made the decision to award me the Jesse Danz Fellowship, in order to teach sections of their *American Sabor* seminar through the Simpson Center of the Humanities. Their amazing work on this exhibit and some of my experiences working for them on small projects, in addition to teaching sections for them, were inspirational to me, and their interdisciplinary ideas shaped my own research indirectly.

Patricia Campbell and Christina Sunardi each shepherded me through my own blocks and doubts as I rushed to complete my qualifying exams and dissertation—both were amazing mentors and scholars. Dr. Campbell this may be the last time I call you Dr., but you will always be a dear professor to me. Dr. Sunardi, I cannot express my gratitude sufficiently to you for believing in me and although I call you by your first name, you are an impressive researcher and writer. I will always consider you a mentor.

I am indebted to Philip Schuyler for always treating me with kindness and showed me the genius of itinerate musicians and performers. There were times that

it seemed that you were the only faculty member that valued my research. Maybe it is because you influenced my research methodology. I encountered Philip Schuyler in so many different contexts around Seattle, when I played in working *tríos huastecos*. Philip Schuyler thank you for teaching me about performance and that many performers are brilliant composers in the moment regardless of where they play music: the market, the cantina, the brothel, the town square, opera house, cockfights where there is gambling, political rally, stage, or alley. If you had not encouraged me, I would not have done field research in so many different contexts and I would not have learned some principals and values that the musicians used to guide their performances for their own purposes and for those of their audiences.

I am thankful to Michelle Habell-Pallán for her loving guidance, advice and for sharing her *punchera* research with me, for starting Women Who Rock Research Project, and for believing in me. Both Michelle Habell-Pallán and Sonnet Retman honored me, when they selected me to be a graduate intern where set up the research methods and initial pilot of the Women Who Rock Oral History Project through the Simpson Center for the Humanities.

I must acknowledge that my colleagues in the Women Who Rock Project helped me along the way, such as: Martha González, Rebecca Clark, Nicole Robert. I am especially indebted to the Women Who Rock mentors: Michelle Habell-Pallán, Sonnet Retman, Sherrie Tucker, Daphne Brooks and Deborah Wong, and Tiffany López for providing brilliant and constructive criticism of my work. You are all titans in your different fields. Thank you Brenda Romero, Arturo Chamorro, Román Güemes, Peter García, Alejandro Madrid and Randall Kohl, for believing in my work

and providing suggestions. Sean Williams thank you for your suggestions on an editor and publishing.

The following institutions and endowments provided me supported me throughout my dissertation research and writing: The Chester Fritz Endowment, The US State Department for its Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship to study Náhuatl in Mexico, The Mac Millan Center at Yale University, The Jesse Danz family, The School of Music, IDEIZ Zacatecas, UNAM, La UdeG, *La Universidad de Veracruz* and I want to thank *El Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca*. Each of these organizations, which are made up of people, believed in me and either provided me with in-kind support and collaboration, or fellowships and grants. I am especially indebted to Jonathan Amith, Román Güemes Jimenez, Víctor Ramírez del Ángel, Otilio, John Sullivan and Abelardo Cruz de la Cruz for teaching me Náhuatl.

Words cannot express the gratitude I have towards the many people in Mexico and the United States who have offered me their friendship and helped me to learn about *huapango*. Of course, all of the musicians in the following pages were generous with their time and kindness. Many treated me as family—especially Soraima Galindo Linares, Santiago Fajardo Hernández and their extended family—but also Eduardo Bustos, German and César Hernández, Rosa Virginia Sánchez and Alejandro Flores. Aurora Valderama showed me everywhere in Mexico City and suggested that I be invited to participate in El Encuentro de Mujeres Soneras y Versadoras Jarochas y Huastecas, Esperanza Zumaya showed me everywhere in Pánuco. Maria Antonieta Váldez for being a second mother and a friend. Natalia

Váldez, Salvador Arteaga, Crecencio Silva, Juan Balleza and Emilio Martínez of Brisa Huasteca, Sorayma Galnares, Juan Pablo Castillo Rodriguez.

I will never be able to express enough gratitude to the different musicians who played in working *tríos huastecos* in the United States: Modesto Martínez, José Hernandez, Lucio Luis Hernández, Abel Rocha, Tim Wetmiller, Juan, Felix Osorio Castro and Guillermo Osorio Castro. Each of you treated my son with love and dignity. My other accomplices in Mexico did the same: Emilio, José and Fermin.

Fellow *son huasteco* master's thesis writer Marco Antonio Lira Lozano, rest in peace. You are no longer with us on this earth, but thank you for believing in me and sharing your research, I would not have written my dissertation without you. You were and continue to be my guiding *lucero*, evening star.

My whole being was supported by my fellow ethnomusicology students Monica Rojas, Andrea Emberly, and Michael Henderson, and Blakely Village neighbors the Merrill family, Eva Green and the kids, the Chetty family, Linda Sulistiyo Nugroho, Ahmad Muswanto and family. Arthur Tulee, Lisa Martinson, Claudia Campos Sierra, Vicki Pinkham and Erik Carter thank you, too, for supporting even my most trivial accomplishments. I am grateful to my parents, Jeanne and Lewis Carter for their financial help, and love to my son.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my son Marcos Muñoz for his patience, and his willingness to travel with me. I know you have experienced many things and you do not like everything that is new. I know you are tired of all of these trips to Mexico and will probably want to travel somewhere else when you are grown up. You are your own person. You will have your own adventures soon, and

I will support you, even if you don't take me along, like I did with you. You will soon be stretching your wings.

SECTION 1—Foundations

Ch. 1 Introduction to Dissertation: Dynamics between regional and local practice in the *Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca* (PDCH)

This dissertation analyzes a revitalization of participatory *son huasteco* in the Huasteca region of Mexico through *encuentros huapangueros* sponsored by the *Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca* (hereafter referred to as the PDCH). These regional participatory music festivals have become a locus for changing pluri-cultural politics and sustainable policies of folklore in Mexico.

Encuentros huapangueros are events that can be defined as meetings, encounters, face-offs, or congresses, of practitioners of *huapango*. They are open participatory concert-dance events, where elder practitioners of *huapango*, youth, cultural promoters, and community members gather to dance, sing, perform poetry and play Huastecan music. The different festivals are part of a trans-local cultural scene, which includes in particular: *el Festival de la Huasteca*, *la Fiesta Anual de Huapango*, *Amatlán* and *la Fiesta de Huapango*, *Tepezintla*.

My research focuses on three groups of important musical representatives in this process at the *encuentros huapangueros*: 1) *mestizo* and indigenous *son huasteco* workshop leaders who are *maestros* and their students; 2) *mestiza trovadoras* (women poet singers) from Pánuco, Veracruz; and 3) professional *nahua trío huasteco* musicians. By comparing their staged performances at the *encuentros huapangueros* in *El Festival de la Huasteca* with non-staged performances—both in their home communities and in informal settings in and around the festival—I analyze how the agency of musicians combines with cultural policy to transmit local

and regional practices of *son huasteco* to new generations and audiences. These performances create ties between diverse Huastecan communities as part of the political process of folklorization through *El Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca*. Yet, I assert the performances musicians and audiences also mark important differences among each other along the lines of class, ethnicity, and gender, as the performers make decisions about which aspects of local practices and identity to share and give to the rest of the Huasteca region.

Maestros, professional teachers who have been given a position at the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP), have been key players in defining an academic form of teaching *trío huasteco* musicianship in the trans-local *huapango* scene. In this process they have redefined gender roles as well as *mestizo* and *nahua* identities. Teachers are uniquely positioned to lead workshops over other *trío huasteco* musicians, because they have taught Huastecan regional music and dance as part of their curriculum since the establishment of *Misiones Culturales* (Cultural Missions) in 1923. Few people before the Revolution had access to a formal education. After the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), the educational system of Mexico was in ruins. The division of *Misiones Culturales* mobilized a group of young missionary teachers to educate the rural masses, to inspire students to identify with the Mexican nation through the music, dance and culture of the Huasteca region in the rebuilding period after the Mexican Revolution.

In the present workshops that are linked to the PDCH, as the workshop students learn to play *trío huasteco* music, they are taught ideas about themselves, *nahua* and *mestizo*, national and Huastecan regional identity. However, because the

teaching is institutionalized and standardized, their performances alter the music and are frequently distinct from how music is performed in local contexts. Within the *encuentros*, elder community and professional musicians are also brought to perform and some teach and transmit their knowledge and style of playing outside of the workshops informally. Sometimes the young musicians learn important practices and styles from the elders how to play in a way that mimics the traditional mode of transmission that occurs within families, where the elder musician teaches the younger in a role like an apprentice. The invitation of elder *huapangueros* to the *encuentros* for face-to-face sharing sets the stage as a built-in correction that transmits varied local ways of playing and styles to the students.

Essentially this performance and learning space is one where different people are reclaiming, repatriation, sharing and development of the *trío huasteco* music as cultural patrimony that is "At Risk." Therefore, it is a highly contested space where musical style is as essential to authenticity as is socio-cultural heritage. Ethnic identity, gender, and educational and economic class impact how the music is performed, and who is policed on their claims to perform. Yet, it is also a space where *huapango* is shared with insiders and outsiders inter-culturally. Non-*huasteco* musicians from the rest of Mexico, mainly Mexico City, participate and continue to learn and perform *trío huasteco* music at these events. Overall it is an environment where music, dance and poetry are shared, even if the lines where communities are defined and who belongs are shifted and reconstituted constantly during these performances.

My research will also situate and analyze how musicianship, *nahua* and *mestizo* Huastecan identity are democratized and are taught to a broader group of people—both girls and boys—and its impact on the performance in the festivals. In part of this process of revitalization Huastecan regional identity and indigeneity not only gain capital within funding organizations for projects, they are also promoted through a trans-local music scene, wherein they gain social currency among youth and communities in the Huasteca and beyond—in the words of Bigenho indigeneity—and I argue Huastecan regional identity—become “alienable” and “cool” (2002: 4 and Chapter 4). Then it will analyze how elder musicians—who serve as master musicians and occasional role models for these students—convey and evoke their local fiestas through performance practices. The performances of the *trovadoras* from Pánuco and professional *nahua* musicians show their enjoyment of sharing culture, poetry and music through their performances, but also show the social tensions and varied tactics they use as they resist facile appropriation and feelings that arise around issues of self, authenticity and ownership. Finally, my dissertation will analyze the impact of these different agents on the performance participatory Huastecan regional music.

It is important to note, that in this dissertation, I did not include the performances of professional *mestizo* musicians from Pánuco, or the rest of the Huasteca, because they have been normalized through previous official discourses around musicianship. I have chosen to focus on female *trovadoras*, poetesses, and professional *nahua* musicians, because each serve as role models to youth who emerge from these institutional workshops. As elder musicians with similar

identities and subject positions to the students, each of these groups of elder *huapangueros* provide models of performing gender and ethnicity within *huapango*. However, their claims to authentically participate were questioned because of their same marginalized subject positions due to their sex and ethnicity as *mestiza* women and indigenous male *nahua* musicians.

Each of these groups of *huapangueros* provide models based in lived experience through family and community, yet their participation and important contributions to this genre, were erased from earlier representations of *son huasteco*, when *mestizo* Mexican-ness defined as a crucible of three cultures, a melting pot of Spanish, Indigenous and African cultures, was linked to regional genre. When genres such as *son huasteco* are harnessed to display regional identity or national identity they also create stereotyped archetypes that erase the traditional participation of people defined as ethnic minorities or the weaker sex to the national identity.

While the homogeneity of this construction of the nation and even *son huasteco* have recently been called into question at the national level its shadow continues. *Nahua* musicians continue to be cast as “others” in *son huasteco* musicianship. *Mestiza* women’s participation in music and as the authors of lyrics for *son huasteco* that express power, and contest male superiority, humor, courtship and sensuality from a feminine perspective have been ignored by scholars and others who portrayed the Huasteca as a part of Mexicanness, even as their voices and talent were used by these very agents for movies, recordings, research and the background music for dance displays of the Huasteca region.

The importance of *nahua* musicians and *mestiza* women *trovadoras* will become more apparent as the chapters unfold. Not only do their performances of music and poetry differ from those of institutional workshop leaders and their students in these events, but also their performances of *mestiza* womanhood and masculine *nahua* identity as musicians differ from those of the workshop leaders and their students. I have included these two groups of elder *huapango* musicians, because even though *son huasteco* and *huapango* unify the Huasteca region, and has been portrayed as a *mestizo* genre, it is essential to the musical life associated with costumes and rituals for *mestizo* and indigenous people in the Huasteca region. Also the gender roles traditionally assigned and available to women and men in *huapango* are different in these two Huastecan communities with which I am familiar. Pánuco is primarily *mestizo* and Huejutla is primarily *nahua*. The musical roles traditionally assigned to the sexes in *mestizo* and in *nahua* communities is slightly different in *huapango* ethnicities and these roles are shifted slightly in *huapango* as performed in the *encuentros*. Although there is a more marked difference between these communities in terms of women's participation in music making—there is not such a marked difference between roles in *huapango* expression in dance, as it is a courtship dance for couples throughout the region.

Mestiza women in Pánuco have a little known, but long established tradition of composing verses—*coplas*—for *son huasteco* either to clown and make fun of the conflict between the sexes, or for courtship, and the *trovadoras* of Pánuco are the inheritors of this tradition. Male *nahua* musicians have been intercultural agents that play the ritual and secular music of their communities and also for *mestizo*

communities in addition to having been *campesino* farmers for generations, although they may have not always highlighted their *nahua*-ness in previous performances for *mestizos*. In general, many *nahua* communities have separate roles for men and women in *danzas*. Among musicians emerging from the workshops, both men and women participate equally and play at a minimum three genres: *son huasteco*, *huapango* and *sones de costumbre*.

Literature Review and Theory: *Son huasteco* and mestizaje for nationalism

Beginning in the early 20th century, shortly after the Mexican Revolution, *son huasteco* and *huapango* dance were used by the political classes of the Huastecan region to define a regional *mestizo* identity for cultural nationalism. Music and dance have been inextricably linked to national, regional and local identities and politics throughout Latin America (Behágue 1997; Dudley 2008; Guss 2000; Mendoza 2000 and 2008; Scruggs 1998; Turino 1994 and 2008; Wade 2000 and many others). As part of building national identities, the definition of ethnic minorities and gender roles, especially those of women have been framed as problems; *i. e.* “the Indian problem,” or questions, *i.e.* “the question of women.” (Chaterjee 1989). Andean indigenous studies scholar Andrew Cannessa sums up the definition of women, *afrodescendientes* and indigenous in Latin America in the following section:

Possessing a national identity can be seen as being as natural as having a gender. Except that, or course there is nothing “natural” about gender. As several decades of feminist and gender studies have shown. Similarly, there is nothing “natural” about having a national identity as Anderson so clearly demonstrates.

Gender, a national identity and indeed race may be naturalized, but they are not natural....

Insofar as everyone can have a nationality, this nationality is differentially assumed according to one's gender, race and ethnicity, not all nationals are as national as others. Conversely, gender and ethnic identities are constructed and lived through national ones. (Canessa 2005:1)

The definition of gender roles and the process of assimilation were carried out through the creation of standardized sets of dance, choreographies, roles and costumes in the educational system, and also in national dance groups and dance contests as part of the formation of national identity in Mexico, just like much of the rest of Latin America.

Mestizaje has been defined as the process that began during colonialization of the Americas, where the different components of culture belonging to the tri-partate Spanish, African and indigenous roots have been melded together to form new national, regional and local cultures, and expressive forms, such as *son huasteco*. Indigenous and afro-descendant people are often cast as potential recruits for the process of mixing and whitening, but *mestizaje* also threatens to erase their identities and cultural life ways. The formation of these ideologies is not just a one-way process. Behague and Wade each write that indigenous and *afrodescendiente* groups may develop counter-narratives to the one of *mestizaje* (Behague 1997 and Wade 2000). Wade refers to the case of *afrodescendiente* Colombians' counter-narrative as *cimarronaje*. Similarly, circumscribing the historic-cultural roles of *mestiza* and indigenous women and indigenous men in music was done in order to define normative musicianship for the nation's music in order to define authenticity for cultural nationalism. Much of the national narrative around *son huasteco* has

been echoed in Lawrence Saunder's study of *son huasteco*, "While *mestizo men* are the musicians for *trío huasteco*, *women* only (sic!) serve as the dancers and inspirations for the verses that are about love, beautiful flowers and nature (Saunders 1975: introduction)." Yet, there exists extensive evidence that indigenous men participated as *trío huasteco* musicians (Sandstrom and Provost 1979; Sandstrom 1991); there are recordings and movies that show women as composers of verse in the Huasteca. While workshop leaders create a new inclusive Huastecan identity and explain its significance to their students and the public, elder musicians balance fulfilling expectations about their roles in the region's *huapanguero* scene, with creating their own counter identities as *mestiza trovadoras* and intercultural *nahua* professional musicians through performance.

The influence of the *Programa del Desarrollo Cultural Huasteca* more inclusive definition of Huastecan regional music can be found in later writing about the region, even if the framing of the Huasteca region is still primarily *mestizo*. In the liner notes for *El Ave de mi Soñar*, a recording of *Los Camperos de Valles*, rereleased by Smithsonian Folkways, Daniel Sheehy continues to echo the framing of the Huasteca as a *mestizo* region and *son huasteco* as a *mestizo* music, where there are few indigenous people. Sheehy chooses to call *sones huastecos*, *mestizo sones* (Sheehy 2005: 3).

[The Huasteca] is home to several prominent Indian groups, including the Tenek (also known as the Huastecs), who are related historically to the Mayans of southern Mexico, and the Náhuatl people, linked linguistically to the ancient Aztecs. Most *huastecos*, though, are *mestizos*, members of Mexico's majority population, which emerged from the intermingling of Indians, Spaniards, and those of African heritage brought as slaves during the period of Spanish colonizations (1521-1810). The *son huasteco* is an important expression of this centuries-old *mestizo* identity. (Sheehy 2005: 3),

Sheehy tries to account for the three types of repertoire that *trío huasteco* musicians call: *son huasteco*, *huapango canción*,¹ and *sones de costumbre* according to his own framework, which is based on his research in *son jarocho*, *mariachi* and cultural policy:

Today most *sones* fall into one of three categories: those linked to a region, part of repertoire known collectively as *música regional*; *mestizo sones*, those associated with more professionalized, institutionalized, panregional musical groups, such as the *mariachi* or the *banda* (brass band) scattered today throughout Mexico; or Indian *sones*. Indian people throughout Mexico perform their own repertoires of *sones*, closely tied to dance and ritual, which are very repetitious, spinning out a short melody to accompany a wedding procession, a ritual dance, a devotional ceremony, or other activity (Sheehy 2005: 4).

All of the regional *sones* of Mexico have been deployed as part of this nation-building project at various times in Post-Revolutionary Mexico. In *huapango*, or *son huasteco*, the contradiction between the naturalization of male dominance of the genre, and the naturalization of the erasure of post-colonial indigenous participation in *son huasteco*, *huapango*, was only visible in the period of the invention of a national version of *huapango* between the 1940-60s (see Lira Lozano 2005 and Lira Lozano and Muñoz 2005). While *son huasteco* was born out of the contact between Spanish, Indigenous and African cultures, it is not the sole provenance of *mestizo* (non-indigenous or *afrodescendiente*) communities.

¹ What Sheehy calls “those associated with pan regional musical groups, such as the *mariachi* or *banda* are *huapango canciones*. These are composed songs that took the rhythm of *son huasteco* and a stylized falsetto that were originally composed by Huasteco musicians who began to work at radio stations and in the cinema. They are also strongly associated with *tríos huastecos*, the form an essential part of their repertoire for performance and most of the *huapango canciones* were composed to extol the qualities of a specific town, or place in the Huasteca. They became nationalized during the mid-20 century through the Mexican radio and cinema. Then they could be found in the repertoire of performance of almost any professional musicians.

While the majority of professional musicians from the 1940s until the late 1990s were male, there are historical recordings, books of verse and articles that prove that women have participated in *huapango* as singers, *trovadoras*, dancers and instrumental musicians in the 19th-20th centuries as well as testimony from members of families from the Pánuco-Tampico and Ciudad Valles regions (Valdez Flores 2007; Flores Ardillas 2007; Calderon 2007). During the early period of the Oil Boom, and shortly after the petroleum industry's nationalization, from the 1920s-1940s, *trío huasteco* instrumentalist-singer musicians became increasingly professionalized and moved to several cities, including Tampico and Poza Rica, to provide entertainment for the oil workers in patron—client relationships. During that time period there were several women, such as Tomasita del Angel and Ambrosia Reyes, who had learned to play before the professionalization of musicians and economic changes in the Huasteca moved many musicians into these cities as integrants of these professional *tríos* who played in weddings, saints days, and other community celebrations in the different cities and ranches in Pánuco, Tampico Alto, Ébano and Tampico region, as well as in *palenques de peleas de gallos*, *cantinas*, *café*s, bars and brothels in Tampico. The participation of women in family parties as singers and dancers was an important part of the music tradition, that continues into the present; however, women's musical participation outside of the *encuentros* has been either denied, or remarked upon as either unimportant or non-existent, even when there is evidence to the contrary.

Efforts to promote *son huasteco* as an intrinsic part of identity in Mexico and the Huasteca region have cast both the race and sex of performers and their

respective roles within the practices and tradition in different ways. Musicianship just like citizenship causes female musicians and indigenous musicians to lived through the lens of region and nation, therefore some musicians, because of their gender or ethnicity are considered as belonging less to a musical style like *son huasteco*, because they step out of the assigned roles that were given to them through the “invention” (sic!) of a set *son huasteco* tradition (Granger and Hobsbawm 1983). Essential to most definitions of tradition are stories about origins.

Mestizo son huasteco, Gender and Nationalism

The origins of *son huasteco*, or *huapango*, have been traced in different ways depending upon the politics of groups within Mexico, as part of the definition of the national imaginary of Mexico. Often caste as *mestizo*, and used as a way to define the center of Mexico through its difference in performances of groups, such as *El Ballet Folclórico Nacional de Amalia Hernández*—once housed in *Bellas Artes* in Mexico City—the ballet group worked at creating a mosaic from local dances reformed into a patchwork of regional versions of *mestizo* Mexican identity. Through these choreographies stereotypes of the typical traits of Huastecos with spectacular costumes and set dance steps were changed to conform to the cosmopolitan aesthetics of the art dance world (Turino 2000).

In the Huasteca region, the regional political class based in Pánuco wanted to render Huastecan *mestizo* identity visible in contrast to that of the center of the

nation, which was engendered by mariachi music and the *jarabe* dance. They accomplished this through displaying reformed *son huasteco* and regional costumes in regional fairs, social club events in Tampico, and by establishing *concursons*, or dance contests, as a way to define a regional *mestizo* identity during the 1940s-1960s. The origins were traced to unified Huastecan identity, born out of the expressions of Spanish and African elements being combined and fused with indigenous culture to create a single *mestizo* style and identity that represents the Huasteca region, but which was represented by the costume created to represent Pánuco, Veracruz (Sanders 1975; Mendoza 1944; Folgelquist 1976; Saunders 1975; Sheehy 1980).

Amalia Hernández drew on dancers from the various regions of Mexico to help create choreographies. Raul Pazzí first traveled from the Pánuco region to work with Amalia Hernández in Mexico City during the early years of the presidency of Adolfo López Mateos from 1958-64 (Lira Lozano 2005). The musician Los Hermanos Calderón also worked briefly with *El Ballet Folklórico Nacional de Amalia Hernández*, during this same time period, but then left for residencies in Colima, because Amalia Hernández's ballet did not want to pay the musicians. Los Hermanos Calderon and Raul Pazzí both became founding members of *El Conjunto Típico Tamaulipeco* (Bernabe Calderón August 8, 2007). Pazzí had a hand in defining both the academic style of Huastecan dance that would become a symbol of the State of Veracruz, thereby privileging his home Pánuco, Veracruz as the representative of the state and the region, and also in defining the early academic versions of Huastecan dance the different states in the HUasteca region.

Lawrence Saunders began his research just after *huapango* had undergone a transformation to represent the Huasteca internationally. He drew upon interviews with dancer Raul Pazzí, the designer of a standardized woman's costume representing all of the Huasteca for the women of Pánuco, and an important figure in creating dance competitions that artificially separate the Huasteca, based on the boundaries of the six different states with portions covered by the Huasteca.

Saunders writes that the costume that Huastecos use to dance *huapango* and to play the music is the same white *guayabera*, pants and *sombrero* as *son jarocho*. The origins story Saunders presents and the image of *mestizo huapango huasteco*, or *son huasteco*, reveals it from a *mestizo* perspective by tracing its first notes back to the Port of Tampico and the municipality of Pánuco, one of the first Spanish settlements of the area.

The Huasteca Pánuco-Tampico metropolitan area—which has a negligible population of speakers of an indigenous language and is primarily *mestizo*—played an important role in the push for modernization of the Huasteca through the oil, soft-drink and beer industries, cattle ranching and monoculture citrus agriculture in the mid-20th Century. The development of industries in the Huasteca created a cultural elite that used *concurros* to “re-claim” *huasteco* identity for Huastecos as an alternative *jaibo mestizo* identity. An alternative to the identity of *charros* represented by *mariachi* and *jarabes* in the center of Mexico (Lira Lozano 2005). Raul Pazzí designed this costume to represent all of the Huasteca, after touring with *jarocho* musicians and dancers internationally with the governor of the state of Veracruz in the late 1950s. For the costume Pazzí adapted the women's academic

jarocho dance costume's organza skirt, blouse and fan, to the Huasteca region by adding it with a Huastecan *quexquemetl* and a modified *petob*.² Pazzí selected musicians and *trovadores* from the Pánuco region to accompany him when toured internationally as a dancer representing the Huasteca region. In the 1960s, Raul Pazzí brought a young woman singer, dancer and verse improviser Ema "La Güera" 'The Fair Woman' Maza del Ángel, one of several women from the del Ángel family who practiced *huapango*, and a young musician and verse improviser with an extraordinary falsetto, Everado "El Aguila Negra," 'The Black Eagle,' Ramírez Ochoa, to record along with *Los Cantores de Pánuco* from the Pánuco-Tampico area in Mexico City. They performed some of the most beautiful singing and verses ever recorded for *son huasteco*, which continues to be one of the most popular recordings of the genre. The distinctiveness of the local musical practices that were shared on the recording and ethnic identities of the performers were largely ignored, because they were of secondary importance to creating an appealing dance spectacle and a unified regional and national *mestizo* identity for cultural nationalism.

² *Concursos* for dance would promote academic styles of dance and states would establish their own versions of costume and dance for the contests. The costumes for Puebla and Hidalgo each have elements of traditional *nahua* dress for women. The costume for San Luis Potosí uses the traditional dress of *tének* women. Many women in communities in the north of Veracruz use traditional *nahua* and *tének* dress as their daily clothing. Civil associations in this part of Veracruz involved in the reclaiming of public spaces for *huapango* are also promoting local versions of dress, modeled on traditional dress of *nahua* or *tének* women since the establishment of the PDCH and the translocal *encuentro huapanguero fiesta* and *encuentro* scene. One example is the civil association that is in charge of the *Fiesta de Tepezintla: Huitzitzilin Tepezintla, Veracruz, A. C.*

Indigenous *Son Huasteco* Origins

Even though there would be no *huapango* or *son huasteco* without the arrival of Spanish and Africans to the Huasteca, *huapango* and *son huasteco* have also been cast as integral to the continuity and everyday life of Tének (Huasteco) and *nahua* communities, by the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista*. This national organization began holding separate events from those of *mestizos*, in 1977, when they held the first *Encuentro de Músicos Indígenas*.

Huastecan *nahua* musicians figured prominently and they performed instrumental music that was important to ritual life and dances in their communities, along with *sones huastecos* and *huapangos*. Musicians like Don Martín Hernández, of the community of Huehuetla, Huejutla, played *Canarios*, *Xochipitzahuatls* and other *sones* that are associated with weddings in these *encuentros* (Personal communication José Hernández February 2012; *Programa de Música Tradicional*-FONAPAS and INI 1983). A narrative of origins which is on the ground, but has not been generally articulated in official discourse—has been deployed by *nahua* and *nahua-mestizo* musicians—where musicians explain that *canarios*, and other *sones de costumbre*, that have a ritual function are older than *huapango*, *fandango* and *son huasteco*.

Ritual *sones* and religious *danzas* are probably older than *huapango* if we accept that the present styles of music and dance in Mexico can be traced to the arrival of the Flemish priest Peter Ghent, and other Franciscan and Augustinian missionaries in XVI century, who used dance and music as worship to convert

indigenous peoples during the colonial period. One such dance would be a form of *matachines* dance, known in the Huasteca as *La Danza de Tres Colores*.

Although *sones huastecos* grew out of *mestizaje*, *nahua* musicians have sung *sones huastecos* in Spanish for generations and played instrumental music for rituals and celebrations. Several musicians say that they began to sing *huapangos* and *sones huastecos* in *Náhuatl* only recently. In the early 1990s, musicians began composing coplas for *sones huastecos* in *Náhuatl* (personal communications Victor Moedano August 2010 and October 2011; Personal communication Eusebio Hernández April 2011). *Tríos huastecos* began recording lyrics in *Náhuatl*.

The INI began various projects in conjunction with *Culturas Populares*, in the 1990s when Bonfill Batalla was the director many of which reclaimed indigenous culture and languages for children and communities. One book was published in *Tének* (Huasteco) as a project for a school in Tacanhuitz, San Luis Potosí.

The book *Huapango: un relato de niños huastecos*, provides a nice summary of the genre described by a child who lives with the music in his daily life. It presents *huapango* and *son huasteco* as an important part of the daily life of contemporary Huasteco (Tenek) school children. It is told from the viewpoint of a child who speaks Tenek and has a father who is a *son huasteco* musician. It was distributed through the SEP and the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (INI). The book reclaims *huapango* as Huasteco, (Tének), through the use of the language in the text. Note in the text that "*jarana huasteca*" is called *jarana tenek*.

Huapango has a happy rhythm and when it is sung a soft high little yell that is known as falsetto. Its songs are about the people, the towns and the beauty of nature. The melodies are played by trios and each huapanguero plays a different instrument: *the quinta huapanguera*, the violin and the *jarana huasteca* (translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

9

El huapango tiene un ritmo alegre y al cantarse se echa un gritito suave y agudo, que se conoce con el nombre de falsete. En sus canciones, se habla de la gente, los pueblos y la belleza de la naturaleza. Estas melodías se interpretan en trío, es decir, con tres músicos que tocan un instrumento diferente cada uno: la huapanguera o guitarra quinta, el violín y la jarana huasteca.



An huapango in k'wa'al in alabel k'igidh tam u t'enyab ani tam u ájatnab binab jun i dh'ajal k'ayumk'ewe', axi exladh k'al in big ti lab FALSETE k'al in ajatlábilchik, t'ilab an k'wajilon, bichowchik ani in alabeltal k'al i Trío ti lab, in le' kin úlul in t'énemtal k'álek'e jun ti ox i atátal k'al xallúl in t'énemtal, an huapanguera o guitarra quinta, an violin ani an jarana tenek.

Figure 1: Drawing from Bilingual Tének and Spanish *El Huapango* (INI 1992. *El Huapango: Relato de Niños Huastecos*)

Mestizo and Indigenous Identity

The support of *mestizo* and indigenous identity—as opposed to *mestizo or* indigenous identity—began under the directorship of Bonfil Batalla, who wrote

México Profundo. Bonfil argued that the nation should do everything with in its power to support indigenous popular and traditional expressions and *mestizo* expressions together, because they are part of the “deep culture,” of Mexico. Amparo Sevilla, was part of the generation of students who studied under and worked with Bonfil and another anthropologist, Guillermo Moedano. She helped design policies for the PDCH began to reframe *son huasteco* and *huapango* as deep living culture that is *mestizo* and indigenous, and emphasized *salvaguardía de patrimonio musical intangible*, a term which translates roughly as ‘banking intangible musical patrimony,’ as opposed to salvage, or revival.

This is in contrast with how the Huasteca and *son huasteco* have been cast by several US scholars, as primarily a *mestizo* region and tradition with “other Indian” *sones* (Saunders 1976; Sheehy 2004 Liner Notes of *El Ave de Mi Soñar*: 3; Hutchinson 2008: 213). The PDCH constructs a region where Spanish, Africa and Indigenous cultures co-exist, in concert and contrast, instead of melding into a single unified regional *mestizo* culture. Some writings published by the PDCH has framed *huapango* as a music that represents African and Spanish expressions that are localized as a super-genre, without disrupting the region’s original traditional culture based in an indigenous a mono-culture, shared, but with many local variations, by different ethno-linguistic groups, that had Spanish and African culture overlaid. This reversal of *mestizaje* opens a space where *mestizo* and indigenous claims on *son huasteco* and *huapango* exist in at times in harmony and at times contested and in dissonance at the events when cultural agents frame *son huasteco* and *huapango* with language or musicians perform.

A] pesar de huecos existentes es posible identificar la tradición cultural huasteca, forjada por pautas de numerosas etnias, pero donde los *tének* y *nahuas* constituyen las dos corrientes principales que convergen en el río. [L]a Huasteca es multi-lingüística y monocultural. El *huapango* es un claro ejemplo de la manera en que expresiones ajenas (española y africana) pueden integrarse a la local, dando pie a nuevas expresiones, sin que por ello pierda su esencia la tradición cultural originaria. Los senderos que ha recorrido Dhipak, espíritu del maíz son múltiples y numerosos. ¿A dónde nos llevarán sus encrucijadas y burificaciones?

Despite the gaps (in history) it is possible to identify the cultural tradition of the Huasteca forged from numerous ethnicities' guidelines, but where the *Tének* and *Nahuas* constitute the two main currents that converge into a river. [T]he Huasteca is multi-linguistic and monocultural. **Huapango** is one example of the way foreign expressions (Spanish and African) can be integrated into the local, giving rise to new expressions, without losing the Huasteca's essence, the original cultural tradition. The paths of Dhipak, the spirit of maize and from the Huasteca, are multiple and numerous. Where will her crossroads and forks take us?

.Gustavo Ramírez Castilla (*Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca* 2008: 18)

Ramírez Castilla makes an interesting argument that in essence reverses *mestizaje* as the unifying process for the Huasteca region. Rather than adopting a eurocentric point of view that attributes all of shared attributes of Huastecan regional culture to colonialization by the Spanish, Ramírez Castilla uses the shared sacred place that corn plays in the spirituality and culture of pre-Hispanic and contemporary autochthonous people from the Huasteca. The reversal of eurocentric *mestizaje* as the only unifier of the region is based in archeological, linguistic and ethnographic research and creates room for a *mestizaje* for living modern post-colonial contact *mestizo* and indigenous *huapangueros*, who have naturalized aspects of African and European cultures into local cultures and traditions (*nahua*, *tének*, *totonacos*, *hña hñus* and *pames*) also are acknowledged as important living contributors to this culture.

The Huasteca has a larger percentage of residents over the age of five that speak an indigenous language than the majority of Mexico (see Figure 2 and also Sandstrom 1986) . The PDCH's emphasis on the data and the frame of a criollo-*mestizo*, afro-descediente and indigenous cultural region has contributed to a performance context within *encuentros huapangueros* where performers can select which elements of their local identities, ethno-linguistic group, local community and Huasteca region to perform at any given time rather than presenting a unified *mestizo* culture as expressed in *huapango*.

The unity of the Huasteca region as a cultural area, and its expression through *son huasteco* and *huapango*, is seldom debated in literature written in Mexico. Still, the view *son huasteco* and *huapango* as a *mestizo* expression and claims that the Huasteca region is primarily *mestizo* should be qualified at a minimum. At least six indigenous languages are spoken in the Huasteca region.

There are portions of the Huasteca region, primarily in Hidalgo and in the Huasteca Baja region of Veracruz where outside of the county seat in municipalities the majority of the population speaks and indigenous language. These are also areas where *son huasteco* and *huapango* can still be heard as a daily choice of popular music in the markets, on stereos sold in malls, live in restaurants and cantinas, and at the important life events and parties of *mestizos* and speakers of indigenous languages alike.

Linguistic distribution in the Huasteca broken down by state and language

State	Indigenous Language	Number of Speakers	Total population in the Huasteca	Percent of Huastecan region Population who speak an indigenous language
Hidalgo	Náhuatl	159,893	246,226	66%
Veracruz	Náhuatl	131,555	1,065,304	12%
	Tének or Huasteco	48,868		5%
	Otomí or hñahñu	14,750		1%
	Tepehua or limasioihní	5,754		.5%
	Totonaca	3,860		.3%
	Total	204,787		19%
San Luis Potosí	Náhuatl	129,164	667,433	19%
	Tének or Huasteco	83,679		13%
	Pame or xi'iuy	2,246		.03%
	Total	215089		32%
Puebla	Náhuatl	16,752	196,242	9%
	Otomí or hñahñu	3,367		1.7%
	Pame or xi'iuy	1,245		.6%
	Total	21,364		11%
Querétaro	Pame or xi'iuy	84	106,511	.07%
Tamaulipas	0	0	912,704	0
Population of Mexico			97,483,412	
Population of the Huasteca			3,194,420	
Percentage of population who live in the Huasteca			3.28%	
Speakers of Indigenous languages in the Huasteca			601,217	
Percentage of total population in the Huasteca that speaks an indigenous language			18.82%	

Table 1: Population that Speaks indigenous languages in the Huasteca (Adapted by the author, from Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca 2008: 9-10)

Trío huasteco is also used in indigenous communities for ritual music, some of which are known as *sones de costumbre*, others of which accompany *danzas* for Carnival, Day of the Dead and the *Fiesta de la Virgen de Guadalupe* and other Catholic Saint's Day Fiestas, such as *la Danza de Tres Colores*. There are other musical ensembles associated with music, dance and ritual in Huasteca region. These are brass bands that play Huastecan music, and they have the strongest presence in Náhuatl-speaking communities in Hidalgo and Veracruz. There are also ensembles that have been recently labeled by anthropologists and cultural administrators as "*Música en Riesgo*," 'At Risk Music,' which would include local versions of music played on flutes and drums, or harps, rebecs, and *jaranitas*, in indigenous zones of the Huasteca, such as the Tének *Taksom Son*, or some types of *canarios* played on harp and a ritual *jaranita* in San Luis Potosí, as well as certain ways of playing music in a *trío huasteco*.

The indigenous and *mestizo* manifestations and women's performances of *son huasteco* are given a place within the *encuentros*, even if their participation as *son huasteco* musicians has been not very well known and is absent from the official framing of the Huasteca region. In some editions of the festival indigenous music that has been labeled as "At Risk," are being documented, supported and displayed at the festivals. In other editions women's participation has been highlighted. The *encuentros huapangueros* and *El Festival de la Huasteca* creates an inclusive, but sometimes contested place where musicians, dancers and culture bearers present their identity music and culture. Harmonious and contested social dynamics come into play in the musical performances and presentations of musicians at these

events. Even though the focus of the chapters that follow will be on *trío huasteco* musicians performances of identity and music in the *encuentros huapangueros* it will also compare these performances to those in each musician's local community. I suggest that the musicians incorporate elements into their performances, such as sounds, customs and practices, which evoke the idea of home unconsciously, and also establish their authenticity in the trans-local performance context of *El Festival de la Huasteca*.

Huastecan Utopia Lost, Performance Theory and Methodology Found

For this study, I had initially selected *El Festival de la Huasteca* as a utopian site. Here *mestizo* and indigenous promoters, musicians, dancers and communities, people from the Huasteca region, and those who were not from the Huasteca region overcame conflicts within the region and reclaimed *son huasteco* and *huapango* as a participatory music making and poetic and dance practice. Because it has been a participatory festival, people in theory and in practices have danced, played music and listened to each other in *huapango* across ethnicities (see Keil 2005: Turino 2008 and Bigenho 2002 for other studies where music and dance practices create community).

Initially I imagined the festival as a utopia where women of all generations, classes, education levels and ethnicities participated equally as teachers of the traditions, dancers, *trovadoras* and musicians. I was drawn to the festival as a site for research, because there were what I thought of as *huapango* dance revolutions,

moments where through *huapango* everyone participates together in making *son huasteco* in the Festival during informal gatherings.

These moments were what one *trovadora* from Pánuco called, “*huapango clandestino*,” ‘clandestine *huapango*, a term that referenced *huapango* style that had persisted in the small communities that she called *ranchos* in the area around Pánuco for centuries, despite suppression by the Church, but which she used also to refer to *huapango* dance, music and poetry that retained its swaggering humor, counterrhythm *zapateado*, tapping dance steps and singing style and which had not been gentrified to be placed on the stage, *ballet folclórico*, *concurso*s and dance academies. in spontaneous participatory parties featuring *huapango* dance, music and improvised verses, on the sidelines in the festival grounds, and sometimes on the *tárima* dance platform in front of the stage during the late hours of the *encuentros huapangueros*.³

The chapters that follow could only focus these types of moments and they could also focus exclusively on how local music and dance are changed for cultural nationalism. For my dissertation, I had hoped to write a study that celebrates the pluri-multi (Bigenho 2002) democracy espoused in the festival through collective enjoyment of colorful, music, dance and customs in this festival, and how much the community made up of people who travel between the different *huapango encuentros*, throughout the year and who attend the festival, have become a larger

³ During my research which began in earnest in 2004, depending on the disposition of the hosting towns and cities for the *encuentros*, occasionally the clandestine *huapangos* which occurred spontaneously in the streets and plazas, that were held after the official programming on the stage is over would be shut down by the police and military because of noise complaints by residents once they ran into the wee hours of dawn.

community focused on music, dance and cultural change towards understanding with in the Huasteca. I also wanted to focus on how the “project culture” (Bigenho 2002) that the revival had given birth to a scene through its use of grants to support and stimulate culture. In this scene centered on Huasteca culture that is indigenous and *mestizo*, different musicians, dancers and poets from the Huasteca—alongside traditional medicine practitioners, indigenous language teachers, and traditional artisans from the Huasteca, who save and regenerate *huapango* music, dance and practices were at risk.

However, I learned more in *El XV Festival de la Huasteca, the Festival de la Huasteca's fiesta de quince años*, fifteenth birthday, for me the festival had come of age, or maybe it was my engagement with the music and culture that had come of age. It could also be that I had come of age during my fieldwork. My rose colored glasses were removed. By observing the varied reception of participants and audiences I learned that performers authenticity claims and the aesthetics of their performances were not universally accepted in the *encuentros*.

Workshops sponsored by the PDCH had promoted *nahua* and *mestizo* identity for the entire region. They had encouraged women and girls to perform as equals alongside men and boys. Indigenous and *mestizo* music and dance were also given equal representation at the events. Yet, many at the *encuentros* did not like all of these performances, or the performances of elder musicians from other parts of the Huasteca. That said there were other individuals—who, as I did—embraced all of the diversity and performances with open ears and hearts. Still, it was through listening to the negative receptions that I learned the heavy stakes of ownership in

cultural patrimony, and how not everyone is given the same easy access to speak about authenticity. The breaks revealed ethnic and social class divisions between teachers and professional musicians, cultural administrators, anthropologists and *campesinos* (some of whom were not identified correctly by the administrators as inheritors of their father's musical styles and wisdom). Even if for some participants indigenous and regional Huastecan music and identity were alienable and available for all to learn and perform; there are many who have a connection to this music that goes back for generations and do not access the events.

Because of my awareness of these differences, I was able to understand how even in the performances of participants included in the *encuentros* personal, local, regional and national identities, gender and the roles of women and men, are simultaneously performed as different communities are imagined, created and divided. The performances reflect layered and nested boundaries that exist between different communities through musical and poetic practices within this larger community of *huapangueros* and the revival supported by the PDCH. I found that I learned more about local versions of *huapango*, performance of identity, music and culture, when I analyzed performances where some members of the audience liked the music and were able to understand and enjoy the performers versions of *huapango*, while other members of the audience did not. I witnessed institutional policies and local musicians tactics for inclusion and exclusion carried out simultaneously socially and through music transmission and performance. Later, I would learn that these were performance moments when each performer had made

selections about which local practices they would share and give to the entire Huasteca region.

Local Practices of Huapango in Trans-Local Contexts: What to Share?

While *huapango* has been claimed as unifying expression of Huasteco identity that is *afro-descendiente*, spanish, *mestizo* and indigenous, each community within the Huasteca has some specific practices and genres associated with *huapango* that are not as valued in other communities outside of the Huasteca. In local communities, *huapango* has been, and is used where courtship, celebration of marriage, birth, death, and the passage to adulthood are celebrated with family. *It is* preferred entertainment in some *cantinas* and brothels. It plays a ceremonial role in different communities' marriages and rituals. *Huapango* also represents a heightened space where homo-social rivalries are played out, and relationships between the sexes and gender expression are negotiated through participatory verse and dance practices.

For many youth, outside of the *encuentros*, the continuation of *huapango* as the life-blood of parties, is expressed through its mixture with *música grupera* aesthetics, regional Mexican music, and popular repertoire. In these events *huapango* is not presented as folklore, but is part of commercial dances known as *bailes*. In this context *huapango* is danced in night clubs and dance halls in places as disparate as Mexico City and Atlanta, Georgia, and in small communities throughout

the Huasteca such as Huautla, Hidalgo, Chicontepec, Benito Juarez, in *galeras*⁴ and in town centers throughout the Huasteca.

Outside of local performance contexts, in the Festival, a trans-local music, dance and poetic scene, the performers selections of pieces and ways of performing are a rich site to explore the process through which local practices of *huapango* and popular music, along with associated *trío huasteco* genres of music are transformed and reformed for outsiders in the name of cultural nationalism, and how processes of sharing local practices and resisting appropriation are negotiated. The performer's professional reputation within this community of interest in the translocal scene of *huapangueros* at *encuentros huapangueros* as authentic and skilled dancers, *trovadores*, or musicians is established through these performances.

Trans-local music and dance scenes have participants with varied levels of accomplishment, however, they bring together the best of each element at festivals that travel to various locations to present, share and sometimes compete (Marion 2010; Hodkinson 2004; Dowd, Liddle and Nelson 2004). It is in the festivals and fiestas performance contexts that the performers' reputations as professional musicians, or bearers of ancestral knowledge are established for other musicians, dancers and trovadores, the public that hires *tríos huastecos* and *trovadores* for weddings and other parties and cultural administrators at the local, regional and national scale.

⁴ Galeras are public covered shelters that belong to communities where town meetings and dances take place, much like granges for country music, polka, contra dancing, conjunto and other styles of dances in the late 19th and 20th Century in the United States.

El Festival de la Huasteca is unique among the other *encuentros huapangueros*, because of its link to the funding organizations and administrators and because it travels and it uses this aspect of trans-local music festival scenes to activate communities within the Huasteca region to continue playing *huapango* and re-activate others. Within the festival scene of participants who travel to all of the festivals, the musicians, dancers and poets all want to prove to each other that they are virtuosos, that they are authentic carriers of the traditions, or that they have skillfully learned to create verses, sing, play and or dance *son huasteco* as outsiders. Many participants want to prove that they are accomplished, but also those who wish to transmit their knowledge balance their desire for a virtuosic or authentic performance to make room for everyone, including beginner musicians, dancers and poets, to participate. Their performances in the festival mirror (in both expected and unexpected ways) how *huapango* fits differently into the social life of local communities within the Huasteca and reveal how ethnicity, gender, identity and performance are linked together. Performers use embodiment, musical style, genre selection, language and soundscapes at *El Festival de la Huasteca* to represent themselves, the region and members of the audience as a community through music song and dance.

Local and Trans-Local Multi-Site Performance Analysis

In order to understand the identities and musical genres at play when performers made selections of what to share with the region, *El Festival de la*

Huasteca was used as an entry point for multi-site field research that explored how broad categories such as ethnicity, gender, regional identity and nation are performed by individuals. *Son huasteco* had previously been artificially divided and stylized to create official academic styles of dance for each state and with these styles dance troupes represented the state governments, and individual couples competed in *concursons*. As regional genre with many local variations, the credibility of performers is often tied to their relationships to local geographies, musical dynasties and musical practices that are learned in family or through apprenticeship, or acquired by individuals through travel to the Huasteca as participants in the festivals, or for research

My research attempts to explain these complexities and tensions, It draws on and modifies previous studies of performance of semiotic substitution in folklore and anthropology, musical performance practices and gender, sex and sexuality studies, but in a way based in pragmatic and sustained multi-site ethnographic participant observation research. More than just detached ethnographic description of cultural policy, as a U.S. female white ethnomusicologist I attempt to support decolonializing, feminist and repatriation projects that the *Programa de Desarrollo de la Cultura de la Huasteca* and *encuentro* organizers have laid out, as well as add to claims made by *mestizo*-indigenous, *nahua* and *mestiza* performers to this patrimony drawing indigenous scholars proposals for methodologies such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Smith 2012). This study aims to archive, or document, some local musicians sophisticated contradictory tactics of sharing and yet resisting simplistic appropriation as ways to bank fragile musical patrimony and create intercultural

alliances, in addition to those of official cultural administrators, I will these explore these issues further in the conclusion.

Folklorists, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists have been interested in performance practices of speech, culture, self/character and music in cultural contexts since the 1970s (*speech* Hymes 1973; Bauman and Babcock 1984; Bauman and Scherzer 1974; Jackobsen 1960; Scherzter 1992; *self* Goffman 1974; *music* Schuyler 1979 and 1985; Behague 1985). However, few ethnomusicologists have deployed multi-site and multi-community research to examine both performance style and performance moments of individual performers (Schuyler 1979, , Turino 1994, Lortat-Jacobs 1995 and Bigenho 2002). Philip Schuyler's dissertation, followed itinerant Rwais musicians in Morrocco to different urban and rural performance contexts. It is one of the few studies, which analyzed different musical motifs and how they were played in weddings in villages, the market on the street, in touristic presentations in restaurants and on the radio and cassettes. Schuyler presented the musicians as sophisticated artists who skillfully "distilled" old music like "wine" and performance elements and placed them into new contexts "bottles" and they also placed new elements into old contexts (Schuyler 1979: 2).

Meanwhile, Lortat-Jacobs traveled to different communities in Sardinia to compare different community's dance parties and musicians' styles of performance. Turino explored how Andean music was transformed through urbanization (1994). Bigenho's study explored how indigeneity was performed and authenticities defined differently in Bolivia (2002). I argue performers define how they want to share themselves and their music through different performance tactics where they

selecting when, where and how to incorporate local practices and genres in *El Festival de la Huasteca* and in other sites within the trans-local circuit of the *huapango* “art world” (Becker 1986; 2001).

Some performers explain their local versions and music and use their performance to bridge ethnic and linguistic differences, or to upset unequal gender relationships. Other performers resist easy appropriation, or decontextualization of their genres of music and practices from their local communities through their selection of which elements to share at the *encuentros* at *El Festival de la Huasteca*, and how to conform to the format of performing only three pieces of music. I will break the dissertation down into chapters that reflect how different performers insert their ethnic, regional, class, sex, gender, and other subject positions from their local, and imagined communities into their performances at the festivals as representatives of specific municipalities of the Huasteca region, or as teachers of *huapango*.

For my multi-site ethnography of *son huasteco*, local *mestizo* and *nahua* performance practices and gender, I attended music festivals, government programs, and learned in music workshops, and as one of many ethnographers and non-local musicians who perform along with professional musicians at the festivals, *encuentros* and throughout the Huasteca. I also played as an apprentice and professional musician in my own trío in religious and family fiestas over several years, restaurants, and cantinas in the US and Mexico, in the Huasteca and Mexico City. The analysis will examine how *mestiza* identity and gender intersect for performers from Pánuco, Veracruz, Ciudad Victoria, with data collected using

community ethnographic cinema techniques . It will also how examine *Nahua* identity, *sones de costumbre* and religious fiestas from Chicón-tepec, Veracruz and Huejutla, Hidalgo are transported as secret transcripts or subconscious references for audiences and participants, or as canons of Huasteco repertoire for workshop students in the trans-local festivals.

My observations were collected from 2004 until 2012. While experiences visiting many different locations within the Huasteca inform my knowledge and form the basis of all of my analysis and research, I only selected key performances of performers from *El Festival de la Huasteca* which revealed the tensions of inclusion and divisions within the Huasteca through performances and the receptions of performance for my analysis. I compared the same individuals' performances in their local communities of origin and the trans-local context of the festival. In some instances their home performances were only used as the basis for my analytic interpretations, in other instances their home performances were analyzed more explicitly to show the ingenuity of the performers improvisation in their performances and the semiotic references that they invoked at the festival.

I write about the musicians' performances at home to highlight the different places and functions of *trío huasteco* music and dance in three communities' cultures within the Huasteca, with different socio-historical, ethnic and educational histories. They represent case studies of communities that all share *son huasteco* and *huapango* and have played important historical roles in national and regional Huastecan identity in the past, but with some distinct local practices associated with the genre. Each of these sets of musicians have been important source communities

for the current revival, reclamation and revitalization of *trío huasteco* music. These three sets of musicians are: *mestizo-nahua* professional school teachers who are also workshop leaders who have ties to Chicontepec, Veracruz and Ciudad Victoria Tamaulipas; *mestiza* women *trovadoras* from the Pánuco, Veracruz-Tampico-Tamaulipas region; and *nahua* professional *son huasteco* musicians/ritual specialist musicians from Huejutla de Reyes, Hidalgo. Each of the communities these musicians belong to—as well as their personal subject positions—has a different relationship to national identity, *nahua* and *mestizo* identity, gender and *huapango*.

The analysis will include how their performances negotiate their personal identities and their intersectionality. The analysis will show how they transport distinct local music and poetic cultural practices into their performances of *huapango* in the trans-local regional *encuentros huapangueros*, especially at *El Festival de la Huasteca*. Each has used their own identities as cultural capital differently to access a time to perform *son huasteco* locally and in *encuentros huapangueros*. In some instances the official announcers at these events the PDCH present these performers in different ways from how they perceive themselves, particularly in the case of the *viejos huapangueros*, elder (or professional) musicians who are also framed as important living cultural resources in this festival by some of the agents in this environment where an important cultural project has been combined with a multigenerational music scene.

Contribution:

While a classic topic in Mexican ethnomusicology and folklore, (Aguilar León 2000; Alvarez Boada 1985; Baquero Foster 1942; Domínguez 1932; Lira Lozano 2002; Mendoza 1942; Tellez 1932), few studies have been written on *son huasteco* or regional Huastecan music to this date in ethnomusicology (Saunders 1975 and Muñoz 2006). However, the significance of this study goes beyond mapping a music that has been left out of the ethnomusicology scholarship in the US. The model created by the organizers of the PDCH has become the model for all sustainable development of cultural areas in Mexico since 2001, and it has been the most prolific program in terms of publishing scholarship in Mexico on popular *mestizo* and indigenous music, for the release of CDs and promotion of festivals (Bustos Valenzuela 1997 and 1999; Hernández Azuara 1999; Camacho Díaz 2003; Jurado and Camacho 2012).

The PDCH's participatory model of tradition for *son huasteco* has created a complex dynamic, because it has taught more people how to play *son huasteco* and other Huastecan regional music, compose *huapangos*, improvise verse and dance in musical, spontaneous ways and it has opened a space where excluded performers and communities can reclaim their music and identities. While it could be said that some musicians from outside of the region, or who belong to the class of educated professionals, learn repertoires of musicians and communities, mine them as a resource and then become representatives of the Huasteca region due to their better access to resources and connections than local musicians in small communities.

Workshop leaders create canons of repertoire for their students, but simplify the practices, which—provided that the students continue—is usually corrected by playing music with better *son huasteco trío huasteco* musicians and the elder *huapangueros* at the *encuentros*. The face-to-face sharing of *huapango* creates a mechanism where the different people involved the process negotiate what is shared with the region, and how people and their cultures and music are represented.

This dissertation will explore how institutional goals, values and models of participation, multiculturalism and equality between the sexes have shaped the support of popular and indigenous culture in Mexico in the Huasteca region Mexico through the PDCH. Following on Michelle Bigenho's study *Sounding Indigenous*, on Ecuadorean music Bigenho proposes that the mid-1990s began a period of the "return of the Indian," and indigenous cool, and the pluri-multi ethnic. She says concepts have changed the performance of Ecuadorean music, in translocal contexts (Bigenho 2002), I will show how the program's values of pluri-multi-cultural diversity and de-centralization of support have changed music festivals and presentation of *trío huasteco*, *son huasteco* dance, and *danzas autóctonas* through the values of *encuentros huapangos*. I also aim to add to the theory of performance of identity and music in Mexico through my analysis by contrasting the performances of *trío huasteco* musicians and dancers in the translocal circuit of music festivals and *encuentros*, in particular *El Festival de la Huasteca*, and in their communities of origin.

This analysis will contrast with the analytical frame proposed by Turino where local music and dance are reformed by cosmopolitan aesthetics as a spectacle on the stage. In the past *son huasteco* has been reformed through *ballet folkórico*, where specific dance steps and costumes were invented to represent states within the Huasteca by dance *maestros*, such as Raul Pazzí in dance academies. While music and dance are also reformed by the *encuentros huapangueros* and the Festival de la Huasteca's format, in this festival, and others. Rather than using a model that highlights how local elements of music and dance are expropriated like raw materials and reformed by cosmopolitans for the purposes of musical nationalism.

I will examine how elder *huapangueros*, of the Huasteca choose to create nested levels of inside and outside communities in *El Festival de la Huasteca* by performing simultaneously for different audiences. They perform for audiences who know little about the Huasteca other than its music is "ours" as citizens of the nation, but really they are not from the Huasteca. They also perform for aficionados of *huapango*, and other expert dancers, poets and musicians in *huapango*, who are not from their local communities, but who are in the trans-local circuit of *son huasteco* music and dance performance (see Marion 2010 for an example of the trans-local circuit of the competitive ballroom dance art world). Finally musicians perform for the audience that is familiar with their ethno-linguistic group's version, local and personal version of *huapango*. The performances in *encuentros huapangueros* at *El Festival de la Huasteca* hint at a deeper culture and practice associated with *trío huasteco* and *huapango* that is linked to their ethnolinguistic, local, genealogical and gender identities, as well as their perceived place as

performers, in the region and in the Mexican nation. The performers reveal their desire for inclusion in the transmission of knowledge in the trans-local music scene to teach their version of the tradition of *huapango* and also local traditions. They define themselves in relation to others through their performances of *son huasteco* and *huapango* through similarity and difference.

I aim to add to existing theories about identity, folklorization, folklorizing, nationalism and how cosmopolitanism may change the performances and presentations of local music and dance, through the creation of stereotypes and spectacle to create national, regional and ethnic identities as folklore (Mendoza 2000 and 2010; Turino 1994, 2000 and 2008). Because sustainable models of development based on the work of anthropologists and ethnomusicologists in Mexico have shaped the PDCH's new way of recovering and developing the deep aspects of culture and participation in *son huasteco*, folklorizing and folklorization have taken a different aspect than the music and dance found in dance group choreographies and contests. The program's inclusion of different elder *huapangueros* and professional musicians in face-to-face sharing of music corrects the over-institutionalization and distortion of music. Also as a forum where culture is given and shared, the dynamics of performance have changed away from spectacle and towards one of selected gifts and lessons that others can listen and dance to, or join in through song and poetry.

Outline of Dissertation

Chapter II will describe the arrival of *El Festival de la Huasteca* and its *encuentro huapanguero* to Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí, a *huapanguero* municipality, where *huapango* continues to be the lifeblood of parties, accompanies people from birth to death in some families, it is played live by itinerant musicians in *cantinas* instead of recorded music on jukeboxes. *Huapango* is part of a yearly *concurso* held at Tamazunchale to select national dance champions where academically trained dance couples compete within their respective state's version of stylized *huapango* dance. It will show how the "Huasteco Cool," scene is set up, from a stranger's perspective, from the time when I first entered the field. It will highlight the key events, and situate the performances, workshops and teaching that follow in the dissertation.

Chapter III will present the background and the history of the PDCH as a sustainable development program that has helped to reclaim participatory *son huasteco* as a practice shared in public spaces in the Huasteca region. Using policies that decentralize power and administer resources in ways that attempt to be sensitive to local culture, it has redefined the way culture is supported for all of Mexico. The PDCH defined priority populations for the regional development program and defined the geography of the Huasteca region in order to reverse processes of cultural appropriation that have occurred before the development program. Yet, it still allowed anyone, Huastecan region residents, or not, to participate as *son huasteco* musicians, poets and dancers in its events. As part of its

plan to revitalize and reclaim participatory *son huasteco*, it created a trans-local festival and supported a trans-local *huapango* music scene called *El Festival de la Huasteca*.

Chapters IV, V and VI will show how Chicontepec—a *nahua* and *mestizo* municipality that was the center of an indigenist reclamation of *son huasteco* and other music played by *trío huasteco* that had its beginnings in the 1920s and 1930s—formed the foundation of many representations of the Huasteca and workshops in the 1990s, at the beginning of the establishment of the PDCH. Schoolteachers have used *nahua* and *mestizo sones* from the Huasteca to teach about the regional culture in the section of the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* since the establishment of the subdivision called *Misiones Culturales* in 1923. This placed schoolteachers in a unique position ready to teach institutionalized music workshops after music became a priority with the establishment of the PDCH, in 1994.

Some of these workshop leaders have family ties to Chicontepec, but are not based in Chicontepec, rather they reside in Mexico City and in Tamaulipas. They began redefining gender roles by educating many young girls in their workshops and redefining ethnicity in the Huasteca by teaching *Nahua* and *mestizo son huasteco* outside of *Nahua* speaking communities. Workshop leaders began promoting *nahua* and *mestizo* music together as essential to the repertoire of all youth as a means of transmitting cultural understanding and knowledge about the region that they live in. It will trace their vision of musicianship for *trío huasteco*, through its roots in the legacy of *nahua*-speaking school teachers and expressed in the direct

transmission of musical knowledge of one man, also a schoolteacher and *huapanguero* Don Ponciano to his sons, daughter-in-law, granddaughters and the entire Huasteca region and Mexican nation through *El Encuentro de Niños y Jovenes Huapangueros, son huasteco* workshops and by hosting visitors not from the Huasteca region at his home.

Chapter VII will show how through the trans-local *encuentro*, a group of women *trovadoras* from Pánuco, Veracruz began reclaiming a feminist and *afro-mestiza* participatory *son huasteco* history, contesting gender roles, and transmitting their knowledge of verse composition to younger generations at the *encuentros huapangueros*. Pánuco was the source of a previous *mestizo* reclamation of *huapango* and *son huasteco* and resistance to being left out of the national identity of Mexico between the years of 1940-1960 by the political class through beauty pageants, the creation of an academic form of huasteco dance and its promotion to the nation and abroad.

However, this previous folklorization of Pánuco defined gender roles and race, erasing women, such as *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera* players-singers, Tomasita del Ángel and Ambrosia 'la Bochita' Reyes, and casting them as the "muses" for the verses and the entire del Ángel family, which is an important *afro-deciendiente* family that practiced *huapango* as singers, *trovadores* and dancers. Even one of their relatives and pioneers' voice and poetry, the voice and verses of Ema Maza del Ángel, was exploited by cultural promoters, record companies and even the movie industry for this previous folklorization, yet, she was erased from

the credits and history books, and exploited by politicians and promoters because of her musical and literary talent.

The women as performers “rock the cradle of *huapango*” Pánuco, to excavate and transmit a rich female *afrodescendiente* and *mestiza* female history of musicianship, poetic composition and dance, which complicates the perception of all-girl and co-ed *tríos* huastecos as an innovation that grew solely out of workshops. María Antonieta Váldez Flores, Natalia Váldez Flores and Esperanza Zumaya del Ángel, cousins, also “rock the cradle of *huapango*” by using their status as pánuqueras to gain access to events, upsetting stereotypical gender roles. Finally they “rock the cradle “of new *huapangueros* by performing with young inexperienced musicians of either sex, and through their performances they encourage young women instrumental musicians to be confident and dare to enter into the dangerous world of poetic composition and improvisation.

Huejutla de Reyes, is a municipality where over 85% of the populations speaks *Náhuatl*, an indigenous language. Most *Nahua* musicians and dancers have not participated in cultural nationalism outside of the programs started by the *Instituto Nacional de Pueblos Indigenas* (INI) and then taken over by the *Comision Nacional para los Pueblos Indigenas* (CDI), until the establishment of the *Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca* brought the support of *mestizo* and indigenous culture from the Huasteca together. Chapter VIII will examine how *Nahua* musicians perform a regional identity for *mestizos* and *Nahua*, and define local identities and ethnic identity, and personal identities as consummate professional musicians in their performances at *El Festival de la Huasteca*. I will analyze the

performance decisions of two different *tríos* who speak *Náhuatl*, and how they use language and repertoire differently that the workshop teachers and students of chapter III.

The implications of this revitalization for cultural policy, revitalization, participatory music making will be further explored in the conclusion of the dissertation, as will the implications of these performances of identities and music for performance studies. However, first I will turn to my point of entry into *son huasteco*, the Huasteca and *huapango: El Festival de la Huasteca*--a trans-local music festival that brings the best of *son huasteco*, *huapango* and Huastecan culture to a different city each year in one of the six states that makes up the Huasteca.

Ch. 2 Huapangueros:⁵ A Trans-local Music Scene Seen Through El Festival de la Huasteca

El VII Festival de la Huasteca and the Encuentro de Huapangueros Come to Tamazunchale—A Huapanguera City.

It was Wednesday August 14, 2002. I had just arrived with my family to Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí, in order to attend my first *Festival de la Huasteca* featuring *son huasteco* in an *encuentro huapanguero* in the Huasteca region of Mexico. We arrived a day early, because we were worried that we would not be able to find a place to stay and I wanted to see how the festival would be set up and staged, before everything began.

Tamazunchale, the official site for the Seventh Festival of the Huasteca region, *El VII Festival de la Huasteca*, had been host to many *concursos* of *huapango* dance, and *son huasteco* was still alive in this city. Tamazunchale, the first city that I visited in the Huasteca region, where they were setting up the festival that day, had very few hotels, and almost all of the rooms, had been booked in advance by the different cultural administrators to house the invited musicians, dancers, singers,

⁵*Huapangueros*, are people how play, sing or dance *huapango*, or *son huasteco* (the regional *son* from the Huasteca region of Mexico). *Huapango* is sometimes used interchangeably with, *fandango* a dance party found through out Mexico that includes *sones* a genre that includes string music, poetry called *coplas*, and *zapateado*, stomp dancing on a *tárima*, a wooden platform or box that provides the heart beat that drives the music and dance. *Huapango*, the name strongly associated with the Huastecan style of *son*, may come from the Nahuatl language. The term *cuahuitl*, wood, *pan*, over, or on, *co*, place, refers to the dance over the wood that drives the pulse of this music that is the lifeblood of many parties in the Huasteca region.

artisans, academics and other people who were going to be part of the official program for the festival.

The *tárima*—which is a wooden platform where dancers' steps resonate and add to the rhythm of the music for the festival—was being built by a large crew of carpenters in the main plaza in front of the municipal building. We checked into a hotel into the only available room that faced directly onto the bus terminal and highway 85 that runs through the center of the Huasteca region of Mexico. We placed our bags in the room and immediately went to drink *café de olla* and eat enchiladas and *queso fresco*, at the market. It was about 40 degrees celsius, and muggy, at least 80 percent humidity. The market was close to an area covered by lush tropical trees, banana trees, and *coaba* (mahogany) trees. Cicadas sang even in broad daylight, from the forest that ended at a basketball court next to the market overlooking the *Río Moctezuma*. One of the many rivers that crosses the Huasteca Gulf Coast plains region, the *Río Moctezuma* eventually changes downstream into the *Río Pánuco* snaking across the plains past Pánuco, Veracruz. Then, it empties into lagoons and the Gulf of Mexico in the Port of Tampico.

We walked back past *cantinas* with half-doors, and heard *tríos huastecos* playing *huapangos* and *corridos*, in a venue where I was told few—or no—women ventured. Outside one establishment, was a sign that declared that men in uniform, minors and women were not allowed in the *cantina*. Even though the sign stated that women were not allowed in the *cantina*, I could see legs peeking out from under miniskirts and also longer skirts with aprons under the wooden doors—hinting

that indeed, there were women working inside the *cantinas*, preparing food, serving drinks and talking with customers.

Musicians made their rounds and were paid by the song. The music that they played was a mixture of *sones huastecos*, *canciones rancheras*, *boleros* and *huapango canciones*. I tried not to look too interested as I sat across the street with my family and eavesdropped on the music occasionally peeking under the double swinging wooden half doors from afar behind sunglasses. I negotiated balancing my own desire to respect local attitudes about decency, and my identity both as a mother, and *gringa* who is stereotyped based on videos that Mexicans see of blond college students drinking and dancing in bars in Rosarito Beach, and researcher. However, it was impossible to not observe that while many different state sponsored cultural agents from the mid-twentieth century had claimed *son huasteco*, was a dying or changing tradition, several events that happened on the trip to and from the festival site showed me that *huapango* was alive and well: in this *cantina* and a family parties, and even a wake. Each were places where this music has continued and been nurtured into the twenty-first century. I was struck by the fact that I was at a city for a festival to promote *son huasteco*, *huapango*, and here before the festival in at least 10 *cantinas*, the clients were paying good *tríos* to play music at 30 pesos a *son*, or *canción*, instead of putting 1 peso into a jukebox.

None of these musicians would attend at the folkloric festival: *El Festival de la Huasteca*, later. At a dance workshop that I would attend later, the dance teacher said, as an aside to some participants in the workshop from Mexico City, that here in Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí, you will find *tríos huastecos* in the red light district

and *cantinas*, but that it is a very dangerous place for people to go who are not from Tamazunchale.

In Tamazunchale, the day before the festival, we looked at shops, and sat down in the main garden of the plaza, watching the carpenters and festival production crew as they prepared for *El Festival de la Huasteca*, building the *tárima* and setting up booths for crafts from the Huasteca. Curious women who wanted to know why a *gringa*, with a Mexican husband, but non-Huasteco, and a small child were in Tamazunchale, took turns wanting to hold my three-year old son they told us that they are glad we are here to listen to and watch people dance *son huasteco*.

The women said *son huasteco* or *huapango* has been danced in their families for generations. Their parents and grandparents met in their youth under the watchful eyes of chaperons at *huapango fiestas*. The women of Tamazunchale proudly told me their fathers, daughters and sons who were fantastic at the *zapateado* dance steps that form part of the heartbeat of the music along with *jarana*, and *quinta huapanguera*. They also added, even though they were excited to have the festival here, each year Tamazunchale was host to a *Concurso Nacional de Huapango*, national *huapango* dance competition, that I would have to return for, and that Tamazunchale had its own champions, even if many of the judges were from Pánuco, Veracruz and elsewhere.

Tamazuchale, a city that was home to many *tríos huastecos*, did not have many public spaces outside of *cantinas*, where the public could listen to *son huasteco* and *huapango*. If women and children wanted to listen to *huapango* and dance, while remaining inside the bounds of decency, they were limited to private parties

when someone hired a *trío*. The people in Tamazunchale were also used to dance contests. It has also been host to many *concurso*s. The public was excited that there would be an event like *El Festival de la Huasteca*, because it would be participatory, free and open to the entire public. They were unprepared for the diversity of people who would come to the festival to enjoy *huapango* as a music scene, but at the same time, it created a space where the hosting community began to meet new people, where were involved with a trans-generational music scene centered on reclaiming participatory *huapango*.

Huapango: A party, a regional *son* genre, a dance and a song form

The word *huapango*, is the name of the party, the dance, poetry and *son huasteco* music all combined together. Many scholars believe it to be derived from Náhuatl, ‘cua’ (wood) ‘pan’ (on) ‘co’ (at place) (*Diccionario de mejicanismos* Ramos y Duarte 1895). However, a more accurate translation would mention that the suffix ‘co’ means an inward direction to a place, so a dance where people came or gathered to do something on top of wood at a place.⁶

Huapango is used synonymously with the word *fandango* by a few practitioners. Each of these terms denotes all night dance-music-poetry parties that take place around a *tárima*, (wooden dance platform) (Saunders 1976), but *huapango* is used more commonly in the Huasteca. At these parties, *son huasteco* is played. *Son huasteco* is also sometimes called simply *huapango*.

⁶ (based on author’s Náhuatl language study through Yale and the Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas).

These parties highlight the interpretation and improvisation of lyrics and poetry about love, jealousy, and wisdom, laced with humor, and the occasional barb directed at politicians, or rivals in musical prowess or love interests in verses of eight-syllables lines called *coplas* set to *son huasteco*. Every other line rhymes. In *son huasteco* the *coplas* are either the five-lined, *quintilla*, or the six-lined, *sextilla*. The verses are written in books of verse that musicians and *trovadores*, poets who make verse for *son huasteco*, keep without line repetitions that are sung to synch the lyrics with the music.

Quintilla:

En la tarde cuando ponga	In the evening when God sets
Diós el termino a mi vida	the ending to my life
Me sumergé en la sombra	I will hide in the shadows
Herendandote mi vida	following you my life, my love,
Aunque el creador se interponga.	though the creator intercedes.

(Ema Maza del Ángel verse; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz)

The first two lines of any of these forms of verse are repeated by the singer, and then a second singer answers the first singer in a call and response pattern, rendering the verse as follows:

Ema "La Güera" Maza del Ángel:

En la tarde cuando ponga
 Diós el termino a mi vida
 Diós el termino a mi vida
 En la tarde cuando ponga

Everardo "El Aguila Negra" Ramírez Ochoa:

En la tarde cuando ponga
 Diós el termino a mi vida
 Diós el termino a mi vida
 En la tarde cuando ponga.

The singer then finishes out the lines of the verse. If the verse is a *quintilla* the second to the last line is repeated.

Enma Maza del Ángel:

Me sumergé en la sombra
Herendandote mi vida
Herendandote mi vida
Aunque el creador se interponga.

Sextilla:

<p>Si piensas que pienso sí o piensas que pienso no si piensas que pienso en tí en eso no pienso yo. Yo pienso en quien piensa en mí No pienso en quien me olvidó.</p>	<p>If you think I think yes or you think that I think no if you think that I think about you about this I do not think. I think about those who think about me I don't think about who has forgotten me.</p>
--	--

(Esperanza Zumaya del Ángel verse; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz)

In the *sextilla* after the second singer answers back, the first singer sings the last four lines without repetition:

Si piensas que pienso en tí
en eso no pienso yo.
Yo pienso en quien piensa en mí
No pienso en quien me olvidó.

While other Mexican regional *son* genres also use different forms of *coplas*, such as the four-line *cuartilla*, and the ten-line *décima*, to the *sones*, this is not the case in the Huasteca, generally. The *seguidilla* is used in some of the *sones huastecos*, such as “El Cielito Lindo.” The *décima* is recited when no music is played, in some parts of the Huasteca. Larger forms such as the *cadena* and the *trovo* were used more often in the early 20th century (See Muñoz 2006; Hernández Azuara 2004).

Thematic genres that used *son huasteco* verses were more common in the past, such as *adivinanzas*, riddles where one singer asks a question and a second singer answers, are found in books of verse. I have observed musicians, such as Don Sosimo of Ozualama, Veracruz, perform these forms with other older huapangueros at *encuentros* (Gómez Valdelamar 2000; August 8, 2008 Tamalín, Veracruz).

Another form that has become common in *encuentros huapangueros* since the mid - 1990s, but which has historic antecedents that go back to at least the early 20th Century is the *controversia*.

The *controversia* is a poetic-battle in which singers take turns trying to out do each other with the best composed and improvised verses on themes and trying to insult each other. While the *controversia* is not found in all of the Huasteca, in some portions, especially around Pánuco, Veracruz, since at least the early 1940s, women and men have sung *coplas* in son huasteco in *controversias* where they insult each other in a mock battle between the sexes (Florencia Pulido 2000; Villeda 2002; Ema Maza Interview August 2, 2004).

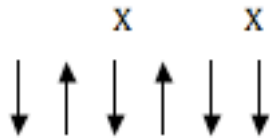
In the Huasteca, the music played at these parties is interchangeably called *son huasteco*, and *huapango*. Each piece is a cluster of variations on a tune, or a tune family. The *sones* often have names associated with animals: “El Gallo,” “El Caballo,” but they also have names associated with emotions: “El Gusto,” “El Llorar,” “La Huasanga,” and nature: “El Bejuco,” “La Azucena,” “Las Flores,” or “La Rosa.” The strumming patterns, *rasgueos* or *mánicos*, on the *jarana* and the *quinta* alternate between strums and the *azote*, which is a strike with the four fingers, leaving the thumb behind on the lowest pitched string to make a click and bell like sound.

Musicians from other parts of Mexico and six-string guitar players often think this is deadening motion with the hand. However, the sound would not carry far enough, the playing is cumbersome with this outside technique and the hand of the players of *jarana* and *quinta* would get torn up with an entire night of playing.



Figure 2: Basic Rhythm of Huapango

The *rasgueos* vary to follow and contrast with the violin and cue the dancers, but fall into a few patterns. One of the most basic patterns that is being taught in workshops sponsored by the PDCH corresponds to the following pattern. The arrows mark stroke direction.



X=azote stroke

Figure 3: Basic *Rasgueo* for Huapango

Each *son huasteco* has tunes, and variations for those tunes, associated with it. The violinist plays the melodies and then exits, while the *jarana* and *quinta* player continue to accompany the singing on their instruments.

It is difficult to trace where all of the musical elements come from. Its music features soaring violin and falsetto. Historians speculate that the practice of poetic battles, known as *controversias*, and the falsetto may be an expression of African musical elements (Aguilar León 2000; Chasteen 2004). The three instruments are

all strings: violin, *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera*. Stringed instruments came from Spain, but were quickly adapted for local use in the 17th century and continued to be adapted and change over time for autochthonous styles of music. The ritual function of music in the Huasteca, including *huapango* in some locations, and some styles of violin, which mimic crying, are pointed to as elements that could have an indigenous origin.

The dance gives the music its heartbeat. Outside of the dance or party context it has been standardized, with elaborate group patterns, and placed in a central position on the stage in *ballet folclórico*, and musicians are placed below, or far off to side or behind the troupe. However, in the *encuentros huapangueros*, other dances that feature *son huasteco* and in old community dances, according to conversations with *trovadora* María Antonietta Váldez, the musicians were placed on a platform above the dancers or off to the side. While the dancers dance either on a *tárima*, or on the ground without a *tárima*. The dance steps are quite varied.

Three of the basic steps are:

The image shows three musical staves, each representing a different zapateado step. Above the staves are foot indicators: R (Right foot) and L (Left foot). The notation includes notes, rests, and accents (>). The first staff, 'Zapateado Double', has foot indicators R R L L in the first measure and R R L L in the second. The second staff, 'Zapateado con deslizamiento', has foot indicators L L R L in the first measure and R R L R in the second, with 'slide' written above the notes. The third staff, 'Valseado', has foot indicators R L R L in the first measure and R L R L in the second. The notes are primarily quarter and eighth notes, with some rests and accents.

R=Right foot

L=Left foot

Figure 4: Basic Zapateado Rhythms for Huapango

Huapango is also used to name composed songs with set lyrics, also known as *huapango canción*, that are based on the rhythms of *son huasteco* and stylized versions of its falsetto born from a fusion of *canción ranchera* and *huapango*, that gestated through collaborations of musicians from all over Mexico during the golden age of Mexican cinema and radio stations between the 1920s and the 1960s (Muñoz 2006; Lira Lozano 2004). These *huapangos canciones* began as versions of *sones huastecos*, such as “La Malagueña,” which were stylized, copyrighted and incorporated into the repertoire of *mariachi*, *trío romántico* and other types of Mexican ensembles through the work of El Viejo Elipidio. Later they became their own song form, which took the rhythm of *son huasteco* and the name *huapango*, and stylized the falsetto with *ranchera* aesthetics. The falsetto in *huapango canción* is not improvised as much, usually falling in the same place in the song. When the performance is not done by a *trío huasteco* performances, and is done instead by a *mariachi* or *trío romántico*, it is drawn out dramatically, rather than staying in the *compás*, the groove of the dance.

Huasteco Cool: Attending *El Festival de la Huasteca* as part of A Translocal Scene for Huapango

In the introduction I explained in theoretical terms how Huastecan identity would become separate from a person’s residency, but that this would be contested

in a scene where Huastecan and indigenous identity would become cool, for people from outside the Huasteca, and also for people from the Huasteca. In the mid-1990s, many youth were becoming interested in *son huasteco*, as an alternative to other kinds of youth culture. After initial research into *son huasteco* from afar, I had learned about where the festival would be via websites put together by Marco Antonio Lira Lozano, <http://huapango.com.mx> (see Figure 5), and Anatolio Vásquez, a radio DJ who plays *son huasteco* and *son arribeño* over the Internet and on Radio Educación in Mexico City, <http://www.xichulense.com.mx/festhuast.htm> (see Figure 6). They had listed a press release announcement from the *Programa de Desarrollo de la Cultura Huasteca*. At the bottom of the press release, almost like a rock festival announcement, there were directions on how to get to Tamazunchale and a logo of a *quinta huapanguera*, with the word: *huapanguero* (person who participates in a *huapango* fiesta as a singer, verse improviser, musician, dancer, or just watching) printed beside it (see Figure 7 and Figure 8; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz). This logo would be featured on t-shirts at the festival later.

Date: 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th of August, 2002

Place: Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí

The seventh festival returns to the same state that was the host of the first great cultural demonstration of music and tradition from the Huasteca region seven years ago, San Luis Potosí, but this time in one of many paradises that make up this state making a great effort to develop in this beautiful place, small in size, but big among its people. Do not forget that Tamazunchale waits for you with open arms for the Seventh Festival of the Huasteca.

Workshops, huapango dance parties, exhibits, handicrafts, etc.

Organizers: the Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca (the Program of Cultural Development of the Huasteca) made up of the cultural institutes and councils of Hidalgo, Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Tamaulipas and Veracruz, and CONACULTA (National Council of Culture and Art) and the la Dirección General de Culturas Populares e Indígenas (General Director of Popular and Indigenous Cultures).

Hotel availability: difficult.

Information: tel: 54-90-99-52 or email: poalde@conaculta.gov.mx

How to get there:

From Mexico City, D.F.

Carretera Nacional México-Laredo.

(Atocpan-Ixmiquilpan-Jacala-Tamazunchale)

Terminal de Autobuses del Norte

From Pachuca:

Terminal de Autobuses de Pachuca.

From Querétaro:

Terminal de Autobuses de Querétaro:

Take the bus to Xilitla, transfer to Tamazunchale.

From Rioverde:

Take the bus to Cd. Valles and from there to Tamazunchale.

From Puebla:

Take the bus to Mexico City D.F., then to Pachuca, take the México-Laredo Route

From Tamaulipas:

Tampico-Cd. Valles-Tamazunchale

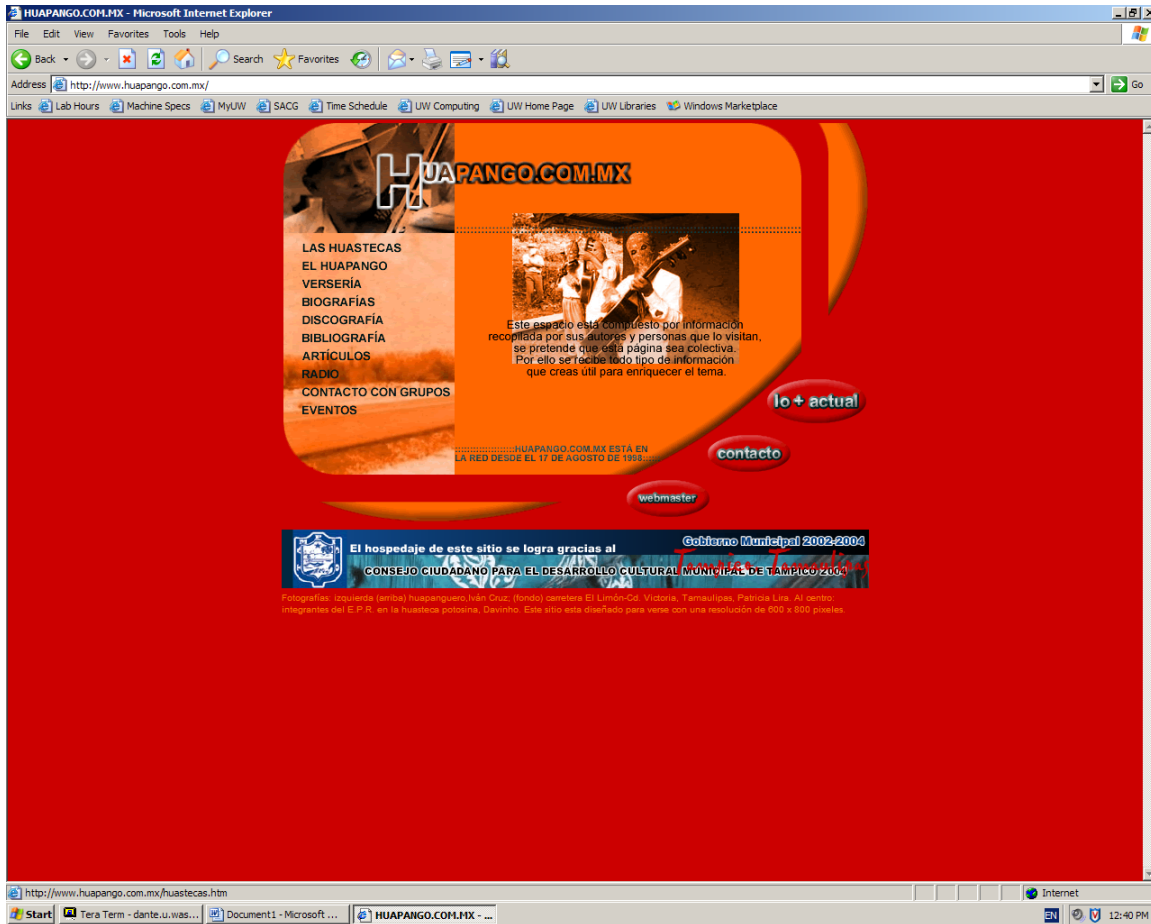


Figure 5: Huapango.com.mx Webpage devoted to son huasteco Marco Antonio Lira Lozano and Patricia Lira Lozano (www.huapango.com.mx Downloaded June 6, 2006).

Página Cultural de Anatolio y Laura Olivia - Microsoft Internet Explorer

Address: http://www.galeon.com/anatolio/

Links: Lab Hours, Machine Specs, MyUW, SAGC, Time Schedule, UW Computing, UW Home Page, UW Libraries, Windows Marketplace

Pop-up blocked. To see this pop-up or additional options click here...



RADIO MONITOR

1320 A.M. y 1560 A.M.

MVS102.5

Felicidades por sus 30 años de servicio en la comunicación radiofónica

RadioNet  Sólo música tradicional mexicana. [Instrucciones](#) para escuchar.

Comentarios y sugerencias: [Webmaster](#)

[Página Inicial](#)

[Programas de Radio](#)

[Personajes del huapango](#)

[Festival de la huasteca](#)

[Son ambeño](#)

[Son huasteco](#)

[XICHÚ](#)

[Danza Indígena](#)

[La Topada](#)

[Guelaguetza](#)

[Oaxaca: arte, fiesta y tradición](#)

[Curso de locución](#)

[Solo para coleccionistas](#)

[Arbolito huasteco](#)

[Librería Educual - Coyoacan](#)

[Etemérides](#)

[Sitios de interés](#)

[El Mensajero](#)

[Sebastián Jiménez y los Andariegos de la Sierra](#)

[Galería fotográfica de Xichú](#)

[Fotos de Majada](#)

[Galería fotográfica de la Décima](#)

5o. Encuentro de niños y jóvenes huapangueros. En Huauchinango, Pue. del 15 al 18 de Septiembre
Fuente: Patricia Olalde
[Ver programa completo](#)

Programa Radiofónico: "Con gusto le canto a Hidalgo". por 98.1 FM e internet.
Fuente: Anatolio
[Ver nota completa](#)

SON EN MEXICO
Del 5, 7 19 y 21 de octubre de 2004. En el aniversario no. 30 de la UAM.
Fuente: Rosa Idalia Díaz
[Ver programa](#)

Eugenia León y Oscar Chávez
En el Museo de Culturas Populares Domingo 28 de noviembre de 2004 17:00 a 20:00 hrs.
Patio Jacaranda
Fuente: página de la Comisión Nal. para el Desarrollo de los P. Indios.
[Ver que es tocado](#)

Magna obra teatral en los CANALES DE XOCHIMILCO en Cuernavaca, viernes, sábados y domingos de los meses de septiembre, octubre y noviembre, a la 7:30 de la noche, entrada frente al mercado de plantas y flores de Cuernavaca, sobre el periferico. LA LLORONA, con luz y sonido. Un recorrido por la historia de nuestras raíces
Fuente: Alejandra y Laura Olivia
[Ver nota completa](#)

Festival de huapango: "Al rescate de nuestras Raíces".
Sábado 23 de octubre de 2004.
Fuente: Reynaldo Mota
[Ver Boletín de prensa](#) | [Cartel](#) | [Triptico](#)

"Homenaje a Socorro Perea: la reina de las valonas"
Sábado 6 de noviembre. Patio Jacaranda, Museo de Culturas Populares
Fuente: Laura Olivia



Sebastián Jiménez

Eventos

Presentación de los Discos "Destellos de mi huasteca" y "Sones y danzas de la huasteca" con el Trio Tamalín de Tamalín, Ver. Domingo 19 de Septiembre de 2004, a las 5 de la tarde. Museo de Culturas Populares. Av. Hidalgo 200, Coyoacan

PRESENTACION DE SEBASTIAN JIMENEZ Y LOS ANDARIEGOS DE LA SIERRA EN SON GUSTO LE CANTO A HIDALGO". DOMINGO 28 DE AGOSTO DE 9 A 11 AM. POR LA 98.1 FM HIDALGO RADIO.

5 DE SEPTIEMBRE EN EL CHAHUITLE, RADIO EDUCACION, 1060 AM, 10 DE LA MANANA, ¡¡SOLO HUAPANGO ARRIBENO!!

¡¡ORLANDA SU TURAL SILBERTO MOSQUERA lea honor al principal promotor de estos eventos que tuvieron, al Centro de Biotecnología Avanzada CINVESTAV-Itapueco, Gto. Del 18 al 22 de octubre de 2004.

XIII Encuentro de

http://www.galeon.com/anatolio/

Start | Tera Term - dante.u.was... | Document1 - Microsoft... | **Página Cultural de An...** | Internet | 12:43 PM

Figure 6: Anatolio Vásquez's webpage Xichulense.com.mx (<http://www.xichulense.com.mx> Downloaded April 16, 2013).

Festival de la Huasteca

www.xichulense.com.mx/festhuast.htm

Fecha: 15, 16, 17 y 18 de agosto de 2002


Lugar: Tamazunchale, S.L.P.

El 7o. Festival de la Huasteca regresa al estado sede donde hace 7 años se realizó por vez primera esta gran manifestación cultural de la tradición y música huasteca, el Estado de San Luis Potosí, pero ahora en uno de los tantos paraísos con que cuenta dicho estado: Tamazunchales (lugar de:)

Haciendo un gran esfuerzo por desarrollar en este bello lugar, pequeño en territorio pero grande entre su gente.

No lo olvide Tamazunchales lo espera con los brazos abiertos en este 7o. Festival de la Huasteca.

Talleres, huapangueadas, Exposiciones, artesanías, etc.



Organizan: el Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca, conformado por los institutos y consejos de cultura de Hidalgo, Puebla, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Tamaulipas y Veracruz, y el Conaculta, a través de la Dirección General de Vinculación Cultural y Ciudadanización y la Dirección General de Culturas Populares e Indígenas.

Informes: 54-90-99-52 ó bien al e-mail: polalde@conaculta.gov.mx

COMO LLEGAR:

Desde el D.F.

Carretera Nacional México-Laredo.

(Atocpan-ixmiquilpan-Jacala-Tamazunchale)

zotero

Figure 7: Announcement of El VII Festival de la Huasteca on the Webpage of Anatolio Vásquez (www.xichulense.com.mx/festhuast.htm Downloaded June 6, 2006)

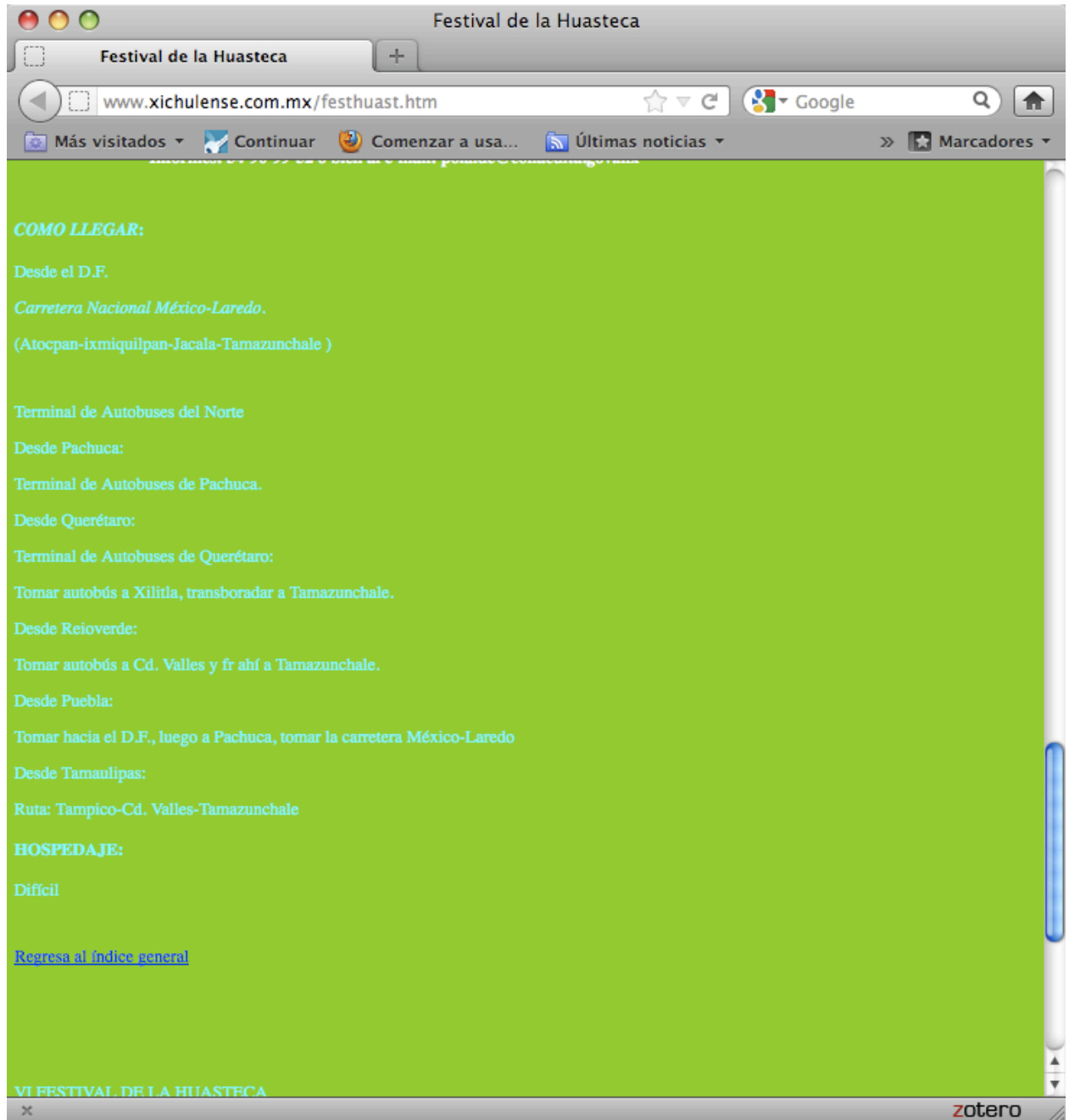


Figure 8: Directions to El VII Festival de la Huasteca on the Webpage of Anatolio Vásquez (www.xichulense.com.mx/festhuast.htm Downloaded June 6, 2006).

When we decided to take this trip to attend *El Festival de la Huasteca*, we were not coming from any of the places that the directions guided us. Instead we took a five-day trip from Guadalajara in order to attend the festival. Here at Tamazunchale, I was full of emotion at the possibility of finally hearing *son huasteco* live, in "*La Region*," 'the region,' as one of the first young *son huasteco* musicians from Mexico City whom I interviewed for my master's thesis, had reverently called it. I was also looking forward to meeting the organizers of the event and researchers in Mexico who have focused on Huastecan regional music.

At the greeting booth I was given a program that I had already previewed over the Internet. As I was browsing through the program with the people at the booth, they pointed out that *Los Camperos de Valles*, a *trío huasteco*, who had traveled the world during the 1980s and early 1990s, would be performing at the *encuentro de huapangueros* the first night of the festival. Legendary tradition bearers, such as Artemio Villeda, of *Trío Camalote*, one of the first musicians to travel around the world, would be signing a book of his verses, on the last day. An *encuentro* organizer and anthropologist known for his knowledge of *huasteco* verses, Román Güemes Jimenez, would be teaching workshops on how to compose verses from Thursday-Saturday. *Trío huasteco* teachers Soraima Galindo Linares and Santiago Fajardo Hernández would teach *son huasteco* vocal and instrumental technique from Thursday through Saturday, and they would present their recording *Cantar Con Corazón Tamaulipeco* on-stage the last day of the Festival. The second night, Elias Chessani, a *son arribeño trovador*, skilled poet, would perform with his family and musical group along with the then 80-year-old folklorist-schoolteacher

Socorro Perea, who collected *arribeño* verses performed in the suites of music that characterize this genre: the *poesía*, *valona* and *cuartetas*, *quintillas* and *sextillas* for *jarabes* and *sones* that make of the coda for these suites (Muñoz 2006: Chapter IV) (see Figure 9).



Figure 9: Program from El VII Festival de la Huasteca (<http://www.geocities.ws/culturaserrana2004/155galeriah.htm> downloaded 06/03/2013).

On the first day of the festival, some of the docents for the festival, who were local young women selected by the arrangements committee from Tamazunchale, told me that if I decided I wanted to learn how to play *trío huasteco* music, this was the ideal place to have attended the *Festival de la Huasteca*, because it would be easy to find an instrument to take home. Tamazunchale is in the heart of the Huasteca

region of San Luis Potosí. In Tamazunchale, people make *jaranas* and *quintas huapangueras* and Náhuatl is one of the important languages of commerce and everyday life in Tamazunchale along with Spanish. I studied the program and made plans to buy a *jarana* and attend some of the classes, or workshops, on how to play *son huasteco* and compose verses.

I watched the festival begin to unfold and set up. Even more people came to participate than the people listed on the program. In the afternoon and evening I decided to sit down with the writer and self-publisher, Arturo Hernández Ochoa, of a Huastecan cultural magazine *Recorrido de la Huasteca*. At his table people began checking in for the unofficial part of the festival: performers of all castes, not just dancers and musicians, who would sign up to play outside of the official program at the evening concerts called, *encuentros de huapangueros*. Webmasters and college students Paty and Marco Antonio Lira Lozano brought glossy posters and business cards to his booth to promote their webpage on *son huasteco* and they later set up their own table and began to sell CDs for the musicians at the *encuentro*.

Miguel Compeán, a young *trovador* from Pánuco, Veracruz, left some bumper stickers with at the booth that he handed out for free. These stickers promoted Huastecan identity “Huasteco de Corazón” ‘Huastecan with heart, for those are from the Huasteca, or Huastecan in my heart, for those who were not Huastecan by residency or birth (see Figure 10). Esperanza Zumaya, a woman *trovadora* from Pánuco, Veracruz, called El Falsete de la Huasteca, left CDs with the magazine publisher and said she would be performing with a group that she recruited backstage. She was dressed in a beautiful embroidered dress from the Huasteca,

with perfectly plucked eyebrows, red lipstick and dark cat-eyed sunglasses. Other people stopped by just to greet Arturo from the magazine, such as Paty Chávez, a *quinta huapanguera*, and *jarana huasteca* player and *trovadora* from Llera, Tamaulipas. She said, she planned to attend one of the workshops. Some young *tríos*, who developed out of the *son huasteco* workshops taught by schoolteachers from Chicontepic Veracruz based in Mexico City, such as *Trío La Aurora*, and many others, also dropped off CDs with Arturo of *Recorrido de la Huasteca*. Crafts people who were not part of the state contingencies of funded artisans with official booths began to set up with earrings and necklaces; traditional clothing and T-shirts; violins, *jaranas* and *quinta huapangueras*.

As the official concert began, there were so many musicians, dancers and poets, who I had heard in recordings, or read their books of verses who arrived to perform on stage at the *Encuentro de Huapangueros* and to socialize below and behind the stage, in chairs or dancing. While musicians dressed in embroidered *guayaberas*, shirts and blouses, and men wore *sombreros* to play on stage, the people in the community, and those who came there with in *tríos*, but not vying to take the stage that evening wore different outfits, contemporary clothing common throughout the Huasteca: off-the-shoulder dresses, with flamboyant high-heeled shoes, tight jeans, rock T-shirts and converse high-tops, as well as clothing that was marked as “traditional.”



Figure 10: Huasteco de Corazón Bumpersticker handed out by trovador Miguel Compeán August 7, 2002 (Scanned image Courtesy Miguel Compeán)

After the official program was over, the *tríos* who signed up on a list, waited for their turn to play on the stage. From beginners to seasoned performers, all the performers were only allowed to play three pieces. *Trovador* Miguel Compeán, the man from Pánuco, Veracruz, who handed out the bumper stickers, performed comic verses to the accompaniment of a *trío huasteco* and recited comic *décimas* about love influenced by popular culture. Most of the *tríos* played *sones huastecos*, with well-known, improvised and pre-written verses, to the sounds of *zapateado* of more than 30 dancers. The dancers ranged from street cleaners, police, housewives and women we saw working in the market, the mayor, his wife, a doctor, and well known *son huasteco* musicians and dancers and even anthropologists from Mexico City and Xálapa, on a *tárima*, that was built the day before, over the stonework in the main plaza of Tamazunchale. However, because Tamazunchale had been the site for many *Concursos de Huapango*, where couples register to dance, the carpenters were not used to so many couples wanting to dance and the *tárima* was too small. Only about eight thin couples would fit. The *tárima* was high and narrow. One

dancer fell off the *tárima*, because there was not enough space for all of the dancers and he misjudged the size of the *tárima* as he made room for other dancers.

As the crowd dispersed, we sat in the plastic chairs that were arranged for the audience, with *son huasteco* musicians in a circle, as the one best improvisers of verses, Rodolfo González, began courting a young woman, and then in the next verse he teased me as I nodded off to sleep with my son in my arms as they sang “El Gusto,” or “La Malagueña,” until dawn broke. Before the activity began for the day, the crew of carpenters was outside enlarging and lowering the *tárima*, because so many people had wanted to dance *huapango* on the *tárima*.

Different women sat next to me who wanted to hold my son as he slept through the *huapango* saying that my arms must be tired and brushing the sweat that trickled on his brow, off into his eyebrows. As the women from Tamazunchale took turns holding my sleeping son, they told me how excited the town was to have so many excellent *son huasteco* musicians, and *trovadores* there at one event. They warned me to keep my things close, because so many people were coming from outside of Tamazunchale.

After years of traveling to Mexico with my son, I learned that the two sides of Mexico are always into play, the dangers of crime and violence, and the kindness and concern of people who want to warn and protect visitors and each other from becoming victims. During these first years of my research, Mexico was not known for its drug violence that flared in the years 2008-12, but still people warned visitors of the dangers of strangers, especially in smaller cities, when *El Festival de la Huasteca* came there. While people have referred to the Huasteca as a place of rich

cattle ranchers, gunmen and uprisings, we found just like Alan Sandstrom that although some dangers are very real, people were kind and hospitable (Sandstrom 1986). Wherever we traveled in the Huasteca region, especially in remote areas, people offered to watch our things, saying no one will touch them, asked if we needed to use their house to bathe, use their restroom, and would invite us for coffee and a meal. Also as we incorporated into the *encuentro huapanguero* music scene, we began to know almost everyone that attended the *Festival de la Huasteca* and other events.

The next day of workshops, book and CD presentations, and exhibits began. Following these activities were two more nights of *encuentros huapangueros*, which began with the official programmed tríos, one from each of the six states of the Huasteca region. There were several hours where different musicians not on the official program would sign up to take the stage with their trío to perform, while others danced. Then when the sound technicians left, musicians, dancers and singers would take turns playing violin, *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera*, while either the instrumentalists, or anyone else who was looking on would sing composed or improvised verses to different *sones huastecos*.

On the last night, the workshop students present examples of the work that they did during the festival. On the last day of the festival, with emotion and a shaking hand, I asked Artemio Villeda, a poet-musician renowned for his beautiful and humorous verses from Pánuco, Veracruz and the legendary *Trío Camalote*, to sign a book that he had just published of his verses, that was called *Los Tiburones Van a Comer Muchos Versos*, after he performed many of his verses accompanied by

Soraima y Sus Huastecos. Everyone who had been present at the festival and participated in some way booked the midday bus out of Tamazunchale. People said goodbye to each other and mentioned the next *encuentro huapanguero*, *La Fiesta Anual de Huapango Amatlán*, as the next place that everyone would meet again.

This first experience with live *son huasteco*, after my initiation from afar listening to CDs, revealed the dual design of El Festival de la Huasteca, as: 1) a trans-local music festival that taps into and strengthens a *huapanguero* music scene to revitalize participatory *son huasteco*, and 2) a cultural development program that provides support to traditional, popular and contemporary culture in the Huasteca. Like what Michelle Bigenho describes as a pluri-multicultural project culture in Ecuador, material support is provided to regional, indigenous and mestizo music from the Huasteca (Bigenho 2002). The conceptual frameworks that shaped the program gave priority to projects that engendered the values of pluralism, multiculturalism, multi-lingualism, cultural sensitivity, feminism, democracy and lived deep tradition. The program began outside of the capital of Mexico as a network of cultural administrators based in the Huasteca region's capitals, but who wanted to develop culture in the municipalities that make up the Huasteca region.

The festival is organized by *El PDCH*, which is a consortium of organizations. Their mission is to provide grants to cultural projects designed to develop of music, art, culture and community. Many of their members belong to El Instituto Nacional de Antropología and Historia, whose ideas are based on the work of anthropologists

and cultural theorists such as Guillermo Bonfil Batalla⁷ and Nestor García Canclini⁸. Two of the main organizers, Amparo Sevilla and Gonzalo Camacho, incorporated the ideas of their mentors into the design of the PDCH of México Profundo and Culturas Híbridas (Hybrid Cultures). Cultural sensitivity, shared agency, and the teaching of living tradition and practices were valued over flashy costumes and repertoire.

The festival showcases recipients of grants from the PDCH. By its very design, an emphasis has been placed on de-centralizing the support for arts and culture. By investing resources in the Huasteca region, away from the capital of the nation, Mexico City, and away from the states that administer the Huasteca, although this is where the regional and national organizers of the festival resided. Decisions are made about the directions of projects at the municipal level of the Huasteca region, as well. This runs counter to the periphery- center model that has characterized the move of regional musics to the capitol, exemplified by the *Ballet Folclórico Nacional de Amalia Hernández*, or the move of music and dance from local communities to the state capitals, exemplified by groups such as the Conjunto Típico Tamaulipeco .

Teachers and performers on the official program must be residents residing in municipalities that are located in the Huasteca region, or at least have roots in those municipalities. The festival has been held each year in a different state in a city within the Huasteca region. This is done in order to develop the communities

⁷ Bonfil Batalla, Guillermo. 1990. *México profundo: una civilización negada*. México, D.F.: Grijalbo. In its English translation the title was changed to México Profundo: Reclaiming a Civilization.

⁸ García Canclini, Néstor. 1989. *Culturas híbridas: estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad*. México, D.F.: Grijalbo.

and the practice of *huapango* from the ground up. As the towns host an event like *El Festival*, they begin to build the infrastructure and enthusiasm for planning these events. At each Festival de la Huasteca since 2001, when the offices of the program moved to Mexico City and it became a model for cultural development programs for other regions in the nation, one performing group is invited on the opening night of the festival from another cultural region, also with its own program, in 2002, the first festival that I attended, *El VII Festival de la Huasteca*, the invited group played *son arribeño*, *Dr. Elias Chessani y sus huapangueros*, in 2010, the fifteenth, *El VX Festival de la Huasteca*, the *Programa del Sotavento* region, *son jarocho*, musicians *Los Utrera*, were the invited musicians for another region of Mexico. Each of these invited group from a different cultural region than Mexico plays on the first night of the festival.

The workshops and experiences that I had at this festival laid the groundwork for my entry into playing *son huasteco* through learning how to play *jarana*, compose verses and sing, at music workshops outside of the festival. All the aspects of the participatory fiesta where *trío huasteco* is played are highlighted and taught at the festival. As my knowledge about the music and dances of the Huasteca expanded through traveling in the Huasteca, though, I began to notice the difference between participatory performance at the *encuentros de huapangueros* and at local performance contexts in the musicians' and dancers' communities of origin. Before turning to these contrasting local practices, in the the next chaptersñ however, I will explore how the establishment of the PDCH was established and began to support the reclamation of participatory *son huasteco*.

Ch 3. The Huastecan Culture Development Program

El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca (PDCH) was the one of the first cultural programs that not only met in its offices where it planned cultural events such as *El Festival de la Huasteca*, but it also organize meetings where priorities for the program were defined by the participants who came to the festivals. During the day when there were no participatory concerts, cultural administrators at the national and state level would meet with local cultural producers and musicians. In *El IX Festival de la Huasteca* one such meeting was documented in the national press in Mexico. The meeting established lines of action. *Trío huasteco* musicians, event organizers, radio hosts and *son huasteco* dance and workshop leaders expressed their concerns. The national culture and arts administrator in charge of regional affiliations, Amparo Sevilla, promised to help write and develop projects that were proposed by each of the individuals if they wished. It is important here to examine the details of this initiative, the diversity of the people who spoke, and their concerns—reflected in the article printed in *la Jornada* in August 2004 (and my translation of it).

Proponen en encuentro la conformación de una red para promover su música

A network to promote their music is approved in a conference at the Encuentro.

Apremian huapangueros a organizarse.

Huapangueros hurry to organize themselves.

Urgen difundir en espacios públicos al son huasteco para que vuelva a la vida

They encourage the pomotion and difusion of son huasteco in public

cotidiana, coinciden

**González, Tamps., 7 de agosto.
Arturo Jimenez**

La creación de sociedades civiles legalmente reconocidas y de una “red” o “confederación” de organizaciones en torno al *huapango*, así como una mayor promoción del género en la vida “cotidiana” fueron algunas de las propuestas de los creadores y promotores durante el Encuentro de Músicos Huastecos.

Realizado en el contexto del Festival de la Huasteca, auspicado por el Consejo Nacional para la Cultural y las Artes y los gobiernos de Tamaulipas y González, el cual concluye este domingo, el encuentro se convirtió en un espacio para el diagnóstico y las propuestas, pero también para la música y la versada.

Desde la mañana y hasta después que las 2 de la tarde, bajo unas pequeñas palapas del parque Los Delfines que apenas protegían de un sol quemante, los más de 30 participantes concluyeron este encuentro que comenzó desde el viernes y cuyo objetivo era saber dónde está y hacia dónde va la cultura huasteca actual.

“Primero urge que nos convirtamos en un grupo social organizado que haga posible ser escuchado por las autoridades, así como tener un lugar dónde reunirnos en las comunidades”, dijo el promotor Fernando Méndez.

“Es necesario fijar objetivos, estrategias para lograrlos y una mercado técnica (no entendida como lucro) para vender lo que tanto amamos, así como estar unidos”, agregó.

spaces so that it returns to daily life and it is agreed.

**González, Tamp. 7 August.
Arturo Jimenez**

One of the proposals during the Meeting of Huastecan Musicians was to create legally recognized civil societies and a network or confederation of organizations for *huapango*, as well as greater promotion of the genre in everyday life.

Sponsored by the National Council for Culture and Arts (CNCA) and the government of Tamaulipas and González, in the Festival de la Huasteca—which will end this Sunday. The meeting turned into a space for diagnosis and proposals, in addition to being a space for music and its poetry.

Between the morning and 2 o'clock in the afternoon underneath small thatched huts, which barely shaded and protected people from a burning sun, more than 30 participants concluded this meeting and encounter that started on Friday, which had the goal of finding out where the Huastecan culture is at presently and where it is going.

“First, it is important that we make ourselves into an organized social group that will make it possible for us to negotiated with the authorities, and also we should have a place where we can meet together in communities,” said Fernando Méndez, a cultural promoter.

He added, “It is necessary to fix our goals and strategies in order to reach them and a technical market (not a profit market) to sell what we love so much, and in this way be together.”

Mientras participantes como Leonardo Zaleta, cronista de Poza Rica, remarcaron que el primer paso lo tienen que dar los ciudadanos interesados en fortalecer el *son huasteco*, el jaranero Ramón Chávez, de Tampico, planteó que las autoridades tienen la obligación de poner “lana para la cultura” porque son recursos generados por los impuestos de todos.

Don David Celestinos, de Amatlán, advirtió que debe tenerse cuidado de depender del erario público o de la simpatía de los presidentes municipales, y expresó: “si los tecnócratas se organizan, nosotros por qué no formamos una red de organizaciones civiles que puedan deducir impuestos de Hacienda”.

Dijo: “El *huapango* es nuestra sangre. El agua está pa’l chocolate. Hay que amar el *huapango*, pero urge ya hacer algo práctico.”

Soraima Galindo, de Ciudad Mante y cabeza del grupo Soraima y sus Huastecos, criticó que los políticos pongan en los cargos culturales a gente que participó en sus campañas pero que “no sabe nada de cultura”.

Destacó la participación de Don Artemio Villeda, jaranero y versador legendario del Trío Camalote, quien llamó a rescatar las raíces huastecas y criticó que en Pánuco se promueva más el deporte de canotaje que la cultura.

“¡No a los concursos!”

La mayoría de los participantes también se manifestó en contra de la realización de concursos de músicos, bailadores y versadores, porque propician “envidias”

While people like Leonardo Zaleta, the town historian of Poza Rica, remarked that citizens who are interested in strengthen *son huasteco* must take the first steps. Ramón Chávez, from Tampico, suggested that politicians are obligated to give “money to culture,” because they are resources generated by everyone’s taxes.

Don David Celestinos, from Amatlán, warned to be cautious of depending on public funds or the sympathies of municipal presidents, and said, “if technocrats organize, why don’t we also start a network of civic organizations so that we can deduct taxes from tax collector.”

He said, “*Huapango* is our life. The time is ripe. It is great that we love *huapango*, but it is important now to do something practical.”

Soraima Galindo, from Ciudad Mante and the leader of the group *Soraima y sus Huastecos*, leveled the critique that politicians place the supporters of their campaigns in the cultural positions but that “know nothing about culture.”

Don Artemio Villeda, legendary jaranero and trovador from the *Trío Camalote*. Said, that we should save our Huastecan roots and complained that in Pánuco canoeing is promoted more than culture.

“No to contests!”

The majority of the said that that they were against contests between poets, musicians and dancers, because they promote “jealousy,” and “rivalry” between participants, as don Ponciano Fajardo, from Chicontepec said.

y “rivalidad” entre los participantes, como dijo por ejemplo, Don Ponciano Fajardo, de Chicontepec.

Acordaron, en cambio, promover mejor “encuentros”, como el de este festival, en los que participan desde los principiantes hasta los maestros, ya que la cultura no es para “competir” sino para “compartir y regalarse”.

Los concursos, dijo Don David Celestinos, es fruto de una sociedad competitiva que no considera que cada artista es “una flor” en el amplio “jardín del *huapango*”.

Ludivino Nieto, promotora y conductora radial de Tamaulipas, y moderadora del encuentro, recordó el gran aporte de medios de comunicación electrónicos, como la radio, en la promoción del *son huasteco*, pero también mencionó la dificultad que representa ganar esos espacios.

En ello coincidieron el conductor y huastecólogo Enrique Rivas Paniagua, con trabajo en Radio Educación y en la radio difusora cultural de Pachuca, y el doctor Elías Chessani, aunque éste criticó el poco espacio dado al *son huasteco* y que a él no lo programan en la primera emisora.

Rivas Paniagua destacó, sin embargo, que lo más importante es promover en calles y plazas públicas el *son huasteco* para que vuelva a ser importante para la mayoría de la gente y se convierta en una “costumbre”.

Otros participantes fueron don Serafín Fuentes Marín, del grupo Son Zonteño, de Zontecomatlán; don Leonardo Zaleta, cronista de Poza Rica, donde recuperan

Instead, they agreed to better promote the *encuentros* (meetings) where everyone, from beginners to the masters, participate. Because culture is not for competition, but rather for sharing and giving.

Don David Celestinos said that competitions are the fruit of a competitive society that does not consider every artist is a “flower” in the big “*huapango* garden.”

Ludivino Nieto, radio host and promoter of *huapango*, from Tamaulipas, as well as the moderator for the meeting, reminded that communications media, like radio plays a big role in *son huasteco* promotion, but gaining access to this spaces is difficult.

Enrique Rivas Paniagua, radio host and Huastecan specialist, agreed that with a concerted effort access is available in *Radio Educación* through the radio station in Pachuca. Doctor Elías Chessani, complained because he said that the last radio station station has given very little airtime to *son huasteco*, and the first station never programs him.

Rivas Paniagua emphasized nonetheless that the most important thing to do is promote *son huasteco* in the streets and public plazas, so that *son huasteco* returns to being important for the majority of the people, and changes into custom.

Some of the other attendees were Don Serafín Fuentes Marín, of *Son Zonteño*, from Zontecomatlán; Don Leonardo Zaleta, town historian of Poza Rica, where they are reclaiming traditional dance, “not folkloric dance,” according to Rodolfo Guzmán and his wife Olivia R. de

el baile tradicional, “no el folclórico”; Rodolfo Guzmán, y Olivia R. de Guzmán, su esposa.

Amparo Sevilla, investigadora y funcionaria de la Dirección de Vinculación Regional de CNCA, dijo que los medios y la difusión eran importantes, pero que no debía olvidarse que fundamental es la fiesta y el encuentro directo, como ahora con el festival en González.

“Invito a reflexionar sobre el *huapango* como fiesta, no como producto vendible. Hay que abrir espacios para nuestra cultura profunda”, agregó Sevilla, quien ofreció, “darle cuerpo” a todas las propuestas.

Guzmán.

Amparo Sevilla, researcher and a functionary from the Department of Cultural Affiliations in CNCA, said that the media and diffusion are important, but no one should forget that direct face-to-face meetings and participatory festivals, like El Festival del La Huasteca in González are of primary importance.

“I invite all to reflect on *huapango* as a fiesta, not as a commercial product. We should open spaces for *our deep culture*,” added Sevilla, who offered, “to flesh out” all of the proposals.

(Arturo Jiménez *La Jornada* August 8, 2004; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz)

For many readers—future readers who have encountered *son huasteco* after many years of cultural development; readers who are unfamiliar with *son huasteco*; or readers who have only become acquainted with it through the choreographies taught in *ballet folclórico* and at school, or even readers who have only have heard commercial recordings of the music—the significance of this gathering may be difficult to understand. I will attempt to explain the importance of this goal-defining meeting.

It is unusual for a cultural administrator at the national level, based in Mexico City, such as the Director of Regional Affiliation of the CNCA Amparo Sevilla, to humbly offer her personal assistance developing projects in culturally sensitive ways that respond to local needs. Even at the state level, cultural administrators do not always collaborate in this fashion. The meeting heralded a new grant program

and asked for applications. The meeting, and the way it was conducted, were the culmination of the PDCH's design plan to renovate and reactivate Huastecan regional culture through supporting local needs and cultural sensitivity, in concert with—not according to—national and regional goals, through the public enjoyment of *son huasteco* and *huapango*. Many of the people who were present at this meeting and were quoted in the article will be featured in the chapters that follow. Also other *huapangueros* who were present, but who were not quoted, will be represented through analysis of their performances. However, before I do this, I will explain why *encuentros huapangueros*, such as the meetings at *El Festival de la Huasteca* and evening public dances that feature *tríos huastecos*, and the PDCH have been important for revitalizing *son huasteco* and *huapango*.

Between the late 1970s-the 1980s, *huapango* and *son huasteco* were in a period of decline, until *encuentros* and the PDCH were planned and implemented. Beginning in the 1950s, *concursos de huapango*, *huapango* dance contests had successfully created academic standards for dance and reinforced its practice in an institutional setting at the state level in the Huasteca, and at the national level. *Concursos* and *ballet folclórico* created spectacular visual presentations of the Huasteca through stereotypical costumes, standardized music for ease of unified dance, invented specific steps that corresponded to each *son*, broke up the cultural region of the Huasteca artificially along the lines of archetypes that represented each state through specific dance movements and costumes. Only dance contestant couples that conformed to the academic styles of their state were selected as winners in these contests. However, academic forms of *son huasteco* dance

presented and disciplined the movements of the dancers in ways that were insensitive to local practices and identities, because a single style from each state was selected as representative for the contests.

Later, in the late 1950s, the dance masters behind the regional movement that were supported by the state governments would become the consultants that helped establish the choreographies and costumes that would define the Huasteca region's *mestizo* image in the national imaginary of *ballet folclórico*. Although many musicians accompanied *ballet folclórico* and participated as accompanists in *huapango* dance competitions these events they did little to reinforce participatory *son huasteco*, musicianship or dance, not to mention they did little to contribute to maintaining diversity of repertoire or the poetic tradition of lyric improvisation or composition.

Musicianship was only being cultivated in a commercial context. Even if it could be argued that the development of commercial *son huasteco* music created better professional musicians and dancers, it removed everyday people's participation in *huapango* and *son huasteco*. It caused many of the best musicians to move to large cities such as Tampico, and away from their communities. Some musicians even moved out of the Huasteca region to the state capitals like Ciudad Victoria, or Xalapa, or even to Mexico City, the capital, in order to pursue their craft as a full time vocation. Between the 1950s and 60s *huapango huasteco* had been popular to a certain degree at the national level as commercial music, but, beginning from the 1970s to 1980s, its popularity other than as folk music declined outside of the Huasteca region. There were parts of the Huasteca which no longer held public

dances, and this state of affairs was partially attributed to the lack of *trío huasteco* musicians in some communities.

Beginning in 1989, several cultural promoters, such as David Celestinos, Román Güemes and the *ayuntamiento* de Amatlán, organized the first *encuentro huapanguero*, at the *Fiesta Anual de Amatlán Veracruz*. Because there was little financial support for *trío huasteco* music in the majority Huasteca region, many of the musicians were immigrating to Tampico, Tamaulipas, Mexico City, or even to the United States. Within five years the *encuentro* that took place in *Amatlán*, became a successful event that brought some of the best musicians, *trovadores* and dancers to this small municipality in the Huasteca in the North of Veracruz. Everyone from beginning musicians to master musicians was given the same amount of compensation, and was provided with a welcoming place to stay and food to eat. In *Amatlán*, the organizers began ceremonies that honored *viejos huapangueros* from the Huasteca. The event reactivated *huapango* in *Amatlán*, and inspired youth from the Huasteca and the rest of Mexico to learn or continue to practice *huapango huasteco* dance, verse composition, singing and musicianship.

The *encuentro* happened during a time when there were already two *son huasteco* music workshops in Mexico City. One workshop was taught at the *Escuela Nacional Mexicana*, by Rolando Hernández Reyes. Another workshop was taught by Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela that grew out of his work for as an assistant for his teacher Rolando at the ENM—at the *Escuela Normal de Maestros* (the Normal Teachers School). There was one other *son huasteco* workshop in Ciudad Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, taught by Tomás Gómez Valdelamar.

The *Fiesta Anual de Amatlán* and workshops, along with a general interest in the civil society, created a nascent youth movement where more than ten young *tríos* based in Mexico City, with members with or without ties to the Huasteca and more twenty young *tríos* in the Huasteca region began a “Huasteco Cool” scene that I liken to Michelle Bigenho’s account of “Indigenous Cool,” (Bigenho 2002: chapter 4). The coolness of Huastecan regional identity and indigenous identity in the *encuentros huapangueros*, its social capital, is based on shared experiences of participatory music, poetry and dance, that constantly update a living tradition through humor and improvisation and because participants select, share and give their best performances of local culture with each other. Bigenho describes indigenous cool as a moment when indigeneity becomes “alienable” (p.4) or separate from people’s ethnic background and is sometimes, but not always, accompanied by “imperialist” interest in the “exotic” by people who also can use indigeneity to apply for project money (p.5). Unlike in Bigenho’s study in Ecuador where 50% or more of the national population speaks an indigenous language, in the Huasteca region “indigenous” is often replaced by the term “local” in official discourse, or occasionally by using the ethnolinguistic designation for the group.

The music scene that I describe is both a Huasteco Cool and an Indigenous Cool scene. Since 1994, with developments throughout Mexico, including the Huasteca in the 1990s, indigenous identity has gained greater prominence political presence in the representation of the Huasteca, Mexico and the rest of Latin America. It is not my intention to police indigeneity, or Huasteco identity. Because of the inclusiveness of educational programs and educational projects democratic

values, many people who have no family ties to the Huasteca region, or who came from non-musical families have entered in to scene to become “Huastecos from(or with) the heart (*Huastecos de Corazón*)” *Huastecos de corazón* is a term that can used to refer to non-residents and residents who are generous—especially *son huasteco* musicians. Yet for some musicians not from the Huasteca who play in *tríos huastecos*, indigenous music has become particularly appealing and a way for them to show their mastery of cultural knowledge from the Huasteca, through learning and performing these genres and due to their residency outside of the region and access to cultural spaces they have sometimes replaced the musicians who taught them how to play this music as new “authentic” representatives. While this is not always policed, it does not change that specialized knowledge is mined and unless there are interventions in cultural policies, urban musicians with greater access to education, resources and proximity to the offices in the capital often get selected over musicians from the Huasteca region.

Beginning in 1994, some of the same cultural organizers would organize to formally start *El Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca*, in order to revitalize the living tradition of *huapango* through financial support of cultural projects for musicians, along with other aspects of contemporary and traditional arts, languages, crafts and culture in local communities in the Huasteca region through different grant programs, along with the support of research on cultures and history on the region. Like what Michelle Bigenho calls a “project culture,” projects with populations or cultures that were indigenous, local, at risk, youth and women would be priorities, along with traditional culture, and intangible patrimony

as many *son huasteco* musicians would apply for “projects” to access funds through the PDCH (Bigenho 2002: 107 and Wade 1999: 458).

Por mas que quince años el Programa ha realizado gran cantidad de acciones como son *el Festival de la Huasteca*, talleres de versificación y ejecución de *son huasteco*, *encuentros* de niños y jóvenes *huapangueros*, danzantes, médicos tradicionales, cronistas, narradores tradicionales, promotores culturales, músicos, versadores, bailadores y mujeres; exposiciones; convocatorias de estímulos a la creación cultural; programas de radio; y un extenso programa editorial en el que se publican, en formato de libro, video, disco compacto y CD ROM, trabajos que contribuyen al conocimiento del patrimonio cultural tangible e intangible de esta importante y rica región cultural.

For more than fifteen years the Program has accomplished many things such as *el Festival de la Huasteca*, workshops that teach how to sing, write and improvise verses for *sones huastecos* and how to play the instruments, congresses of child and youth who play, sing and dance *huapango* (*El encuentro de niños y jóvenes huapangueros*), dancers of religious and secular indigenous dances (*danzantes*), traditional healers, chroniclers of oral history (*crónistas*), traditional story tellers, cultural promoters, musicians, poets (verse writers), dancers of *son huasteco* and *huapango*, and women. The program has also sponsored expositions of art and traditional crafts, Huastecan products, competitive grants to help stimulate cultural creation, radio programs. It has edited and published an extensive body of books, videos, compact discs and CD ROM that all contribute to knowledge about both the tangible and intangible cultural patrimony that are from this very important and rich (Huasteca) cultural region.

(http://vinculacion.conaculta.gob.mx/prog_vincregional_intro.html Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

One of the most important activities that the PDCH did was organize a trans-local festival event modeled on *encuentros* like the *encuentro* at *La Fiesta Anual de Amatlán, Veracruz*, but which would travel to a different community in a different state of the Huasteca region each year to activate the maximum number of locations

with in the Huasteca and foster public participatory *huapango* dances: *El Festival de la Huasteca*. This model would begin to build a larger trans-local music, dance and cultural scene, in the Huasteca region, where many of the best practitioners and people who just enjoy *huapango* would travel to perform and attend different *encuentros huapangueros*,

El Festival de la Huasteca brings the grant recipients of different funding initiatives linked to the cultural development program, who represent some of the most accomplished musicians, singers, poets, researchers, artisans and dancers, who have proposed projects to record CDs, start music workshops, publish books or documentaries, start embroidery cooperatives, etc., within the region to present their work, as service to the community for the funding of their project. Trans-local music and dance scenes have explored ballroom dance (Marion 2010); Goth (Hodkinson 2004) and women's music festivals (Dowd, Liddle and Nelson 2004); they incite interest, create large imagined communities, within participants who travel in the circuit of the festivals and they bring the best of given music and dance scenes, to locations which inspires interest in the host sites of the events within these translocal scenes.

The festival would travel to different locations within the Huasteca region, to demonstrate these people's work. In terms of music, the stage was opened up so that the rest of the community as well as festival participants could collaborate and sign up and also perform as *tríos huastecos*, or as *trovadores*, singer-poets, to the accompaniment of the *tríos*, for the rest of the people at the festival to dance and listen to. The traveling festival has served to revitalize communities that have

hosted these events, and has inspired these communities to start holding their own annual *encuentros huapangueros*, or other events featuring *huapango huasteco*, on a regular basis.

Although the PDCH formally came together in 1994, it began with a meeting of cultural researchers and administrators in 1993, including several who began the *Festival Anual de Huapango Amatlán*, such as David Celestinos, Armando Herrera Silva and Román Güemes. In 1994, the Mexican federal government through the *Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes*, and several state institutions and it was initially housed in San Luis Potosí. First, they became a coalition of five of the six states that anthropologists and historians had defined as having portions that are part of the Huasteca region: San Luis Potosí, Veracruz de Llave, Tamaulipas, Hidalgo, and Querétaro. However, it is important to note that in 1999, the state of Puebla was added to the consortium of secretaries and institutes of culture (Lira Lozano and Muñoz 2005). Those member organizations are: the *Consejo Estatal para la Cultura y las Artes de Hidalgo*, the *Consejo Estatal para la Cultura y las Artes de Puebla*, the *Instituto Tamaulipeco para la Cultura y las Artes*, *Instituto Queretano para la Cultura y las Artes*, *Museo Histórico para la Sierra Gorda (de Querétaro)*, *Instituto Veracruzano de la Cultura*, *Unidad Regional de Culturas Norte (de Veracruz)*, and *La Secretaría de Cultura de San Luis Potosí* and in Mexico City the *Consejo Nacional de las Culturas y las Artes*.

One of the largest cultural areas of Mexico, the Huasteca covers portions of six states along the Gulf Coast of Mexico. Only certain municipalities within each state are considered a part of the Huasteca region (See Figure 11 and Table1

Municipalities in the Huasteca). According to the *Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca*, these states are Hidalgo, San Luis Potosí, Puebla, Querétaro, Veracruz, and Tamaulipas.

(http://vinculacion.conaculta.gob.mx/prog_vincredional_huasteca2.html).

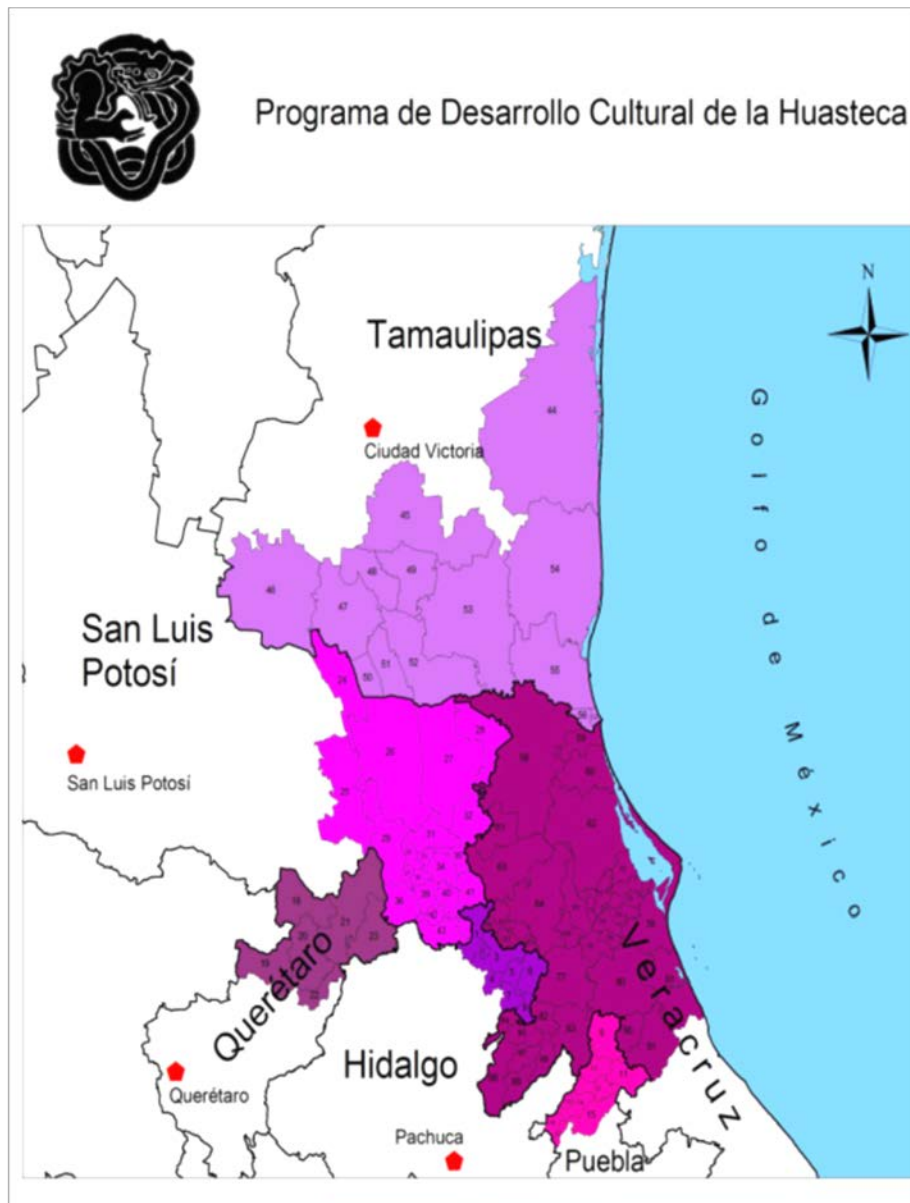


Figure 11: Map of the Huasteca Cultural Region According to the PDCH (http://vinculacion.conaculta.gob.mx/prog_vincredional_huasteca2.html downloaded May 23, 2013)

Municipalities—Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca (88):			
Huasteca Hidalguense (8):		Huasteca Veracruzana (33):	
Atlapexco Huautla Huazalingo Huejutla de Reyes	Jaltocán San Felipe Orizatlán Xochiatipan Yahualica	Alta: Pánuco El Higo Pueblo Viejo Tampico Alto Tempoal Ozuluama Chiconamel Platón Sánchez Chalma Tantoyuca Tantima Tamalín Chinampa de Gorostiza Naranjos Amatlán Tamiahua Túxpan	Baja: Huayacocotla Ilamatlán Zontecomatlan. Texcatepec Zacualpan Benito Juárez Tlachichilco Ixcatepec Chicontepec Ixhuatlán de Madero Chontla Tepetzintla Temapache Castillo de Teayo Citlaltépetl Tancoco Cerro Azul
Huasteca Queretana (6):			
Arroyo Seco Jalpan de Serra Landa de Matamoros	Pinal de Amoles Peñamiller San Joaquín		
Huasteca Potosina (19):			
El Naranjo Tamasopo Ciudad Valles Tamuín Ébano Aquismón Tancanhuitz de Santos Tanlajás Tampacán Tampamolón Corona	Tanquián de Escobedo San Vicente San Antonio Xilitla Huehuetlán Coxcatlán Axtla de Terrazas San Martín Chalchicuautla Matlapa Tamazunchale		
Huasteca Tamaulipeca (13):		Huasteca Poblana (9):	
Soto la Marina Llera Tula Ocampo Gómez Farias Xicotencatl Nuevo Morelos	Antiguo Morelos Ciudad Mante González Aldama Altamira Tampico Ciudad Madero	Francisco Z Mena Venustiano Carranza Jalpan Pahuatlán Pantepec	Tacuilotepec Tlaxco Naupan Xicoteppec de Juárez

Table 1: Municipalities in the Huasteca According to the PDCH

The program began to take on a national importance, and would begin to influence and shape and to be influenced by other locally sensitive programs of regional culture development for the entire country. Several federal positions were created, including the office in charge of regional affiliation for the *Consejo Nacional de las Culturas y los Artes* (CONACULTA), *Vinculación Regional* and *Dirección General de las Culturas y Artes Populares*. Vinculación Regional was formed and began to administer several regional development programs distinct from the PDCH— although the Huastecan program is both the most prolific and the oldest (Lira Lozano and Muñoz 2005).

El antecedente de los Programas Regionales es *el Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca*, creado en 1994. A partir de 2001, se han creado cinco nuevos programas en las regiones Sotavento, Tierra Caliente, Yoreme, Istmo y Maya. Los seis Programas son resultado de la concertación de la federación y de 19 gobiernos estatales, a través de sus instancias culturales, dando lugar a la participación de la sociedad civil a través del trabajo coordinado con investigadores, promotores culturales y creadores, atendiendo 295 municipios. Para el logro de los objetivos de los Programas se han implementado cuatro líneas social y cultural de cada región. Estas líneas de acción son Animación, Investigación, Capacitación y Ediciones.

The antecedent of the Regional Programs is *El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca*, founded in 1994. Since 2001, five more programs have been formed in the *Sotavento, Tierra Caliente, Yorémé, Istmo* and *Maya* regions. The six programs are a result of a coordination of the federation (of programs) and nineteen state governments, through their cultural organizations, giving a place for the participation of the civil society through the work that is coordinated with researchers, promoters of culture and culture bearers. The regional programs serve 295 municipalities, in total. In order to achieve the objectives of the programs, four lines of action have been implemented for each region. These lines of action are activation, research, training, and publications.

(http://vinculacion.conaculta.gob.mx/prog_vincregional_intro.html Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca. Downloaded May 23, 2013; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

Six regional cultural programs became linked and grew out of this change in cultural policy *El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca, El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de Tierra Caliente, El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural Yoreme, El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural del Sotavento, El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural del Ismo, y El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural Maya*. It may have been a change that was done in order to coordinate the patrimony of the entire nation from the center instead of from provincial capitals and was an attempt to have administrators of each program benefit from interacting with each other.

The mission statement of the regional programs of CONACULTA shows how in the regional programs, policies and concepts, based in working through shared decision making and cultural sensitivity, guide the support of local music by the Mexican government. The work of *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH)* is apparent in this mission statement. Rather than falling into easy characterizations of regional music and indigenous culture as dying traditions and the heritage of all of the nation through its ancestors, it balances contradictory frames surrounding indigenusness, tradition and *son* as endangered and contemporary. Local cultures are used as a term in place of indigenous. The statement brings in to play a priority for cultural sensitivity for local cultures.

La mayor parte de la riqueza cultural del país se encuentra en su diversidad cultural, la cual se puede ubicar a nivel regional. Las culturas regionales representan el espacio de reproducción del conjunto de conocimientos ancestrales y contemporáneos que, si bien responden a circunstancias locales, nutren con su diversidad a la cultura nacional.

The majority of the cultural richness of our country (Mexico) is found in its cultural diversity, which can be placed at a regional level. Regional cultures represent the space where ancestral and contemporary knowledge is reproduced and if they are responsive to local circumstances then they feed the national culture with their diversity.

(http://vinculacion.conaculta.gob.mx/prog_vincregional_intro.html Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca. Downloaded May 23, 2013; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

Vínculación Regional crafted a statement that acknowledges the need to also support contemporary arts, broadly defined to include ancestral arts that are still living traditions, and contemporary avant-garde, popular creativity. It mentions that ancestral culture can inspire this creativity, but that it also offers an alternative to creating contemporary arts influenced by globalization from outside of Mexico.

Las culturas regionales, además de albergar la sabiduría ancestral del pueblo mexicano, son fuente de inspiración para la creación contemporánea. Por ello, el fortalecimiento de dichas culturas constituye parte fundamental de una política institucional que pueda ofrecer alternativas distintas a la tendencia homogenizadora de la actual globalización.

Por lo tanto, y para dar atención a las necesidades particulares de las regiones, en 2001 se creó la Dirección de Vinculación Regional, área dedicada a la operación de Programas de Desarrollo Cultural Regional, con el fin de apoyar el desarrollo cultural del país desde la perspectiva de las identidades regionales, a través de la generación de procesos de revaloración, promoción y difusión del patrimonio artístico y popular, así como del impulso de las nuevas expresiones culturales.

The regional cultures, besides sheltering the ancestral wisdom of the Mexican people, are the source of inspiration for contemporary creativity. The strengthening of said cultures is a fundamental part of an institutional policy that can offer distinct alternatives to the homogenizing tendency of today's globalization.

For this reason, and in order to give attention to the particular necessities of the regions, in 2001, the Direction of Regional Affiliation was formed. This is the area that is in charge of the operations of the Programs of Development of Regional Culture, with the goal of supporting the cultural development of the country with a perspective from the regional identities, through the generation of processes to value, promote and diffuse popular and artistic patrimony, as well as impulse of new cultural expressions.

(http://vinculacion.conaculta.gob.mx/prog_vincregional_intro.html Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca. Downloaded May 23, 2013; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

Even though the regional programs policy appears to be reproducing some aspects of an older model of musical nationalism—that is where provincial and local culture are moved to the capital and projects are given priority in the center of the nation—unlike the older model, priority, in this instance, is given to projects that are based in local communities in the Huasteca, or that benefit a community in the Huasteca in a tangible way. The policy of decentralization, thus, becomes a national priority.

En estos Programas se concreta una política cultural descentralizada, coordinada por los propios estados tanto en la toma de decisiones y ejecución de las acciones, como en la administración de los recursos. De manera que con este modelo de atención cultural se establecen las bases para una política de alcance nacional.

These programs are built on a policy of decentralization of culture, which is coordinated by the states as much in making decisions and actions, as well as administering the resources. In this way with this model for cultural sensitivity the bases for a national policy is established.

(http://vinculacion.conaculta.gob.mx/prog_vincredional_intro.html Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca. Downloaded May 23, 2013; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

By defining decentralization as a national policy for cultural regions, the cultural regional programs began to reverse the expropriation of traditional musicians and resources for the support of the arts that occurred when musicians have been brought as experts to the state capitals and Mexico City. It has a significant impact, because the capitals of each state and the nation have greater access to resources and there are fewer resources within the cultural regions to support culture and the arts without this policy. It stems the one-way movement of local cultures to the capital and creates an opportunities for local artists to present their work. Before representative musicians would often be selected from the pool of musicians in Mexico City, and the capitals, because of easier access to transportation and better

access cultural administrators.

Las metas de los Programas son propiciar el intercambio interestatal e interinstitucional para fortalecer el desarrollo de las manifestaciones culturales de la región; alentar la participación de la población en el desarrollo y difusión de su identidad étnica y cultural; impulsar la difusión de las manifestaciones culturales de la región, más allá del ámbito local; estimular la comunicación y el enriquecimiento mutuo entre los creadores y promotores culturales; conjuntar esfuerzos de distintas instancias, públicas y privadas, para el desarrollo de proyectos culturales; así como apoyar y gestionar acciones que favorezcan la conservación, preservación y desarrollo del patrimonio cultural.

The goals of the programs are to promote the exchange between states and institutes to strengthen the development of the culture of the region; feed the participation of the population in its development and diffusion of its ethnic and cultural identity; promote the diffusion of cultural manifestations of the region beyond just the local space, stimulate the mutual communication and enrichment between cultural bearers and cultural promoters; to gather the work of different parties together both public and private, in order to develop cultural projects; such as supporting and gestating actions that favor the conservation, preservation and development of cultural patrimony.

(http://vinculacion.conaculta.gob.mx/prog_vincregional_intro.html Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca. Downloaded May 23, 2013; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

Regional Affiliation's policies create a check and balance against disproportionate power that the national councils, state secretaries of culture and culture brokers wield over local creators and artists who apply for support for their artistic and cultural projects and to train apprentices. The emphasis on decentralization and "feeding local participation" to create and preserve regional and local manifestations of culture serves to soften the stereotyping and transformation of local indigenous and *mestizo* music and dance, which had occurred when they were deployed for cultural nationalism at the state and national scale.

The PDCH began funding workshops in the Huasteca region, something that had not been previously done outside of state capitals or Mexico City. By

placing a priority of funding projects in and selecting representatives from the Huasteca region, there are many more *trío huasteco* musicians, and Huastecan regional culture is experiencing a rebirth and regeneration. Music workshops teachers in the Huasteca reclaimed Huastecan regional identity as both *mestizo* and *nahua*, instead of only *mestizo* and opened up *trío huasteco* musicianship as an acceptable role for girls. The following sections will show the impact that teachers have had on music workshops and situate the history of Mexico's educational system, which had positioned teachers to teach institutional *son huasteco* music workshops since the establishment of *Misiones Culturales* (Cultural Missionary Teachers) in 1923 and through the publication of books of verses written for *son huasteco*.

SECTION 2—Teachers, Students, *Nahua* and *Mestiza* Identity

Ch.4 *Maestros* Defining the Huasteca, Mestizo and *Nahua* Identity and Gender through Workshops

My entrance into playing *son huasteco* and establishing musical competence in *trío huasteco* came as it did for many people of my generation, either from the Huasteca or Mexico City, in music workshops in Mexico City or in the Huasteca region sponsored by the PDCH, but with an important difference--I was not from the Huasteca, Mexico, or even of Mexican decent. I decided to learn *son huasteco* because I fell in love with the sound, and was inspired to dare to study this male dominated genre by the presence of women like Ema Maza del Ángel and Soraima Galindo Linares as singers accompanied by and musicians in *tríos huastecos*.

Maybe I could have done “traditional” fieldwork, and learned how to play *jarana huasteca* and *quinta huapanguera* by living for a prolonged period with an elder musician in a village. However, I was interested in the reasons behind the recent appearance of so many *trío huasteco* musicians who were women of my age, and younger, beginning in 1994, and the opportunity presented itself to me when I attended the *VII Festival de la Huasteca*. I learned that it was precisely because of these workshops that there was an increase in women who played *trío huasteco* instruments and sang in their own *tríos*, instead of being accompanied by a *trío* as the women *trovadoras* from Pánuco., another group of elder *huapangueros* who were also involved in the festival scene. I do not think that I would have learned to be a *trío huasteco* musician and singer as quickly as I had, if I had not started my journey in a workshop with Soraima Galindo Linares and Santiago Fajardo Hernández as my teachers.

The following vignette will show how I was taught to *play son huasteco* by two schoolteachers, a woman, Soraima Galindo Linares and her husband Santiago Fajardo Hernández, workshop leaders who taught many youth how to play *huapango* and *sones de costumbre*. Meanwhile another workshop leader and schoolteacher Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, and Soraima’s violinist and brother, Ivan, looked on at the *VII Festival de la Huasteca* (the Seventh edition of the Festival of the Huasteca).

El VII Festival de la Huasteca, Serra Justo Elementary School, Workshop location, Tamazunchale, San Luís Potosí, August 7, 2002

“¡Qué-bueno-ya-aprendí! ¡Qué-bueno-ya-aprendí! ¡Qué-bueno-ya-aprendí!”

“Hold your fingers like you are scooping up water to drink, together and use your fingernails for the strings. Keep all four fingers together and stick the thumb out next to the index finger. Keep all of them together like a mother and four baby pigs.”

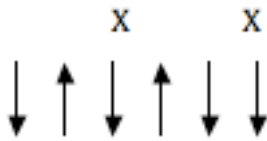


Figure 12: Rasgueo taught in the *Viva el Huapango* Workshop, Ciudad Victoria and in Tamazunchale at *El Festival de la Huasteca*



Figure 13: Mnemonic Phrase for the Rasgueo with the Rhythm of *Huapango*

‘That’s right.’ ‘Down, up, down-azote (azote is a ringing percussive bell strike on the *jarana*), up, down, down-azote.’ “*¡Qué bueno ya aprendí!*,” Soraima laughs making a joke she had practiced many times with her students “*¿Ya aprendiste?*” (translation ‘Did you learn already?’) Soraima then translates the joke, just because she could, “It’s great that you have learned!, I love English (laughs).”

The first lesson I had on the *jarana huasteca* and my first interaction with *son huasteco* musicians was at a music workshop sponsored by the PDCH in *El VII Festival de la Huasteca*. During the daytime at the festival, there were different workshops taught by grant recipients who had proposed projects that included teaching *son huasteco*, or other arts, or traditional knowledge in their communities. The workshop was held in the Serra Justo Elementary School in Tamazunchale, along with all the other workshops, *violín huasteco*, verse composition and *son huasteco* dance. Each workshop was in a different classroom, or space.

Outside in the school's courtyard, the dance class was underway. The teacher prompted the class to pound out the *zapateado* steps for the son "La Presumida," using the word "chocolate" in Spanish:



R=Right Foot

L=Left Foot

Figure 14: Zapateado Step Chocolate

Sometimes I felt distracted by the sound. Even though the rhythm synchronized with the *jarana* when Soraima played, it did not with my playing. Instead I played slow as I struggled to play the *azote*, that sounded to me like like the hand deadened the strings, only brighter.

"Chocolate-chocolate-chocolate-chocolate."

The dancers kept distracting me as I tried to master the sound of learning, “¡que bueno ya aprendí!” the mnemonic device for the *rasgueo* for *son huasteco*.

Soraima Galindo Linares noticed what I did and told me to be careful to not play huapango like 6-string guitarists. *Huapangueros* from the Huasteca do not deaden the strings, because it was playing a *son huasteco* fast for the dancers difficult. I slowly mastered the *azote* and strum, but still could not synch up with the dancers outside.

Soraima Galindo and her husband patiently showed me how to produce the characteristic sound of the *huapango, son huasteco rasgueo*, using the phrase they used with all of the children and young people who they had taught how to play. They had been using this phrase to teach beginning *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera* players since 1998, when they received a grant for the “Viva el Huapango,” ‘Long Live Huapango’ *trío huasteco* workshop. Where they taught students of all ages to play *son huasteco* on *jarana, quinta huapanguera* and violin in Ciudad Mante, Tamaulipas. Eduardo Bustos looked on and smiled as they taught me.

After they finished teaching me the *rasgueo*, or strum pattern and I was able reproduce it slowly, they told me to practice. They said I could return later and study with them at their workshop. Soraima and Santiago left the workshop space to go change the official T-shirts for the festival, and into to their uniforms to present their cassette that was funded by the PDCH at the main stage in the plaza above the *tárima*. Then they accompanied Don Artemio Villeda, as he presented and sang verses from his book that was also published with funds from the PDCH, *Los Tiburones Van A Comer Muchos Versos*. We gathered our things, the notes on chords

and strum patters that they made for me in a notebook, and set out to see the last events of *El VII Festival de La Huasteca*.

At the Festival, workshops were open to anyone in the public; however, mostly children and youth who belonged to workshops in their communities participated, and were brought in as groups. *El Festival de la Huasteca* provided an opportunity for people who are still refining their skills in *son huasteco*, to learn with some of the skilled musicians that had received grants, or are well known musicians, a single place for many musicians to gather and learn from each other.

***Maestros* as egalitarian teachers and pluri-multicultural agents through projects in the PDCH**

Maestros, schoolteachers who are music workshop leaders, are important cultural agents in the definition of an egalitarian and multicultural Huastecan identity, particularly in the ways that they have opened up spaces for female musicians and taught *nahua* repertoire through music workshops, which are then included at *encuentros huapangueros*. These workshop leaders have democratized Huastecan musicianship to include both boys and girls equally as singer/instrumentalists in *tríos* through egalitarian policies implicit in educational projects. *Trío huasteco* musicianship, has been characterized as a male dominated role within *huapango*; however, women's and girls participation is especially marked at cultural events sponsored by the PDCH (Interview Soraima Galindo Linares August 8, 2004). Teachers also began changing the representation of the

Huasteca region from one that was *mestizo*, to a region that was *mestizo* and indigenous, by highlighting *nahua sones de costumbre*, in events linked to the PDCH. This section will trace the female-ization of *tríos huastecos* and move of *nahua* identity to the center of the Huasteca region through the testimony of workshop leaders, who are also teachers, and by tracing the family lineage of the transmission of a version of a *nahua* son called “*Xochipitzahuatl*” (thin flower) to the entire Huasteca region.⁹

Xochipitzahuatl did not fully represent the Huasteca on the regional or national scale until the mid-1990s when three teachers of workshops, whose work is especially important in *Los Encuentros de Niños y Jóvenes Huapangueros: Maestro Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela*, and wife and husband team Maestra Soraima Galindo Linares and Maestro Santiago Fajardo Hernández, began to emphasize singing the *son* as it is truly pronounced in Náhuatl. By paying attention to details in the pronunciation of *Xochipitzahuatl*, and teaching a love of *nahua sones de costumbre*, even to communities where no Náhuatl is spoken.

This section will historically and culturally situate the increased presence of co-ed and all-girl *tríos huastecos* in *son huasteco* workshops and analyze the transmission of *Nahua* repertoire to *mestizos* in the Huasteca region through musical repertoire in workshops and informally through hosting and

⁹ Shortly after the establishment of the cultural task force of the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP) since 1931, schoolteachers began using one of these *sones*, “*Xochipitzahuatl*” (thin flower), as an unofficial anthem of the region (Saavedra 1931). However, most teachers of this piece of music who were not native speakers of Náhuatl used materials with versions of this *son*—used in weddings, other ceremonies and saint’s day devotional dance—that contained simplified or inaccurate Náhuatl and Spanish lyrics about “Indian” (sic!) women.

apprenticeships of students at family fiestas in Chicontepec—all sites of transmission, which helped to maintain tradition, reclaim roads and which educated and promoted understanding between indigenous and *mestizo* people through *son huasteco*, *huapango* and *sones de costumbre*. It will also evaluate how this transmission has contributed to cultural understanding and positive identity of youth through performances by teachers and students at *El Festival de la Huasteca*. It will show how egalitarian practices in *son huasteco* workshops have successfully increased the presence of women in *tríos* trained in workshops. And finally, it will show how these workshops have impacted the presentation of Huastecan regional identity at the *Festival de la Huasteca*. Many of the musicians who study in the workshops are not from families who played *son huasteco*, and so, while it is a style of music that they have been given through institutional workshops and informal teaching from elder musicians at the PDCH's events, most workshop students have not been from families who have practiced *huapango* for generations.

The Huasteca Region through the lense of Chicontepec: Mestizo and Indigenous

Despite the common belief in music scholarship that indigenous people of the Huasteca have been fully incorporated into the *mestizo* population and assimilated, or that "*mestizaje*" has been successful (Hutchinson 2008: 213; Saunders 1975; Sheehy 2005), the present population continues to have significant numbers of speakers of indigenous languages. Anthropologists also have done a significant

amount of research on *trío huasteco*, and classified it because of its central function in the cultures they studied, as *nahua*, *tének*, or *tepehua* (Boiles 1967; Sandstrom 1985; Provost and Sandstrom 1976; Sandstrom 1991).

Even if demographers classify indigenusness through language, according scholars like Alan Sandstrom, the use of a language other than Spanish as a primary means of communication, renders the smallest estimates of indigenous populations (1991). Sandstrom proposes that the maintenance of rituals known as *costumbres*, and music for these rituals and dance—are key to defining an indigenous identity and *lifestyle* (my emphasis) because of their role in the maintenance of *costumbres* in contrast with those of mainstream *mestizo* society.

Consulting information provided by the Mexican government based on censuses, the Huasteca is home to three of the largest municipalities with the most speakers of Náhuatl in Mexico: Huejutla de Reyes, with 63,000 speakers of Náhuatl ($\geq 55\%$ of the population of approximately 114,000), Chicontepec, with 40,000 speakers of Náhuatl ($\geq 72\%$ of the population of approximately 55,000) and Tamazunchale, with 38,000 speakers of Náhuatl ($\geq 39\%$ of the population of approximately 92,820) ([http://www.e-local.gob.mx/wb2/ELOCAL/ELOC Enciclopedia](http://www.e-local.gob.mx/wb2/ELOCAL/ELOC_Enciclopedia) viewed 04/12/2013). The entire Huasteca region, even with some very large cities which have no speakers of an indigenous language, is nevertheless is the region in Mexico with the most speakers of an indigenous language. In the entire Huasteca region, more than 19% of the population speaks an indigenous language as their primary means of communication (*Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca* 2008).

The process of whitening or assimilation of indigenous people cannot be thought of as a one-way or apolitical, non-economic process in the Huasteca either. Martha Inés Flores Pacheco, a scholar who does work on indigenous and *mestizo* communities in conflicts over land territory from the *Instituto de Antropología in the Universidad Veracruzana, Xalapa, Veracruz*, mentioned that in 1992 the government of the State of Hidalgo claimed that there were no more indigenous people, after a separatist movement mobilized in the Huasteca region in 1990. After 1992, as the *Ejercito Nacional de Liberación Zapatista* began mobilizing and came to international attention in 1994, the government began funding more social programs, development and artistic programs earmarked for indigenous people, and regions with high percentages of indigenous populations. Just two years after declaring there were no indigenous people in Hidalgo, in 1994, the state returned to classifying communities that spoke indigenous languages as ethnically indigenous (Conversation Martha Inés Flores Pacheco May 23, 2013).

Flores Pacheco also argues that in the Huasteca many people who are not indigenous in terms of their family's ethnic and racial history, speak an indigenous language because the majority of the population in their county speaks and indigenous language. Dr. Flores Pacheco, says the Huasteca can neither be thought of as a "*mestizo*" region or an "indigenous" region, where *mestizos* are classified as not indigenous. She claims that many people did not want to be classified as indigenous when there was no financial or social benefit to be classified as such, and the reality that many *mestizos* in the Huasteca can also be speakers of languages, such as Náhuatl as a primary means of communication, because of the region's relative

isolation until the 1970s ,only complicates estimates of populations of indigenous people.

It was only in the late 1970s that major highways were built in the Huasteca. Many *mestizos* learn and use Náhuatl and other indigenous languages extensively in order to survive, carry out business, and financially exploit monolingual *Nahuas* in the region. Historically, some *mestizo* children in generations before the 1970s attended *Internados Indigenas*, schools for children who mainly or only speak an indigenous language, because they were the only schools in the area close to their home (Conversation Martha Inés Flores Pacheco May 23, 2013).

In the Huasteca both *nahua* and *mestizo* music and dance from the region around Chicontepepec, Veracruz, Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí and Huejutla, Hidalgo, had an important place in educational curriculum and literature. From as far back as the mid-1920s and lasting until the mid 1930s, the role of Huastecan music and dance entered into the local public school curriculum, and this has been carried into workshops of the PDCH, since 1994 in *trío huasteco* workshops.

Teachers in Mexico have been active in defining gender roles and defining their students' and the nations' identity through folklore, traditional music, dance and other aspects of Mexican culture since at least the 1920s as part of the national education system. For the Huasteca region in particular is useful to compare the time period after the Mexican Revolution, with the period after 1994, because there are striking parallels between the mid 1920s- mid 1930s and the period of activity that began under the PDCH after 1994 and coalesced in 2001 after the *Partido de*

Acción Nacional, an opposition party to the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, took power.

Many different types of people—teachers, historians and anthropologists—were involved in both movements as intermediaries. *Mestizo* and indigenous music and dance from the Huasteca were presented together and separately in books of verse published by important figures in the establishment of a national education system, in ethnographic accounts, in publications sponsored by the Mexican government and board of tourism. Both follow periods where the relationship between the nation and indigenous peoples was being redefined after crisis and demands made by indigenous peoples. Women’s roles were also being redefined through political and cultural movements in the 1990s. This decade also saw the first political party change since the Mexican Revolution. In 1994, there were a number of meetings that were called, by the *Ejercito de Liberación Nacional Zapatista*, and other indigenous congresses to call for the respect of indigenous culture and autonomy, indigenous women were at the forefront of these political movements, and women were also taking important roles in the Mexican civil society movements that were allied with the Zapatistas and other cultural movements that asked for a concept of multiculturalism, interculturalism, or even “a world where many worlds fit.”¹⁰

In the mid-1990s, the PDCH began in the cultural institutions of the Huasteca region, during a time period when the concept of “a world where many worlds can

¹⁰ Forth Declaration of the Lancondian Jungle Subcommandante Marcos January 1, 1996 <http://struggle.ws/mexico/ezln/jung4.html> also available in Marcos, and Žiga Vodovnik. 2004. *Ya Basta!: Ten Years of the Zapatista Uprising*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.

fit” shaped many artists concepts of Mexico should be headed. The earmarking of funds for indigenous communities, and formal mission statements of greater inclusion within a funding program of cultural development has changed the representation of Huastecan regional music. People have proposed different projects, such as recordings, books, and music workshops that serve the goals of inclusion and the documentation or support of *mestizo* and indigenous local music and dances that are at risk and the development of youth and children as objectives.

Within the “project culture” the PDCH (Bigenho 2002) *son huasteco* workshops that included *Nahua sones* and *mestizo huapangos* together and participation of girls and women in previously “male dominated” (sic!) forums of musicianship were encouraged, even musical groups and workshops with women as leaders were able to find a sympathetic environment to grow alongside projects to support other spheres of creativity that were traditionally indigenous such as *danzas* and female, such as traditional embroidery collectives and co-ed, such as poetry like that of *trovadores* in *Pánuco* or *son huasteco* dance.

Ch. 5 Teachers as Cultural Missionaries

The purpose of this chapter is to show the centrality of *nahua* and *mestizo son huasteco* and dances that were presented together in literature written by Huastecan born intellectuals, and in rural and urban Huastecan region school teacher's curricula as *costumbres*. As well as the historic link of schoolteachers as intermediaries who teach this music to children in the region affects how the music and dance of the Huasteca are framed and taught as part of social history. Some professional *nahua* musicians prefer not to place ritual music and other aspects of *nahua* culture on stage for a display. But it is important to understand this history, and the presentation of the typical *costumbres* in literature, one-act plays and books of verse from the Huasteca to be able to contextualize the strong presence of teachers as presenters of *nahua* and *mestizo son huasteco* from Chicontepepec, Veracruz and neighboring *nahua* and *mestizo* municipalities. Several books from the early period after the Mexican Revolution provided information *nahua* and *mestizo* music and dance together as a unified musical culture, and show the connection of educators as agents that teach *son huasteco*, *sones de costumbre* and culture from the Huasteca region.

In order to situate the teachers as agents who transmit *son huasteco* and *nahua* music and culture in the present, I turn to the 1920s-1940s to review early post-revolutionary cultural policies and representations of the Huasteca that included *Nahua sones* like *Xochipitzahuatl* and *canarios* from the mountains close to Chicontepepec, Veracruz, Huejutla, Hidalgo and Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosi and

alongside regional *sones* like “*El Zacamandu*” and “*La Huasanga*.” These examples show the historic trajectory of rural schoolteachers from the Huasteca region as producers of plays and books in order to teach about Huastecan *mestizo* and *nahua* culture together, as well as their pastime of writing and publishing books of *son huasteco* verses since at least the early 1920s.

Indigenismo, revolutionary women and cultural mission teachers, anthropologists, and information about huapango 1920s-1940s

Shortly after the Mexican Revolution, teachers, novelists, anthropologists, and cultural magazine publishers used the music and dance from the Huasteca in the national scholastic curriculum, and in the documentation of the culture of Mexico, as an important element both to construct a national identity and reinforce a regional identity (Menéndez 1925; López Fuentes 1935; Toor 1932; Núñez y Domínguez 1932; Téllez 1932; Saavedra 1931 and Mendoza 1942). This is the first period when indigenous and *mestizo* culture from the Huasteca region are documented and seen together in portrayal of folk traditions, poetry, dance and music. This was part of a larger movement in Mexico in the period after the revolution that culminated with the presidency of General Lázaro Cardenas. Anthropology figured prominently in cultural policy during this period. For example, Manuel Gamio, who studied at Columbia under Franz Boas, felt that anthropology was going to be the salvation of the Mexican nation, because many of the problems that shook Mexico to its foundation during the Revolution had to do with vast differences in wealth, and the systematic violence and discrimination that began during the colonial period against indigenous peoples in Mexico.

The Huasteca had many battles and strong links to the Revolutionary elite. There was a necessity to quickly incorporate this portion of Mexico into the fold after the Revolution. During several periods in history, the Huasteca region attempted to separate from the Mexican nation, or become its own state. With some of the largest populations of speakers of indigenous languages, and also the earliest settlements of Spanish and wealthy landholding *criollo* and *mestizo* families, the region had of the most bloody conflicts over land use between cattle ranchers, and small landholders. Some of the earliest land reforms that granted parcels of land to anyone who participated in the revolution through the redistribution of large landholders' wealth were carried out in the Huasteca region, as was the expropriation of Mexico's oil reserves from foreign investors during this brief time period.

The Huasteca region's indigenous and mestizo music and dance—by this I mean *son huasteco* presented together with indigenous *danzas* and *sones de costumbre*—occupies a unique space in the artistic movement of Mexican *indigenismo* in the 1920s and 1930. This is because, the educational material collected and published by missionary teachers from the division of Misiones *culturales* (Cultural Missions) combined with the use of *costumbres* by local intellectuals, who moved up through the ranks of the Revolutionary elite, to construct an early form of nationalism. The Huasteca also became a source for a particular brand of realist *indigenismo*, which could be called *costumbrista*, which came to prominence before the mid-20th Century through the work of Gregorio López y Fuentes among intellectuals who moved out of the Huasteca to the center of

the Nation. For intellectuals, mainly schoolteachers, who stayed within the Huasteca, *nahua* and *mestizo* music from the Huasteca represented their regional identity, which was not as central to Mexicanness as other regional identities, as it was to their own identity, and which they wished to defend against elitism and the center of Mexico. The inclusion of *mestizo* and *nahua* music and dance from the Huasteca together was also present in work of foreign intellectuals like Frances Toor, whose independently published collection of folklore, *Mexican Folkways*, garnered respect among intellectuals and politicians in Mexico City and socialists in the US who were sympathetic to the goals and culture of Mexico during this time period.

The new *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP), Mexico's Ministry of Public Education, was planned under the presidency of Carranza, and later implemented under the presidency of Alvaro Obregón in October 21, 1921. Rural and bilingual missionary schoolteachers, who were part of *Misiones Culturales*, constituted powerful figures in the national education system as well as the imagination of the Mexican Nation.

The question of education, *mestizaje* and *indigenismo*, was (and continues to be) an arena where identity, politics and the arts were combined into a milieu where survival of indigenous culture, language and life-ways were at stake. While José Vasconcelos, the author of *La Raza Cósmica*, is often pointed to as the father of a modern *mestizo* ideology, he wanted to rid Mexico of problems with indigenous people through the assimilation of Indians, and felt that their redemption would be found in *mestizaje*, or the mixture and whitening of indigenous people in Mexico. He

felt that indigenous people constituted a race apart from the rest of Mexico, which would be assimilated and modernized through inter-breeding and mixture (Knight 1990). During the administration of Cardenas, other administrators such as Luis Monzón and Rafael Ramírez, within the SEP felt that the answer was to train indigenous schoolteachers to teach in their region (Dawson 2004:34). Many of these teachers participated in the documentation of customs, staging of these typical customs in theatre and revival, and they traveled out to the rural areas like missionaries, using these materials to incorporate communities into the educational system and to teach students and communities about the cultures in the regions the schools were in.

According to Mary Kay Vaughan, beginning with the start of *Misiones Culturales*, 'Cultural Missions' young urban women began to take very active roles as school teachers in rural and indigenous regions of Mexico, where they traveled out of the center of the country and established schools in rural areas in Mexico (Vaughan 1997). Part of what the teachers attempted to establish were hygienic and dietary practices, but music and dance were also documented and placed into fiction, plays and books of verse by teachers. These books were used as didactic and literary materials to teach students and educate the artistic development of the masses of the general public, who were not able to participate in the educational system before and during the Mexican revolution.

Regional music and dance were an important part of fostering a sense of belonging and forging a national identity within the educational programs and the creation of a nation. Teachers in *Misiones Culturales* used indigenous and regional

music and dance to teach about the customs of the region that students belonged to, and also about the other regions of the Nation unfamiliar to the students (Dawson 2004 and Vaughan 1997). According to Vaughan, schoolteachers throughout Mexico organized patriotic festivals using regional *sones* (Vaughan 1994). *Son huasteco*, and Nahua and mestizo *sones de costumbre*, became of part of the curriculum used to portray the region to students from the Huasteca. Cultural Missions published of these resources through the SEP. Schoolteachers outside of the Huasteca region used the materials published to teach the national imaginary to their students. Teachers served as intermediaries between indigenous and *mestizo* culture, and between regional and national culture. *Mestizaje*, *costumbrismo* and *indigenismo* frames each figured prominently in the ideology of the educational system during this period and in the portrayal of *son huasteco* and Huastecan regional dance.

Rafael Saavedra *El Huapango: Ensayo de costumbres huastecas* 1931

Rafael Saavedra's play *El Huapango: Ensayo de costumbres huastecas* 'The Huapango: A lesson about Huastecan customs,' was commissioned by the *Secretaria de Educación Pública* (Public Education Secretary) and published in 1931. The one-act play was meant to teach about Huastecan music, dance, poetry and customs. Saavedra was a playwright who was based in Mexico City collaborated with two school teachers who worked for *Misiones Culturales*: Nabor Hurtado and Luis Obregón and collected the music and dance through field work. This is one of the few examples of a collection of songs that I could find in libraries in the United

States that included materials collected by the division *Misiones Culturales* (Cultural Missions) for the Huasteca region.

Nabor Hurtado transcribed the violin, provided the tunings for *quinta huapanguera* and Luis Obregón wrote directions to help teachers show students how to dance *huapango* in the play. The verses within the play are *trovos* that were written by Profesor Hilario Menéndez—but which may have been sung by many people within the Huasteca—as well as traditional verses for “*El Cielito Lindo*” and “*El Son Solito*” (see Figure 17). These *sones* were featured in the play along with “*La Azucena*.”

ADVERTENCIA PARA LOS MUSICOS.
 Para facilitar el acompañamiento de los sones que insertamos a continuación, acompañamiento a la guitarra, hemos sintetizado el acorde con números:
 N.º 1, acorde de tónica; N.º 2, acorde de séptima y N.º 3, acorde de sexta; ejemplo:

Igual en cualquier tonalidad. El acompañamiento del huapango es siempre rasgueando en todas las cuerdas.

R. M. S.

Figure 15: Chords in Saavedra’s Play *El Huapango* (Saavedra 1931: 3)

It is interesting to examine the instructions to the musicians, because they appear to be written for the instruments of the region. As opposed to the transcriptions of Jesús Téllez, which transposed *Xochipitzahuatl* for piano (Téllez 1932). The music for the theatrical work shows chords that appear to be tuned like a *quinta huapanguera*.

Son "Solito." huapango.

Ritmo de la Son:
GUITARRA: *igual* *copla:* *igual*

Son Huasteco (Juchitán)

Ritmo de la Son:
GUITARRA: *igual* *copla:* *igual que el anterior.*

Cuebito Sindo

copla:

Las guitarras acompañan con el mismo rasgueo que en coplas anteriores. (3)

N. H. K.

Figure 16: Directions for Musicians in Saavedra's *El Huapango Ensayo de Costumbres* 1931 (Saavedra 1931: 4).

The chords also follow the same system that *huapangueros* use, in that the tonic is called, “No. 1,” the dominant seventh is called, “*la séptima*,” ‘the seventh,’ or “No. 2,” and the subdominant is called, “*la sexta*,” ‘the sixth,’ or “No. 3.” (Saavedra 1931 section on choreography and music: 3). Even though it is a one-act play, basic musical directions, such as the chord charts, instructions on the rhythm for the *rasgueo*, and a single line for the violin melody are provided, that appear to be instructions to use *huastecan* instruments instead of instruments, such as six-string guitar and piano, which are common throughout Mexico at this time. While the music appears to have been notated by a teacher who was intimately familiar with *son huasteco*, the rest of the play appears to be written from an outsider’s perspective.

The play perpetuates both quaint and negative stereotypes about Huastecan *campesinos*, *indios* and the dance. Even if the dance directions are based in observations, they are shaped to the needs of teachers viewing the culture from the outside. The play’s choreographer directs the teachers who will use the material to try and duplicate dress from the *nahua* region of the Huasteca in Hidalgo. The directions for costuming perpetuate the stereotype that *campesinos* dress in a certain way: *manta* cotton clothing, *huaraches* and *sombreros* made from palm and a *machete* hanging from a belt for men; the women either barefoot, or with *huaraches* and wearing embroidered blouses and skirts made from *manta* and a *quexquemetl*¹¹, and braids with ribbons, or flowers.

¹¹ A garment that is used to cover the shoulders and chest of a woman on top of her blouse made from sewing two triangular shaped pieces of fabric together at the shoulders and leaving the top open for the head.

The play teaches the choreography with a vision based in the central region of Mexico. For example, the choreographer's directions explain how to dance *huapango* with references to the "jarabe"—a dance not associated with the Huasteca region. But associated with the central region of Mexico—the land where *mariachi* was born—known as *El Bajío*. (Saavedra 1931 section on choreography and music: 3). The body language and steps associated with the *jarabe* are quite distinct and the directions represent the misappropriation of the Huasteca's dance by the Center.

The theatrical work also perpetuates stereotypes about rural life and indigenous *campesinos* in the Huasteca through writing in non-standard pronunciation of Spanish by characters in the play. It exaggerates the propensity of *campesinos* for violence at *huapangos*, as well as the simplicity of people who continue a *huapango* fiesta with armed guards and a fugitive in their midst. The setting of the play is a small town's *huapango fiesta*, in the *huasteca hidalguense*. The plot shows that Mecho was in conflict with a rich landholder over work. The *patron* runs Mecho off of the land and sends armed henchmen after him. In the play, the landholder never finds Mecho and the townspeople decide to continue to dance *huapango*.

With the exception of instructions to dance the "jarabe" (*sic!*), some of the performance elements, such as costuming, directions for physical comportment and stereotypical accents continue today in theatrical stagings of *huapango* within urban schools in the subregions of the Huasteca, such as Hidalgo and the Huasteca Baja in the North of Veracruz. In essence the performance standards, when poorly executed perpetuate a distorted image of indigeneous peoples and customs to *mestizo* of the

region. This has led other educators based in the Huasteca to propose projects for theatrical presentations to the PDCH to remedy. The play perpetuated and even may have reflected negative stereotypes back to rural and indigenous Huastecan students, if it was crafted for the Huasteca region students. The play is one example of early curriculum from the division of *Misiones Culturales* and the SEP, that present *nahua* and *mestizo* culture together through *huapango* and one of the few examples of *indigenismo* from the period.

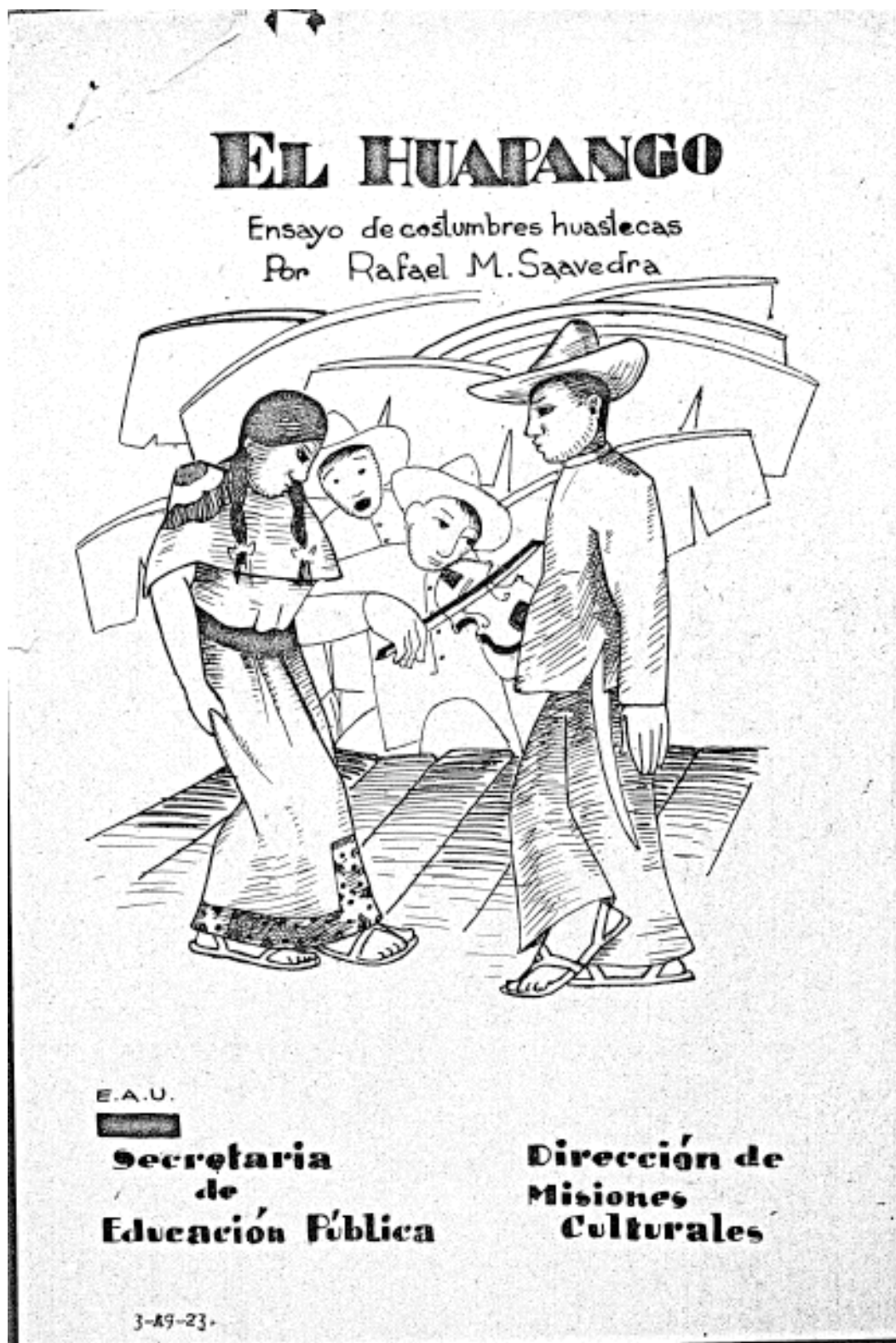


Figure 17: Cover of the Saavedra's One-Act Play "El Huapango: un ensayo de costumbres" "The Huapango: a lesson about customs" (Saavedra 1931)

Gregorio López y Fuentes *El Indio* and Realist Indigenismo from the Huasteca for the Mexican Nation

The Huasteca figured prominently in *indigenismo* and realist literature during the 1920s and 1930s as well. *El Indio* was the first novel to win the national literature prize in Mexico after the Mexican Revolution, in 1935. *El Indio* was translated into English just two years later, and sparked the imagination of readers in Mexico and the United States of the time. *Indigenismo* literature from the Huasteca warrants further examination, because writers who use this discourse do not neatly fall into one camp (Coronado 2008 and 2009). Coronado states that *indigenismo* often served the interests of helping a rising *mestizo* middle class, more than those of indigenous people (Coronado 2008). The author Gregorio López y Fuentes' place of origin, Zontecomatlán, and experience of the interruption of his formal education in Chicontepec, by the Mexican revolution influence López y Fuentes to show customs from the Huasteca. López y Fuentes was not *nahua*, but he provides rich descriptions of many music and dance traditions that are regional and shared throughout the Huasteca region and as well as genres that are more specific to in the *nahua*, at least from the perspective of a regional *mestizo*, who has some knowledge of customs and language.

Writing after 1933, López y Fuentes' region of the Huasteca, contain several *Internados Indígenas* which were residential school schools for indigenous youth from 12 years old to 20 years old, where they were brought to to learn to speak and

write in Spanish (Dawson 2004: chapter 2). These youth also had regional and local music and dance incorporated into the school. While in essence it was an attempt to assimilate Indians into the nation, because of their location and dependence on communities, some communities were able to shape the educational system to their needs. Some schoolteachers, who were bilingual native speakers of Náhuatl in the Huasteca, began to form a separate Indigenous educational system. At this time, educator Luis Monzón wrote, “The Indian can only be redeemed and elevated by the Indian,” (Monzón 1933; cited in Dawson 2004: 34).

While the novel *El Indio*, is fiction, it provides an image of the rural school teacher, one that was bi-lingual in Náhuatl and Spanish as a instigator of a Revolution and it also shows the place of Huastecan *Nahua* music and dance and regional Huastecan music and dance in the national imaginary since the 1930s. Gregorio López y Fuentes, never explicitly named the Huasteca as the setting of this novel, but he used Huastecan *costumbres nahuas*, to define an indigenous identity for Mexico based on his experience growing up in Zontecomatlán, Veracruz and Chicontepec, Veracruz

López y Fuentes’ novel is important to examine in more depth for an archetypical role teachers have assumed as promoters of regional *mestizo* and indigenous music and dance in the Huasteca, and promoters of social justice along with their mission educating children and youth. While historians Mary Kay Vaughan (1997), Alan Knight (1990) and Alexander Dawson (2004) all document these processes in other regions, *El Indio* shows the rural and bilingual indigenous teachers’ place in the national imaginary of Mexico as well as the use of Huastecan

regional music, dance, to portray indigenous and *mestizo* identity.

López describes a *huapango*, which shows the incorporation of *mestizo son huasteco* and indigenous *sones* together without commentary. The two repertoires--that of Spanish *son huasteco* and *Nahua son huasteco*--are already melded into one musical culture together in this region before the 1930s. Here he states that the preferred *sones* in the *huapango* are *El Zacamandu* and *Xochipitzahuatl*. A short excerpt of the description of the *huapango* is included below, because it shows several important traits of *mestizo indigenismo* and nationalism from the Huasteca region. These traits include: a description that melds distinct regional and ethnic musical styles and dance together that would not generally be played at the same time or in the same place; the presentation of *Nahua* and *mestizo* music together in a *huapango*; vivid nostalgic scenes and choreographic and costume details; and *Nahua* language.

At the beginning of the description of the *huapango* in *El Indio*, López y Fuentes mixes two different styles of music together that would not normally be mixed together in *huapango*, by placing harp and violin together in the same ensemble in the Huasteca. López y Fuentes appears to have significant knowledge about *Nahua* and *mestizo* traditions in the Huasteca, so there are several possibilities for why he would have placed these two instruments together. There are few musics where harp and violin are played together anywhere in Mexico, although there are some old styles of mariachi include harp and violin. The Huasteca has ritual music that uses harp and *jaranas*, or harp and a type of bowed *rebec*, that is placed on the knees of the musician, but the music that is played for

huapango is generally played on violin, *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera*. :

El baile, al son de un violin y el árpa, se inició en la salida de la luna en la galera del tianguis. En los horcones habia candiles de gruesos mecheros.

The dance, to the sound of violin and harp, (sic.) began when the moon shined on the grange of the market. On the beams that support the tin roof there were oil lamps with thick wicks.

(López y Fuentes 1935: 12; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

López y Fuentes may have placed these two instruments together as a flattening representative device for Mexican nationalism, so that the novel, which was written for the entire Mexican nation, would not seem too specific to the Huasteca.

The descriptive passage continues providing rich details about old *huapango* *fiesta* settings. These details are also recaptured and recreated in the dance and music area for the of the *events* that have been organized since the establishment of a *huapango* revival and revitalization with *encuentros in festivals*, fiestas where school teachers have been prominent figures in communities organizations of these events, such as *La Fiesta de Copaltitla, Veracruz, y Tepezintila, Veracruz*.¹²

The passage places “*Xochipitzahua* (sic.)” at the *huapango* along with “*El Zacamandú*.” While “*Xochipitzahuatl*” represents *nahua* identity, music, ritual and language, “*El Zacamandú*,” is found throughout the region, in *mestizo* communities, communities that have both *nahuas* and *mestizos* and in communities where only *nahua* live.

Los bailes predilectos eran el

The preferred dances were

¹² In Copatitla, Veracruz’s *encuentro de huapangueros* particularly, oil lamps are lit around the dance area and a small sound system, is used to create an intimate and nostalgic feel, along with people’s use of traditional clothing from the north of Veracruz. For women this would include embroidered blouses, long skirts with patterns or bright colors and lace and huaraches. For men, it would include white cotton clothing and huaraches.

Xochipitzahua, o flor menudo, y el zacamandú.

Xochipitzahua, thin flower, and El Zacamandú.

(López y Fuentes 1935: 12; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

The clothing, each woman and man's demeanor, dance gestures and figures are vividly evoked by the passage and also index identity in *nahua* communities of the North of Veracruz, and parts of Hidalgo and San Luis Potosí:

Las mujeres bailaban recatadamente, con los ojos bajos, pasos menudos, extendiendo por delante sus faldas todas llenas de labrados, como si fueran a recibir en ellas toda una cosecha de frutas.

The women danced cautiously, with eyes downcast, small steps, extending their skirts, each one with patterns, as if they were going to use their skirt to receive a fruit harvest.

Los hombres calzando sus *huaraches* nuevos, pateaban fuertemente, avanzando, retrocendiendo y evolucionando en torno de la mujer, como el gallo cuando arrastra el ala.

The men wearing their new *huaraches*, stomped loudly, advancing, returning and revolving in turn with the women, like a rooster when he stretches his wing.

(López y Fuentes 1935: 12; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

The passage describes participatory singing by community members, when someone who is not the instrumentalist musicians who is anonymous interjects and sings. Since the person's sex is not mentioned and because of the normative discourse in the book, it can be inferred that it was probably a man at the *huapango* who sang.

De vez en cuando alguien alzaba el grito para cantar, quejumbrosamente, algo como esto:

Sometimes someone would let out a yell to sing plaintively, something like this:

(López y Fuentes 1935: 12; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

The text in the book for the song switches to *Náhuatl*. Remarkably in the passage, López y Fuentes shows his place of origin, through his choice of lyrics that are

usually found in “Xochipitzahuatl,” but not “El Zacamandú,” however he does not mention in which *son* the lyrics were placed into by one of the community members.

Xi-quita, cihuatl-cinti,(*tzintli)	Look beautiful woman (*like the corn)
Campa xóchitl mo tepana	Where the flowers are in rows
Ni-mocuepas ayitochi	I will transform myself into an armadillo
Ni-pehuas ni-tlahuahuanas	I will start to scratch the earth
Ni-quisate campa ti-cochi.	I will exit the earth where you sleep

(López y Fuentes 1935: 112; translation (from Spanish and Náhuatl): Kim Carter Muñoz)

Just like in the rest of the book, fragments of Náhuatl are used within the text to provide details of authenticity. Some of the fragments in López y Fuentes are translated into Spanish for the reader and others are not. I compared López y Fuentes’s translation of this passage with my own and placed his translation of the first line in parenthesis.

The Náhuatl López y Fuentes uses is taken from a song lyric that is still sung to this day in “Xochipitzahuatl,” although slightly modified, when it is not played in a religious setting or ritual.¹³ López Fuentes translates *cihuatl-cinti* as “woman with a well formed body like corn.” However, because of regional variations in language and pronunciation even within the Huasteca region, it could also refer to the Virgin Mary, *Tonantzin*, or the Corn Mother, because *cintli* refers the mature ears of corn that have dried in contrast with *elotl* which refers to the green corn. This word could also be a transliteration of *cihuatzintle*, which is a diminutive and honorific

¹³ Trío Alegría Hidalguense from Huehuetla, Huejutla, Hidalgo recorded one version of this verse in Xochipitzahuatl. Their version featured a binary rhythm and fast tempo. The album sold more than 10,000 copies when it was first released, because it was recorded entirely in Náhuatl. Their album was referred to as “the album with the *trío* with the tennis shoes,” because the group did not have money for uniforms at the time. (Interview Eusebio Martínez April 20, 2011.)

suffix in classical, non-Huastecan *Nahuatl*, and sounds almost the same. It could mean sacred, beautiful, honored, young woman, or even girl. The lyrics have a multiple meanings.

Gregorio López y Fuentes portrays the contemporary practices of *huapango* in an indigenous community in the Huasteca in his novel, through *son huasteco* and *huapango*, and also portrays indigenous practices particular to the area around his town of origin, Zontecomatlán and Chicontepec, Veracruz. These customs were not marked off in his literature as particular to the Huasteca region during the mid-1930s, and yet, for a short period they represented a form of indigeneity for the entire Mexican nation.

El Indio, ends revealing that the Mexican Revolution did little to improve the lives of Indians who are used symbolically and as masses to accomplish political goals. The *nahua* community that was mobilized by the school teacher knows little about the leader after the Revolution, who started as a school teacher, other than he moved to a comfortable office in the city and left the school house and the community (López y Fuentes 1935: 212).

The fictional schoolteacher who is an important protagonist in his novel may have been based on real individuals known to López y Fuentes at the time, or have been autobiographic. There were several real schoolteachers in the inter-cultural *nahua-mestizo* Huasteca region at this time close to Chicontepec, Huejutla and Tamazunchale, who were involved with the Mexican revolution and moved to the state capitals to become administrators within the educational system. Some of these teachers became promoters of *huapango* and Huastecan culture, as part of a

cultural movement with in education. While they were not featured as protagonists in novels, we can find them through their publications of verses for *son huasteco*.

Hilario Menéndez's Cantares de mi Huasteca 1925

Hilario Menéndez's position as a school teacher, links to the revolution, political posts that he held and his love for poetry that was sung and recited in *huapangos* in the Huasteca firmly situate him among a class of post-Revolution intellectuals that used the *indigenismo* to support his version of Huastecan regional customs to form a cultural nationalism in contrast with cosmopolitan high art and the Center of the Nation. In the introduction to his book of *trovos*, *Cantares de mi Huasteca*, Menéndez writes with a desire to document his own *trovos* and show the value of the poetry in the verses for people from the Huasteca. He defends the poetry from an elitist critique which have called verses that accompany *son huasteco* and have been called "*arte menor*" in literary analysis. Menéndez also describes the significance that *sones de costumbre* have for people from the Huasteca.

Para los poetas de arte mayor, los de espirtú levantado y comprensión maxima: para los bardos de inspiración fecunda que no conzcan nuestra vida, nuestra historia y nuestro medio: para todos aquellos que no hayan visitado jamás nuestras huastecas titulares: para ellos este libro carecerá completamente de importancia, parecerá descolorido y quizá hasta ridículo.

For high art poets, those with a high spirit and maximum comprehension, for bards with fertile inspiration that do not know our life, our history and our environment, for all those who have never visited our Huastecas: for them this book will completely lack any importance, it will seem pale and without color, maybe even completely ridiculous.

(Hilario Menéndez 1925: 14; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz.)

Menéndez goes on to explain what he views is the significance of his verses should be for anyone from the Huasteca.

Pero para los huastecos, los que hemos sentido el aleteo poderoso de las ilusiones juveniles allá, al pie de las palmeras que esconden ese mundo desconocido de misterios que tiene la naturaleza virgen y salvaje; los que llevamos en el alma el murmurio de los placidos arroyos y hemos crecido arrullados por el “Cielito Lindo” y “La Azucena” para nosotros el verso regional tiene todos los encantos y todas las bellezas de un lindo amanecer de primavera.

But, for Huastecos, those of us who have felt the powerful flutter of juvenile illusions at the feet of the palm groves that hide this unknown world of mysterious virgin wild nature, those of us that carry in our souls the murmurs of the placid creeks and have grown up rocked to sleep by the *sones* “Cielito Lindo” [‘Beautiful Sky’] and “La Azucena” [‘The Lily’] for us, regional verse forms have all of the enchantments and beauty of a gorgeous spring dawn.

(Hilario Menéndez 1925: 14; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz.).

Hilario Menéndez mentions the playing of “*El Canario*,” a *son* for weddings at any Huastecan wedding, a custom now mainly associated mainly with *nahua* indigenous weddings in the Huasteca. The lyrics that he provides are specific to the region close to Chicontepec. He translates the lyrics to Spanish, as many teachers have done. It is hard to tell from the book if Hilario Menéndez considers his own identity as *nahua* or mestizo, but clearly he considers the *costumbre*, of “*El Canario*,” associated with *nahua* weddings in Chicontepec, Zontecomatlán, Huejutla, Iliamatlán, and Tamazunchale, as part of the regional heritage of the Huasteca region. He shows his link h to the music and ties it to the entire Huasteca region, in the text below,

¡Quién no ha sentido humedecer sus ojos por el vaho caliente de las lágrimas, al oír las coplas del “Canario” el día de su

Who has not felt their eyes well up with warm tears, when they hear the verses from “*El Canario*” on the day of their

boda!	wedding?
¡Quién olvida aquellos versos que oímos al llegar a la enramada, despues de un casamiento:	Who forgets those verses that we heard when we come to the arch, after a wedding?
Mi padre y mi madre lloran	My father and mother cry
Porque me voy a casar;	Because I leave their side
Mi padre y mi madre lloran	Moreover its not the first time
Porque me voy de su lado	A woman has married in this world.
¡Más no es la primer mujer	My father and mother cry
Que en el mundo se ha casado!	Because I am going to marry
Yo les digo que no lloren	I tell them don't cry
Que no me van a matar.	They're not going to kill me.

(Hilario Menéndez 1925: 14; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz.)

As early as 1925, Hilario Menéndez was concerned with promoting and preserving traditions linked to *son huasteco* and Huastecan customs. His book is significant for the documentation that it provides of his links to the Mexican Revolution, his place as a schoolteacher and politician, the importance that *sones de costumbre* and *sones huastecos* for *mestizos* in the Huasteca, and the literary beauty of Huastecan verse. His book is dedicated to *el trovo*, a literary form unique to the Huasteca (Florencia Pulido 1999; Hilario Menéndez 1925, and many primary sources throughout field research).

El trovo is a series of verses that used to be sung frequently to *sones huastecos* usually by community members who were not the musicians, but who were skilled poets. The *trovo* begins usually with a five-line *quintilla*, or sometimes a six-line *sextilla*, (Menéndez 1925: 17). Then each line of the verse serves as a mnemonic device, called a *glosa*, where the first line of the first verse ends the following verse. The second line of the first verse ends the next verse until all of the lines of the *glosa* are used up (Menéndez 1925: 17).

**Con el nectar de un clavel
Quiero perfumar tu seines
Para que sepas mujer
Por esas formas que tienes
Eres un preciosos ser.**

Eres tan bella mujer
Que fija estás en mi mente
Formas todo mi querer
Voy a engalanar tu frente
Con el nectar de un clavel.

Cuando te vas y no vienes
Mi amor se queda suspenso
Tanta es la gracia que tienes
Que con mirra y incenso
Quiero perfumar tu seines.

Me brindas un gran placer
Eres mi sola illusion
¿Qué cosa debo que hacer
que es tuyo mi corazón
para que sepas mujer?

Yo no se porque te entretienes
Lo que debería de estar siendo
Si es que conmigo convienes
Sabras que me estoy muriendo
Por esas formas que tienes.

¿Qué hemos, al acabo, de hacer?
Mi vida yo te pregunto.
Yo no te hago padecer
Que por todo tu conjunto
Eres un precioso ser .

**With the nectar of a carnation
I want to perfume your temples
Just so that you know
For your ways and form
You are a precious being.**

You are so beautiful
You are stuck in my mind
You are all that I love
I will adorn your forehead
With the nectar of a carnation.

When you leave and don't return
My love is left in suspense
That is how much grace you have
That with myrrh and incense
I want to perfume your temples.

You offer me great pleasure
You are my only illusion
¿What should I do
my heart is yours
just so that you know?

I do not know why you delay
What you should be doing
If it is that I suit you
You know that I am dying for
Your ways and form.

What should we do to finish
I ask you, my life
I don't make you suffer
Because of all that you are
You are a beautiful being.

(Hilario Menéndez 1925: 33-34; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz)

The case of Menéndez provides us with an early example of a Huastecan *trovador* , poet, or person who makes *trovos*, who published his verses and who then used his publication to promote Huastecan regional identity within the Mexican nation and for his own political purposes. Menéndez's verses contain some of the most

beautiful poetry for *son huasteco*. To this day as young musicians return to his verses for models of composition, such as *trovo*, (Mendínez 1925), and the *décima* in Meníndez's later publication (Meníndez 1944, researchers also use his books to as a source for the history of *son huasteco* just after the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) (i. e. Bustos Valenzuela 1999; Hernández Azuara 2003; Muñoz 2006). Hilario Meníndez books of verse provides a window and model for *mestizo* discourses around tradition, poetry, music and dance and identity that do not exclude *sones de costumbre* from *mestizo* identity.

Other authors and publications during this time period documented these musical and dance practices during the 1920s-1940s together and separately but always as representing the Huasteca and its "customs" (Toor 1932; Domínguez y Ríos 1932; Téllez 1932; and Mendoza 1942).¹⁴

It would only be in the 1990s, that schoolteachers and workshop leaders would begin to develop didactic materials that were not stagings of costumes through dance theatre and books individual's verses for *son huasteco*. These would be books that provided charts and directions for how to play *son huasteco violin* and *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera*. These materials were sponsored by state cultural institutes and the PDCH (Bustos 1996; Bustos 1999; Gómez Valdelamar 1998 a; 1998 b and 2000). While I will not examine the didactic materials in depth in this dissertation, I used them for source material for my Master's thesis (Muñoz 2006) and the use and dissemination of the newer methods books written by

¹⁴ After about 1940, scholars began to point to pieces of music such as *Xochipitzahuatl*, as Aztec survivals, that may have continued into *mestizo* culture (Mendoza 1942).

Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela and Tomás Gómez Valdelamar and their presentation at *encuentros huapangueros* and *El Festival de la Huasteca* links all of the workshop leaders in this chapter. The newer materials play an important role in allowing children, youth and adults to learn more musicianship and verse composition at home as they practice in addition, or as an alternative to, attending workshops, or learning only from experienced musicians that take them under their wing, without perpetuating stereotypes or transposing the chords for non-huastecan instruments.

Ch. 6 Xochipitzahuatl and the Inheritance of Profesor Ponciano Fajardo in Music Workshops

Ponciano Fajardo Martínez, “No a los concursos, sí a los encuentros.” ‘No to contests, yes to conferences and playing music together.’

August 7, 2004 González, Tamaulipas

I had just arrived for the first time for prolonged field research on *son huasteco* in the Huasteca region. I was going to study the changing place of women through participant observation research in a music workshop being given by Soraima Galindo Linares, and her husband Santiago Fajardo Hernández, both of the group *Soraima y Sus Huastecos*. My research begin at the *Taller Viva el Huapango* in Ciudad Mante, Tamaulipas, but the IX *Festival de la Huasteca* was being held just an hour away on bus, in González, Tamaulipas.

I had already done some research on *son huasteco* workshops in Mexico City, where I met several young women in the workshops who were singer/instrumentalists. Some, such as Aurora Valderrama, of *Trío La Aurora*, were like the young men of her generation in Mexico City, in that they studied with two different teachers from Chicontepec, Veracruz: Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela and Rolando Reyes Hernández. Many from this generation of youth in Mexico City would go on to form their own trios, participate in *encuentros huapangueros*, and visit and learn from musicians in the Huasteca. I had begun to learn that *nahua sones* from Chicontepec, Veracruz, were important in these workshops, but I did not expect to learn more about *sones de costumbre* in Tamaulipas, nor did I expect

workshop leaders or *encuentros huapangueros* to have such an important place in the policy of *El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca*.

After two days of the festival, one event remains etched in my memory: Radio host and promoter of Huastecan music, Maestra Ludivina Nieto, had programmed an *Encuentro de Músicos Huastecos* (a meeting of Huastecan musicians). The event was significant enough that it was covered in *La Jornada* (Jimenez 2004). Although the *encuentro* was for musicians and cultural administrators, other kinds of people were in attendance, including schoolteachers, workshop leaders, promoters, journalists, poets and dancers.

The musicians were gathered together at *Parque Delfín*, a small park with tables, chairs and a swimming pool. Each took turns discussing what should be done to better *son huasteco* musicianship, in order to maintain the tradition of participatory *huapango*. Not all of the musicians were workshop leaders. However, they were elder musicians who were pillars of the *huapanguero* tradition: Don Artemio Villeda, Don Serafín Fuentes, or professional musicians playing in *tríos huastecos* in various places, not just in official state ensembles, however, they were all concerned about establishing a way to teach and transmit participatory *huapango* and *trío huasteco* musicianship.

The musicians began to criticize *tríos* that only played *música grupera*. One *huapanguero* began to discuss his disdain, because when *tríos* played in *fiestas* the patrons asked for the latest hit, and this summer it was a *cumbia* “Saz, Saz, Saz” from Shrek II, or “¿Cómo se mata el gusanito?” ‘How do you kill the worm?’ Another

huapanguero complained that even musicians who played many *sones* were lazy and sang the same verses over and over again, in every *son huasteco*, *i. e.*,

Mujer te estoy adorando,
mas que mi madre querida,
pero me estoy condenando
porque ella me dio la vida
y tu me la estas quitando

Woman I adore you
more than my beloved mother,
but I am condemning myself,
because she gave me life
and you are taking my life from me.

(Public domain *copla*; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz)

The musician added, “*Huapangueros* need to “*trovar*” ‘to ‘create new *coplas*.’

The concerns and decisions were well documented in the press. The *huapangueros* at the meeting wanted to start civic organizations, have more funding, more knowledgeable cultural administrators, and have more *encuentros huapangueros*.

At the end of the meeting, Amparo Sevilla, the director of the PDCH and of Regional Affiliations in CONACULTA, said that the *fiestas* and *encuentros*, based on face-to-face sharing of music, dance and poetry, were the most fundamental to the goal of promoting participatory *son huasteco* (Jimenez 2004).

The voice that stood out to me was the one I heard from the periphery. He cleared his throat. I turned to look, and two sparks lit up under a *tantoyuquero* hat, like stars. He had a very thin mustache and was not very tall. This was the first time I would see the sparkle that always preceded Don Ponciano Fajardo Martínez’s words. It did not matter if it was a joke, a riddle, a *copla* for *son huasteco*, advice, a scolding, or an opinion on the *huapanguero* tradition, the point of whatever he said, was always preceded by a glint in his eye. He repeated the phrase that David Celestino had used when referring to the difference between ‘contests,’ *concurso*s

and ‘gatherings’ *encuentros* at the meeting: ‘*Huapangueros* are like flowers.’ He paused and then he made a verse about *huapangueros* that I did not write down. I could not help to be amused, I had never heard of a group of mostly men in cowboy hats, boots and mustaches being called flowers. ‘Each one is distinct and has something to give—their shape, color and their perfume—to the garden of *huapango*.’ His participation was recorded in detail in the article on the meeting defining lines of action, that would be supported by the PDCH, which I translated and presented in Chapter 3. However, I have included the excerpt below with my translation, in order to explain Fajardo’s importance and influence in this cultural community, as well as the importance of teachers in this movement, even if this part of their identity is not highlighted in official accounts and the press.

“¡No a los concursos!”

La mayoría de los participantes también se manifestó en contra de la realización de concursos de músicos, bailadores y versadores, porque propician “envidias” y “rivalidad” entre los participantes, como dijo por ejemplo, Don Ponciano Fajardo, de Chicontepec.

Acordaron, en cambio, promover mejor “encuentros”, como el de este festival, en los que participan desde los principiantes hasta los maestros, ya que la cultura no es para “competir” sino para “compartir y regalarse”.

No to contests!”

“The majority of the attendees showed that they were against contests between poets, musicians and dancers, because they promote “jealousy,” and “rivalry” between participants, as Don Ponciano Fajardo, from Chicontepec said.

Instead they agreed to better promote the *encuentros* (meetings) where everyone from beginners to the masters participate, because culture is not for competition; instead it is for sharing and giving.

(Arturo Jiménez *La Jornada* August 8, 2004; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz)

The article named my teacher and friend, Ponciano Fajardo Martínez, as “Don Ponciano Fajardo Martínez,” an choice that emphasized that he is elderly and from

the Huasteca region, in essence a *viejo huapanguero*, elder practitioner and tradition-bearer. However, if we were to correctly address Fajardo, his professional title was “Profesor Ponciano Fajardo Martínez.” Profesor Ponciano Fajardo was also an important teacher in the national education system, who received his degree in the division of the SEP that is responsible for rural schools. Many of the other important participants who were residents of the Huasteca region at this meeting were also schoolteachers, at the state and federal levels of administration in education and/or who at some point had participated in the division of *Misiones Culturales*.

Ponciado Fajardo Martínez was the father and father-in-law of my *jarana* teachers, Santiago Fajardo Hernández and Soraima Galindo Linares, the husband and wife who were leaders of the *Viva el Huapango* workshop in Ciudad Mante where I would study, and who play in *Soraima and sus huastecos*. Soraima and Santiago would take me to visit in Chicontepec, and Ponciano Fajardo, the father of Santiago and four other *son huasteco* musicians, after I finished a summer-long session in the workshops.

Ponciano would take me on as an apprentice over the years for *Nahua sones de costumbre*, *son huasteco* musicianship and verses—something he also did with many other students of Santiago, Soraima, and all four of his sons’s students and friends. Fajardo Martínez accomplished this through teaching at his home; leading and guiding jam sessions with local musicians, his family and visitors; and giving tips and guiding jam sessions at *encuentros huapangueros* at *La Fiesta Anual de Amatlán*, *El Encuentro de Niños y Jovenes* and *El Festival de la Huasteca*.

When Profesor Ponciano was almost retired, he befriended Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela and hosted him in the same way as he did me, but in 1981, when Bustos was only nineteen years old. Bustos began to play occasionally in a *trío huasteco* with Fajardo Hernández and his sons, Santiago and Hugo, *Trío Sentimiento Huasteco*, when Santiago was only seven years old (see Figure 18). In 1999, when Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela began publishing didactic materials through the PDCH, such as the *Metodo-Practico del Violín Huasteco* ‘the Practical Method for Huastecan Violin’ (Bustos Valenzuela 1996), which had a section that taught *Nahua sones de costumbres* and regional *sones huastecos*, Ponciano Fajardo Martínez would travel with his sons to the presentation to accompany Eduardo Bustos’ violin playing. When Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela published *Cantares de Mis Huastecas* (1999), a book of verses for *sones huastecos*, Ponciano and his sons also help Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela with the presentation of the book in a concert at *El Festival de la Huasteca*.

Don Ponciano Fajardo Hernández also taught his sons *Náhuatl*. Although the woman, Soraima Galindo Linares, who married his second youngest son Santiago did not speak *Náhuatl*, he taught her *sones de costumbre* and how to correctly pronounce lyrics in *Náhuatl* through phonetically writing the words out for her. Professor Ponciano Fajardo Martínez and many other schoolteachers with ties to Chicontepec were proponents of teaching the *mestizo* and indigenous repertoire of their region of the Huasteca, *sones huastecos huapangos* and *Nahua sones de costumbre*, to all children in the Huasteca as well as to *son huasteco* musicians. Although Fajardo did not lead any of the workshops, I would learn that his

transmission of *nahua* and *mestizo* Huastecan music and culture to family members, informally at *encuentros huapangueros*, and to guests at his home in Chicontepepec, Veracruz, would shape the education of young *huapangueros* in the Huasteca region, through his hosting, teaching and influence on others.



Figure 18: Eduardo Bustos at the House of Ponciano Fajardo Martínez
Left to Right: Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, Pedro Lucas San Juan of Yahualica, Ponciano (AKA Santiago) Fajardo Hernández, and unknown, at the house of Ponciano Fajardo Martínez (Photo: Courtesy of Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, c. a. 1981).



Figure 19: Presentation of Cantares de mi Huasteca *El Festival de la Huasteca* 2000. Left to Right: Román Güemes Jiménez, Ponciano Fajardo Martínez, Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela and unknown at *El VI Festival de la Huasteca* (Photo: Courtesy Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela).

Who is Don Ponciano Fajardo Martínez?

Don Ponciano shaped much of my experience in the field, through extending these same gifts to me over several years, along with the hospitality of his wife Ofelia Hernández and the rest of their family. His life story was close to that of an archetypical indigenous rural schoolteacher of post-revolutionary Mexico. Fajardo Martínez's repertoire and framing of indigenous *Nahua* and *mestizo huapango* as *sones de costumbre*, were an inheritance that he was given by virtue of his position as a *huapanguero* musician and a *Náhuatl*-speaking schoolteacher of his generation,

from the *sierra* in Hidalgo, San Luis Potosí and Veracruz. Even though he was born in Hidalgo, his birthplace was close to Chicontepec, the county seat of the region. I came to dream of this portion of the Huasteca as my home—even though it was only my adopted home—after returning from the field..

Don Ponciano Fajardo Hernández was born in 1935, when Mexico was still recovering from the Mexican Revolution and beginning to redevelop an educational system in the Huasteca region. Don Ponciano's generation became one of the most important generations of schoolteachers who spoke an indigenous language through a boarding school system, like none other, which first aimed to assimilate indigenous people in Mexico. Teachers who came up through these schools then began a bilingual education system that used *nahua* and *mestizo* music and dance from the region in the schools as part of its curricula.

Anthropologist Román Güemes writes:

En Ahuatitla (abundancia de encinos) a la edad de 10 años fue inscrito en la Escuela Indoamérica, en 1945. Al principios de 1945 llegó a Chicontepec con el deseo de continuar su educación primaria bajo el *maestro*.. Por estas fechas también aprendió los tonos y rasgueos de la guitarra *quinta huapanguera*. Por cuestiones de tipo económico no pudo continuar sus estudios en Chicontepec.

In Ahuatitla (place of the ash trees) when Don Ponciano was 10 years old he was enrolled in the Indo-American school.

At the beginning of 1945 he moved to Chicontepec because he wanted to continue primary school under the tutelage of the teacher.... During this time he also learned the chords and strumming patterns for the *quinta huapanguera*. Because the family had economic problems he could not finish his primary education in Chicontepec.

(Román Güemes 2012 Liner Notes: 5, Resplandor Huasteco, *La mejor herencia*; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

Fajardo learned to play *música huasteca* when he went away to school in

Chicontepec. He continued to play music, but he had to quit school, because his

family could not afford for him to continue. During the time that he was not in school he learned how to sing, and play *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera*, until he was almost a teenager, when they placed him back into school. This time he was enrolled in an *Internado Indígena*.

The *Internados Indígenas* were boarding schools that were created for speakers of indigenous languages who were unable to attend formal school, but who were identified as having potential to succeed in school. The *Secretaría de Educación Pública* in Mexico built these schools to begin training young speakers of indigenous languages to become schoolteachers, or other sorts of professions. *Internados* schools sometimes lacked the necessary supplies and food for the students, and as they were located far from the students' families, many students left the schools when they became ill. (Dawson 2004: 37).

Ya cuando su familia reunió algunos centavos, allá por 1948, cuando tenía 13 años, se inscribió en el Internado Indígena de la Llave-San Juan del Río, Querétaro. Ahí cursó el tercero y cuarto año y no pudo seguir estudiando debido a que se enfermó y tuvo que regresar a Chicontepec a continuar su primaria.

When the family had gathered together some more money around 1948, when he was 13 years old, he was enrolled in the Internado Indígena School in la Llave-San Juan del Río, Querétaro. He stayed there for third and fourth grade, but he could not finish his studies there, because he became ill and had to return to Chicontepec, to finish out his primary education.

(Román Güemes 2012 Liner Notes: 5, Resplandor Huasteco, *La mejor herencia*; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz)

Ponciano's illness and return to Chicontepec bears out this history. Like many indigenous boarding schools in the US, these schools had problems, but, distinct from US and Canadian Indian boarding schools, some teachers and the indigenous communities that hosted these schools were able to shape the schools to their own

purposes. The schools used music and dance from the region as part of its curricula. The *Internados* helped to train many young students to become teachers in indigenous languages, such as Náhuatl, for the national education system, instead of attempting to erase languages and cultures (Dawson 2004: 43-44).

Ponciano continued his education and playing *son huasteco* music. He moved up through the ranks of the educational system, first as a bilingual primary schoolteacher, and later as an educational administrator at the state level, eventually taking a position in Yahualica, Hidalgo, before retiring in 1991. In his retirement he was able to devote himself to *sones de costumbre* and *huapango*. He is one of many schoolteachers who have dedicated themselves to the promotion of Huastecan identity through, *Nahua* and *mestizo* culture, music and dance. He gathered information about *huapango*, *tríos huastecos* and had a vast knowledge of verses in Spanish and Náhuatl (Güemes 2012: *la Mejor Herencia*).

Ponciano Fajardo began teaching *son huasteco* to his sons, Hever Ludin Fajardo Hernández, Hugo Fajardo Hernández, (Ponciano) Santiago Fajardo Hernández and José Fajardo Hernández. They all formed *tríos huastecos* and teach *son huasteco* music, poetry and dance in the *encuentros*. Several musicians who would also form their own *tríos* and become workshop leaders also came to his house and played music, such as Pedro Lucas of Yuahualica, Hidalgo, and Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, one of the workshop leaders key to the music educational system started by the PDCH, of Chicontepec, Veracruz origins, but who spent much of his life in Mexico City. The granddaughters of Ponciano Fajardo, who live in

Chicontepec and in Tantoyuca, Veracruz, have participated in different presentations of Huastecan dance, and some have begun to compose poetry.

Ponciano's son Santiago moved to Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas to study, and began to perform with Soraima Galindo Linares in 1994, and formed a *trío, Soraima y Sus Huastecos*. They eventually married, and began teaching workshops at the regional level. Because of their workshop in Ciudad Mante, Tamaulipas, '*Viva el Huapango*,' which received funding through the PDCH, Soraima and Santiago would become a team up with Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela for regional level workshops. Santiago and Soraima's children, two daughters, would go on to become accomplished *trío huasteco* musicians, attending *encuentros huapangueros* with their parents, uncles and grandparents, and win *concursos de huapango*: Lupita Fajardo Galindo, at age thirteen, and Cecilia Fajardo Galindo, at age nine, together in 2013..

Ponciano Fajardo was recognized as an elder *huapanguero* through his influence on his sons, friends, daughter-in-law and grandchildren who participated in *encuentros huapangueros*. In addition, his quiet teaching on the behind the scenes at these festivals shaped many *huapangueros*, at *La Fiesta Anual de Amatlán*, *Encuentro de la Huastecas*, and elsewhere. In 2006, Don Ponciano received the *Sol Poniente de Amatlán*, during the *XVIII Fiesta Anual del Huapango*, but he could not attend the event, and so in 2007, he was presented with the award in Chicontepec. Because of the respect that many people had for Ponciano Fajardo Hernández within Chicontepec, the community also organized a celebration with *Nahua* dance and *huapango* (Román Güemes 2012 Liner Notes: 5, *Resplandor Huasteco, La mejor*

herencia). *Huapanguero* musicians came from all over the Huastecas and Mexico City for this celebration honoring him.

For the PDCH, *son huasteco* workshops have been an important part of the mission to revitalize Huastecan regional music. The workshops have promoted participatory *son huasteco* poetry, dance and music and have also created more *son huasteco* musicians and trovadores by teaching *huapango* holistically: verse composition and improvisation, a repertoire of traditional verses, singing technique, including falsetto, instrumental technique, *rasgueos* and chords. Santiago Fajardo, Soraima Galindo and Eduardo Bustos gained an important foothold in the PDCH, and began to influence how *son huasteco* is taught throughout the Huasteca region and Mexico at the music festivals, in workshops and schools, and at *fiestas*. These teachers have promoted *Nahua* repertoire for all of the Huasteca for many reasons, which will be explained in the sections that follow, not the least of which is that Huastecan regional music has an importance that goes beyond *huapango* dances, *cantinas* and fiestas, and is spiritual, as well as linked to life passages.

This chapter will show the progression of representation of *nahua sones de costumbre* to a more prominent place in Huastecan identity, as well as how the increased participation of girls and women came about through *son huasteco* workshops. These workshop leaders were able to accomplish so much because they were musical collaborations based on family links through marriage and birth. Together they collaborated also to bring Ponciano Fajardo to key events, where he transmitted his knowledge to their students and those of others. The information in the following section is based on interviews with Soraima Galindo Linares, Eduardo

Bustos Valenzuela, Santiago Fajardo Hernández, Rolando Hernández Reyes, and participant observation research in *son huasteco* workshops between 2001-2008, 2010, the 2008 edition of the *Encuentro de Niños y Jóvenes Huapangueros* and a workshop with Rolando Reyes Hernández as the mother of a participant in 2011.

There already had been a few workshops, however, most were concentrated in Mexico City or the capital of Tamaulipas, Ciudad Victoria. Neither of these cities is in the Huasteca region. Mexico City already had many traditional music and dance workshops representing most of the Mexican nation—a few included *son huasteco*. The *Escuela Nacional de Música Mexicana* had hired *maestro* Rolando Hernández Reyes of *Trío Chicontepec* in 1990 to teach *son huasteco*. Also in 1990, Tomás Gómez Valdelamar, who had been an important musician in *Conjunto Típico Tamaulipeco*, also led a workshop in the capital of the state of Tamaulipas, Ciudad Victoria, which was not a part of the Huasteca. Each of these teachers taught several female musicians who would go on to form their own *tríos*. As educators, each would strive to treat female and male students equally, creating a space where both girls and boys could thrive and learn how to play *son huasteco* well. Educational programs for music often ‘femalize’ music ensembles, as co-ed ensembles and all-girl, or women ensembles begin to form.¹⁵ Also, several themes emerge in educator’s work, such as a desire to provide culturally relevant music education to the Huasteca region, shaped by the region they were born and live in.

Tomás Gómez Valdelamar trained Soraima Galindo Linares, along with several other young girls and boys, how to play *trío huasteco*. Tomás Gómez focused

¹⁵ See Pérez 2002; Pérez and Sobrino 2011; Sobrino 2007; and Tucker 2002 for articles and books on education and Mariachi Feminil and All Girl Jazz.

on teaching his students traditional verses, and how to compose new verses for *son huasteco*. He also taught the students a large number of *huapango canciones* that are dedicated to different places within the Huasteca, in a workshop called “*Los huapangueritos*.” Gómez Valdelamar published a book on that contained all verses for all of the *sones huastecos*, a book that contained over forty *huapangos canciones*, and method books for *jarana huasteca* and *quinta huapanguera*. Most of the women and girls who formed *tríos* like Soraima’s, and who were from his workshops, did so with their brothers. The most famous of these, besides *Soraima y Sus Huastecos*, was Nancy Armandina Rodríguez Bracho (*quinta huapanguera*) who would play in a *trío* with her brothers Edgar (*violin*) and Francisco Xavier (*jarana*).

Rolando Hernández Reyes taught Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, along with many other students of all ages, how to play *sones huastecos*, especially violin, with a focus on matching *rasgueos* to different *sones*, a few *sones de costumbre* from Chicontepepec, Veracruz, and *huapangos canciones*. Many women and girls learned how to play *son huasteco* in his workshops, but the most well-known of these would be Aurora Valderrama, who plays in a trio that carries her name, *Trío La Aurora*.

Still, it would not be until the PDCH began to fund workshops in the Huasteca region, and began to connect *son huasteco* workshop leaders to each other through events such as the *Encuentro de Formadores de Huapangueros* and the *Encuentro de Niños y Jóvenes Huapangueros*, that a set of repertoire, and equal treatment of male and female students in an educational setting, would begin to redefine the makeup of *trío huastecos* and representation for the entire Huasteca region. *Sones huastecos*,

Nahua-mestizo sones de costumbre, and *huapangos* began to be defined as essential to the music of the Huasteca region.

At these different *encuentros* and music workshops, *sones de costumbre* from Chicontepepec became part of other workshop leaders' material, in places where there were no Náhuatl speakers, such as the in workshop of Perfecto López, which is based in Jalpán de Serra, and in that of Profesor Godofredo Garay Cervantes in Landa de Matamoros. The repertoire was transferred to these workshop leaders as they watched Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, Santiago Fajardo, or Soraima Galindo Lindares teach their respective students from Querétaro. Also, their students would learn this repertoire through instrumental method books, such as *El violín huasteco: Método teórico-práctico* by Bustos (1997). Bustos Valenzuela, Soraima Galindo, Linares and Fajardo Hernández would also be part of a core team of teachers helping to define teaching methods and materials for children and youth *trío huasteco* musicians. In addition to these workshops and activities, Ponciano Fajardo would be invited to these *encuentros* for children and youth as an elder musician.

Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, Aguacero de Sones

Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela has been teaching as a biology teacher since his early adulthood, and has been playing *son huasteco* since he was a youth. In about 1990, he began teaching *son huasteco*, after his teacher Rolando Reyes Hernández left the *Escuela Nacional de Música Mexicana*. Bustos, Soraima Galindo Linares and

Santiago Fajardo Hernández have all been the workshop leaders for the majority of the *encuentros huapangueros* and *Festivales de la Huasteca* (Interview June 2, 2004).

Sones de costumbre hold a special place for Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela. . Born in Chicontepec, Veracruz, in 1962, his parents and siblings moved to Mexico City. He spent vacations in Chicontepec. He began playing *son huasteco* when he was 13 years old, on *quinta huapanguera*, after having formal musical training on violin. Like many youth who move with their families to Mexico City from the Huasteca, Bustos had feelings of nostalgia, and traveled back frequently to study the music and visit family.

When I asked Bustos who his two most important teachers were, he identified Norbeto Cerecedo of Chicontepec and Rolando Reyes from Chicontepec, but based in Mexico City. My interview with Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela is provided in below, with my translation, in order to understand the significant place that *sones de costumbre* have in Huastecan music repertoire from Chicontepec, especially for Bustos and his teachers.

Norbeto Cerecedo me enseñó a amar la música de costumbre que me dedicara totalmente, de lleno, a estudiar *sones de costumbre*, a grabar en las rancherías. Como que me transmitió ese amor por la costumbre de la música, in sus orígenes, él fue el que me dijo que primero se tocaba con *huapanguera*; él me enseñó a tocar la *huapanguera*; me enseñó a tocar la *jarana*. Y pues para mí fue algo muy muy interesante porque desde ahí comenzó el amor que yo le tengo al son de costumbre, y más tarde al *huapango*.

El *maestro* Rolando Hernández, desde luego, porque él me dio, ¿cómo te diría

Norbeto Cerecedo taught me to love the *sones de costumbre*—music for *costumbres* (ritual music for *Nahua*); to dedicate myself full *sones de costumbre*, to record it in the ranches (small communities). Because he taught me to love the customs associated with the music in its place of origin, he was the one that taught me that first it was played with *huapanguera*; he taught me to play the *jarana*. And for me that was very interesting, because that was when my love for the *son de costumbre* began, and later I began to love *huapango*.

The teacher Rolando Hernández, then

<p>yo?, pues hasta cierto punto la técnica huasteca, los secretos del sabor de la música huasteca, en contraposición con el son de costumbre. Me permitió fortalecer más lo que yo tenía de antecedente con la música de costumbre.</p>	<p>later, because he gave me, how should I say it, the techniques from the Huasteca. He gave me the secrets of the flavor, or style of Huastecan music. It allowed me to strengthen what I already had with the music for <i>costumbres</i> (rituals).</p>
---	--

(Interview Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela June 12, 2004; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

Each of these teachers had roots in Chicontepec and played *sones de costumbre*.

Eduardo said he loved *sones de costumbre* more than *huapango*, and believes the origins of the ornamentations in *son huasteco* and *huapango* are found in these *sones*. As a youth, Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela began learning *sones de costumbre* from a teacher in Chicontepec named Norberto Cerecedo. He would record the *sones* in the small communities where they were played. When he came back to Mexico City, he studied with Rolando Hernandez to learn techniques to play *sones de costumbre* with a beautiful and authentic-sounding style.

Eduardo Bustos identified Don Norberto Cerecedo as the source of his knowledge about the customs associated with each *son de costumbre*.

<p>Me enseñaron a traer la música. Mi maestro don Norberto me enseñó cuestiones etnomusicales, porque él me decía "Mira, este son se toca en este lugar, sirve para esto, se toca en este tono, cuando es madrugada se sube el tono, los azote deben ir así, deben ir contrapunteados, el violín debe ir de esta manera, debes de tocar doble cuerda, debes de endosar. O sea, como un complemento de la música que me enseñaban.</p>	<p>My teacher, Don Norberto taught me cultural questions, because he said,"Look, this <i>son</i> is played here. It is used for this function. It is played in this key. When it is dawn, the key is changed to a higher one. The accented stroke has to go like this. The counterpoint on the <i>quinta</i> has to go here. The violin has to go this way. You have to play a double stop. You have to carry it. These things complemented the music they were teaching me.</p>
---	--

(Interview Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela June 12, 2004; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

Bustos identified 'El Quecho' Rolando Reyes, as the teacher who taught him musical techniques that made *sones de costumbre*, *sones huastecos* and *huapango* sound more authentic and beautiful:

El *maestro* "Quecho" me decía, "Bueno, pues cuando tú toques esta música, debes de mover el arco así, darle los círculos así para que tengas más velocidad. Son pequeñas, pues como tips que complementan tu formación. No es lo mismo que te digan "Vas a tocar 'El Caballito' con un arco para arriba y uno para abajo, que te digan "Presiónale aquí, presiónale allá. Desliza el dedo para que se escuche mejor". Son secretos que tienen que ver. Es como un guisado. Si tú no le pones el condimento que debe ser, pues no te va a saber igual.

Teacher, "Quecho" told me, "Well, when you play this music, you have to move the bow this way. You have to do circles like this so you play faster." Like little "tips" that help learning. It is not the same as you are going to play 'El Caballito' with an upbow and a down bow," or they say to you "Press here, press there. Slide the finger so that it sounds better." These are secrets that are important. Its like tasty dish, if you don't put the right spices that should go there, it is not going to taste the same when you make it.

(Interview Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela June 12, 2004; translation Kim Carter Muñoz)

Eduardo Bustos believes that *sones de costumbre* are essential to his Huastecan identity from Chicontepec, because they are older than *sones huastecos*, and they form the basis of *huapango*. This view was repeated to me by a ritual violinista in Hueycoatlita, Veracruz, a *Nahua* community close to Chicontepec, Veracruz, when I traveled there in the summer of 2008.

La música de costumbre antecede al *huapango* y es el cimiento del *huapango* que tocamos. De los floreos elaborados que nosotros hacemos, me decía mi *maestro*, en paz descanse, don Norberto "Tú vas a tocar *huapango*, pero primero debes aprender a tocar el son de costumbre en los ranchos". Entonces, con él me instruí en lo que son la música ritual de casamiento, de muertos, de carnaval, de fiesta de elotes.

Sones de costumbres are older than *huapango*. It is the cement of the *huapango* that we play. It is the basis of the ornaments that we make. My teacher, Norberto, rest in peace, said, "You are going to play a *huapango*, but first you have to learn to play a *son de costumbre* in the ranches." So, with him I learned the ritual music for weddings, for death, for Carnival, for the Festival of Corn, Chicomexochitl and

Xochipitzahuatl”, repito, el son de costumbre es el antecedente del *huapango* que zapateamos, que bailamos, que cantamos.

Xochipitzahuatl. I repeat the *son de costumbre* is the antecedent of the *huapango* that we *zapateamos*, that we dance and sing.

(Interview Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela June 12, 2004; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

Eduardo Bustos named his trío after a very complex *son de costumbre* called, “El Aguacero,” because he believes it contains all the elements of the *son huasteco*.

Yo tomé el nombre de Aguacero por mi trío por uno de los sones que Norberto me enseñó, que, justamente es “El Aguacero” y es un son bellissimo que combina muchas notas, muchos pasajes, muchos floreos, muchos cambios, muchos rasgueos vivos en la *jarana*... Es un complemento enorme ese son de “El Aguacero”. Por eso le pusimos Aguacero al trío que actualmente tengo.

I took the name “Aguacero,” ‘Downpour of Rain,’ because of one of the sones that he taught me, that is called “El Aguacero,” it is a beautiful *son* that combines many notes, many passages, many ornaments, many chord changes, many lively strokes on the *jarana*... It is a huge musical complex, this *son*, “El Aguacero.” That is why our trío is called, “El Aguacero.” My current trío.

He loves teaching *sones de costumbre* to others because it represents his beginning.

Mi incursión por la música huasteca comenzó por el son de costumbre, el cual admiro, y me encanta difundirlo .

My journey into the Huastecan music began with the *son de costumbre*, which I admire, and I love to teach it to others. .

Eduardo Bustos transfers ritual performance practices in his presentations at music festivals and onto the stage by using a *son de costumbre* to start each of his presentations.

Estoy en la idea de que antes de tocar un *huapango* se debe tocar un son de costumbre. No sé, hasta cierto punto, nosotros como trío Aguacero siempre cuando tocamos comenzamos con un son de costumbre.

I have the same idea that before you play a *huapango* you have to play a *son de costumbre*. I do not know, but we as trío Aguacero, we also play a *son de costumbre* when we play, to begin any event.

(Interview Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela June 12, 2004; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

Bustos and several other tríos, especially students of his and Soraima Galindo and Santiago Fajardo, who have been involved in the encuentros *huapangueros*, have usually started including a *son de costumbre*, at the beginning of, or within, their presentations.

Muchos tríos nos han seguido algunos son alumnos, otros no. Muchos de los tríos que se presentan se presentan primero con un son de costumbre, llámese “Canario” o “Xochipitzahuatl”. Incluso el trío Chicontepec ya se presenta con “El Xochipitzahuatl”, cosa que no hacía. Y yo creo que esto es importante porque, repito, el son de costumbre es el antecedente del *huapango* que zapateamos, que bailamos, que cantamos.

Many of the tríos who play at events, start with a *son de costumbre*, whatever kind of *son de costumbre*, some are students of mine and others are not, a “*Canario*,” or Xochipitzahuatl—even trío Chicontepec, now they always play Xochipitzahuatl, something they did not do before. I believe that this is important, because, the *son de costumbre* is the antecedent of the *huapango* that we zapateamos, that we dance and sing.

(Interview Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela June 12, 2004; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz).

When I arrived in Mexico to do my field research on the changing place of women in *son huasteco* and music workshops, in 2004, I had planned to study with Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela in Mexico City and then Soraima Galindo Linares and Santiago Fajardo in Ciudad Mante. However, Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela’s classes were ending the very day that I arrived, and Soraima and Santiago had gone to Europe as the dance teachers to accompany Los Camperos de Valles on a tour associated with Corason[™] Discos. Eduardo suggested that I go to the workshops of one of his teachers, Rolando Reyes Hernández.

El Balcón Huasteco Rolando Hernández

Rolando Hernández Reyes, El Quecho, was the first teacher from Chicontepec, Veracruz to have a music workshop. His focus has been on creating the best sound for the most students efficiently. More than 20 *tríos huastecos* have been trained in his workshops. He taught one of the first versions of Xochipitzahuatl to students in that workshop. He and his brothers were the first *son huasteco trío* to record and be distributed nationally. While *Maestro* Rolando taught many students how to play *son huasteco* in Mexico City, he never became a part of the tríos that travel to teach in the Huasteca region. *Maestro* Rolando's workshop teaches a basic version of Xochipitzahuatl.

Rolando Hernández Reyes was born in 1937 in Chicontepec, Veracruz. He began playing violin in a family with eight brothers and sisters who all played *huapango*, *son*, and *sones de costumbre*. He moved to Mexico City with two of his brothers. All three moved to Mexico City to pursue a degree in education at the *Escuela Nacional de los Maestros*. In 1955, while they were still pursuing their degrees to be teachers, they started *Trío Chicontepec* (Bustos Valenzuela 1999).

The *trío* made several recordings, accompanied the *Conjunto Típico Magisterial* (the Folklore Group of Teachers) and travelled to 70 countries with *El Ballet Folklórico Nacional de Amalia Hernández*. In 1990, he was offered a position to teach a *son huasteco* violin workshop in the *Escuela Nacional de Música Popular* (ENM). He later left the school, asking Eduardo Bustos to take over the post, and

started his own workshop in his restaurant, named after Chicontepec, Veracruz, which is otherwise known as *El Balcón de la Huasteca*.

Maestro Rolando's pedagogy is very systematic. He breaks the violin melodies down into pieces, and teaches each phrase with four sections. A shortened transcript of him teaching a lesson is below:

'We are going to do the first block of the melody.' "*Vamos a hacer bloque uno.*"

'Come here, sit down.' 'The first line [of Xochipitzahuatl].' He says, "*La primera linea.*"

"*Do-Re Re Si Sol Sol Sol*"

"Go practice and come back when it is ready."

Many of his students bring notebooks and write down what he says or transcribe the notes from *Maestro* Rolando's solfege. The workshop is filled with students, who each pay a fee to be at the workshop. Each student takes a turn in the chair in front of *Maestro* Rolando. Once they master the first line, they return, and he starts the process over for each line of the first phrase.

"*La segunda linea:*

Sol Si Re Re La La Fa Re Re."

"*La tercera linea:*

Re Fa La Do Si La Sol Mi Mi ."

"*La cuarta linea:*

Mi Mi La Do Si La La Fa Re Re."

Once they are done with the first phrase, he has them practice and return to start the same process for the second variation of the melody on violin, until they have

the minimum of three sections for the *son*. Then he shows them a closing section with any number of cadences that he picks according to his whim and what he thinks will fit the student's style.

The *jarana* or *quinta* students sit down in front of *Maestro* Rolando, and he says, I am going to teach you two *rasgueos* that musicians use in *son huasteco*. "*Mánico 1*," he says is: down, down, down (with an *azote*), down, up, down (with an *azote*). Then he sends the student off to practice. Once they master *Mánico 1*, he tells the students to go accompany a violinist who has mastered a *son* that corresponds to the *mánico*. Eventually they move on to *Mánico 2* and other *sones*.

I studied at the *Balcón de la Huasteca* just in time to be one of the students who performed during their anniversary. For the anniversary, we prepared two *sones*. *La Cecilia*, a *son* dedicated to the patron saint of musicians, and *Xochipitzahuatl* (see Muñoz 2006).

They hand out, or dictate, the lyrics for *Xochipitzahuatl*:

The first verse is in *Náhuatl*:

Tiyaca compañeros,	Come compañeros
Tipaxolote María	We will visit María
Timoyohualozceh pan Tonantzin	We will come gather for Tonantzin
Santa María de Guadalupe.	Santa María de Guadalupe.

The first verse mixes many loanwords in from Spanish with *Náhuatl*.

The second verse is in Spanish:

Mariquita quita quita	Mariquita, quita quita
Que te pongas un listón	Put a ribbon in your hair
Que parece tu trencita	That your braid is so thin,
Una cola de ratón.	It looks like a rat's tail.

Since the first time I learned to sing *Xochipitzahuatl* was in this workshop, I did not know whether the translations were correct. However, the second verse appeared to be ridiculing indigenous women who wore their hair in braids with ribbons in them, especially for the dance of *Las Inditas*, where a group of women and girls sing and dance devotional songs to the Virgin of Guadalupe and Jesus beginning around the 12th of December, and ending anywhere from the 26th of December to the 6th of January, or to patron saints on their day. *Xochipitzahuatl* is one of the songs that is sung in *Náhuatl* during this dance as part of the devotion. When I asked other students about the lyrics, some of the women flinched, and said they did not like the last verse.

Vivá El Huapango, Ciudad Mante, Tamaulipas August 2004

While I planned to spend the whole summer working with *Soraima y Sus Huastecos*, they had been selected to accompany *Los Camperos de Valles* as dance instructors, on a European tour arranged through Corason™ Discos. When they returned in August of 2004, I enrolled in the workshops, and also took classes with Soraima and Santiago in their home. Most of the students that year were young men and boys, but several *tríos huastecos* with female integrants were trained at this workshop. These included *Trío Alba Huasteca*, made up of one sister and two brothers: Fátima Guadalupe, Edwin and Brian Flores Martínez. Later, Soraima and Santiago would give workshops to all the youth in workshops sponsored by the

PDCH and they influenced: Erika Medellin, *Trío Corazón Huasteco*, and *Trío Luna Nueva*, both are all-girl *tríos* from Tepezintla, Veracruz.

Vivá El Huapango workshop began in 1998 with support from the municipal government of Ciudad Mante. In 2001, Soraima Galindo Linares applied for and received a grant through the PDCH to fund the workshop. The workshop continued in Ciudad Mante, Tamaulipas until Soraima Galindo Linares and Santiago Fajardo Hernández moved to Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas due to a change in location for Soraima's assignment as a schoolteacher.

Every afternoon, even during sessions in the summer, youth from Ciudad Mante, Tamaulipas would come to the *Casa de Cultura*, and *Maestro Santiago Fajardo Hernández* and occasionally *Maestra Soraima Galindo Linares* would teach them how to play *sones huastecos*, and *huapango canciones* from all over the Huasteca, but particularly *huapango canciones* that focused on Tamaulipas, and *sones de costumbre* from Chicontepec, Veracruz. Their workshop had trained many young girls, women, boys and men how to play *son huasteco*. (Soraima Galindo Linares interview, August 9, 2004).

Each afternoon, in a small classroom, the children and youth would gather around in a circle. The beginning violinists would be placed off to the side to learn how to create a beautiful sound with their bows, while the rest of the workshop, on *jaranas* and *quintas huapangueras*, would be led through different *sones huastecos*, *huapangos* and *sones de costumbre*. Santiago would take the violin and play the *sones*, and if we already knew the chords, he would just lead us through and we would take turns singing verses.

Once a violinist had learned a *son*, Santiago would incorporate the violinist into the class. If the violinist forgot the tune, Santiago would whistle the tune to the violinist, as he played another instrument for the *jarana*, or *quinta huapanguera* students. The whistle became a teaching method that I would witness throughout the Huasteca, not just in workshops. The first pieces we would learn were “El Caballito,” and “Xochipitzahuatl.” We also learned “La Leva,” “La Malagueña,” and “Atardecer Huasteco.”

Soraima and Santiago had been teaching children and youth for more than six years when I arrived at the workshop. While they were located in Tamaulipas, an area of the Huasteca where there were no indigenous people left, Santiago was from Chicontepec, Veracruz, an area where there were many *Náhuatl* speakers.

Name of Piece	Genre	Occasion	Key	Chords
<i>Xochipitzahuatl</i>	<i>Nahua son de costumbre</i>	Weddings, funerals, church pilgrimages, Day of the Dead	D major	4
<i>El Caballito</i>	<i>Son huasteco</i>	Any	G major	3
<i>La Leva</i>	<i>Son huasteco</i>	Any	G major	5
<i>La Malagueña</i>	<i>Son huasteco</i>	Any	G minor	6
<i>La Leva</i>	<i>Son huasteco</i>	Any	G major	5
<i>Los Enanos</i>	<i>Nahua son de costumbre</i>	Carnaval	G major	3
<i>El Tejón</i>	<i>Nahua son de costumbre</i>	Carnaval	G major	5
<i>Atardecer Huasteco</i>	<i>Huapango Canción</i>	Any	C major	5

Table 3: Repertoire in the workshop, *Viva El Huapango*, in one month, August 2004

In 2004, I asked Soraima the significance of teaching *nahua sones de costumbre* to youth who did not speak *Nahuatl*. She explained first that it was important to teach her students *son huasteco* and *nahua sones* so that the students know where they live. She commented that many of her students don't even know that they live in the Huasteca region of Mexico.

Galindo said, "I teach the students how to play the instruments, carry themselves on stage, improvise verses and I also teach them how to play Xochipitzhuatl. I do not speak *Náhuatl*, but I learned to sing Xochipitzahuatl with correct diction (*como de veras se pronuncia*) from my husband and father-in-law, and translate it so that the students can learn what people say in the song. When I asked her why this is important, she replied, "It is important for the students to learn the significance these *sones* have for the *Nahua*: they accompany them from birth to death via marriage and other *fiestas* along the way"

La Herencia de Don Ponciano at the Seventeenth Edition of *El Festival de la Huasteca*, “Música en Riesgo” ‘At Risk Music’

At the Seventeenth *Festival de la Huasteca*, in Citlaltepetl, Chontla and Tántima, Veracruz, 2012, a festival with the theme “*Música en Riesgo*” ‘At Risk Music,’ several performances showed that *Nahua* music, language and culture were central to the identity of the Huasteca. At this festival, almost all of the musicians who were invited to perform on the official program had at least one *trío* member who spoke an indigenous language as their primary language. Young women and girls participated in unprecedented numbers, as students who had participated in workshops, or the *encuentros de niños y jóvenes huapangueros*, on the official program, or as part of the tribute to Don Ponciano Fajardo Hernández, after his CD was presented.



Figure 20: Presentation of *La Mejor Herencia* CD, Left to Right: Román Güemes Jiménez, Ponciano Fajardo Martínez, Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela (Photo: Kim Carter Muñoz October 6, 2013).

The program featured many different kinds of music and dance from the Huasteca region that were not usually performed at the *encuentros huapangueros*, and that had only been featured a few times in *El Festival de la Huasteca*. There was a gathering or meeting of indigenous dances, *encuentro de danzas indigenas*, and several types of Huastecan indigenous styles of ritual music and dance that were different than *trío hausteco*. *Taksom Son*, a *Tének Matlachines* dance with harp and *rebec* music from Tacanhuitz, performed three times in the festival, in each location. A professor from the *Universidad Veracruzana, Xalapa*, reconstructed and performed with an *acafioli*, a violin that *Nahua* communities used before violins were readily available, that was made out of *carrizo*, reed, and which was also used for ritual music to play *sones* such as “El Canario.”

A few performances stood as evidence that *nahua* identity and music from Chicontepepec, Veracruz and adjacent areas were an essential part of the repertoire for the entire Huasteca region in music workshops, and had contributed somewhat to the aims of cultural understanding in the *encuentros huapangueros*. This was not only due to the PDCH’s pluri-multicultural projects, but also due to the fact that the artistic and cultural lineage could be traced back to the quiet transmission of Ponciano Fajardo.

Many of the young *tríos* who played after the official program included at least one member who was a young woman or girl. The *tríos* that represented workshops, which had submitted formal projects and been included on the program also included a minimum of one girl in their *trío* or were comprised entirely of girls. It appeared that the influence of workshops, and Ponciano’s indirect influence on

the leaders and the program had come to fruition. At this festival he would be honored, and a CD featuring him and his sons performing *Nahua sones de costumbres*, his original *huapangos* and verses of his own composition would be on the official program. It was at the presentation of the *Niños y Jóvenes Huapangueros CD* where I would meet Don Ponciano again.

Trío Armonia Queretana Perform Original Verses and Xochiptizahautl

It was precisely at this performance of a *trío* from a non-*nahua* area of the Huasteca, Queretaro, when I realized how far Don Ponciano's transmission *Xochiptizahuatl* had traveled. *Trío Armonía Queretana* was composed of young children playing *Xochiptizahuatl*, being coached by their teacher Perfecto López, a workshop leader known for his violin playing and verse improvisation. The children performed "*El Quereque*," a *son huasteco* with original verses, where they introduced themselves. I have provided a transcript of excerpts of their performance, which I recorded at *El XVII Festival de la Huasteca*. The translations are my own.

"*El Quereque*:"

Cecilia López:

A mi la mente me auxilia
Y mi garganta se entona
Yo vengo de una familia
Que la tradición pregona
Me pusé delante de Cecilia
En el nombre de mi patrona.

My mind helps me
And my throat is in tune
I come from a family
That improvises verses
I placed myself in front of Cecilia*
In the name of my patron saint.
(*she is named Cecilia who is also the
saint for musicians.)

Queréque, queréque
Queréque, queréque.

Juan Diego López:

Señores yo no lo niego
Soy de buena familia
Aunque vengo de andariego
También la mente me auxilia
Aquí tienen a Juan Diego
Soy hermano de Cecilia.

Sirs I do not deny it
I am from a good family
Even though my father is footloose
My mind also helps me
Here I am Juan Diego
Brother of Cecilia.

Adrian:

Mis versos vienen y van
Con pensamiento me sosiego
Mi nombre escucharán
Mi padres que no los niego
Mi nombre es Adrian
Mi madre es Cecilia Gallego.

My verses come and go
And I support myself with thought
You will hear my name
I do not deny my parents
My name is Adrian
My mother is Cecilia Gallego.

(otra, otra, otra)

Fuerte aplauso para los Huapangueritos
de Querétaro ván a tocar un poquito
más.

A big round of applause for the
Huapangueritos de Querétaro. They are
going to play a little more.

(Performance Armonia Queretana, *El XVII Festival de la Huasteca*; recording and translation: Kim Carter Muñoz October 6, 2013).

In his talk after their performance that showed the children could sing original verses, Perfecto expressed his pride that these children, who did not speak *Náhuatl* sang a fragment of *Xochipitzahuatlín Náhuatl*, followed by an Spanish translation in Chontla, a municipality with many *Náhuatl* and Tének speakers. Perfecto López explains that his own children, who are in the *trío* did not want to learn how to play *trío huasteco*, until he took them to a *Encuentro de Huapangueros Niños y Jóvenes*, a Gathering of Child and Youth Huapangueros, in Tula, Tamaulipas, and they took classes from the teacher Soraima Galindo Linares, when she taught them *Xochipitzahuatlín*. Perfecto López explains that while he believes that indigenous languages should be spoken with dignity, and that even though his

students did not pronounce it well, “*como de veras se pronuncia*” ‘how it is really pronounced,’ he has taught the children this small portion of *Xochipitzahuatl*, so that they do not feel ashamed of who they are in their native land.

Perfecto López:

Gracias por el aplauso yo nada mas quisiera agregar un poquito mi esposa tambien me acompaña Veronica Bautista que tambien me ayudado mucho con los niños y yo también lo que estoy interesado es que las lenguas (sic. indigenas) se hablan con honor con dignidad y que también les estamos enseñando Xochipitzahuatl una pequeña parte a lo mejor no muy corectamente, pero la idea es de que ellos lo van aprendiendo y lo vaya en la mente y que los niños no se avergüenzan de lo que uno es en su tierra.

Thank you for the applause. I only wanted to add a little, my wife Veronica is with me and she has helped me a lot with the children. I am also interested in that indigenous languages are spoken with dignity. We are also teaching them Xochipitazahuatl, a very small part maybe not very correctly, but the idea is that they are learning it and it gets into their mind, and that way the children are not ashamed of who they are in their native land.

(Performance Armonia Queretana, *El XVII Festival de la Huasteca*; recording and translation: Kim Carter Muñoz October 6, 2013).



Figure 21: Presentation of *Trío Ármonia Querétana* by Pefecto López and the Director of the Instituto Cultural de Querétaro along with a CD that documents

17 Child and Youth Tríos (photo Kim Carter Muñoz10/06/2012)

The children followed this announcement with a *son* called “*El Taconcito*,” but when the audience applauded and asked for an encore, Perfecto López directed the children to play *Xochipitzahuatl*. While the performance was not perfect, it showed that an important transfer of *nahua* music had occurred that had made *nahua* identity more central to the Huasteca.

The children were from a part of Querétaro where less than one percent of the population speaks an indigenous language, and they performed a piece of *Nahua* repertoire from Chicontepec where as much as 85% of the population could speak *Náhuatl*. If the estimate includes *mestizos* who speak *Náhuatl* who have family who live in communities and others who have learned the language for survival and business, an indigenous language, although not all do so as their first language or primary means of communication then the estimate is high; however, if the estimate is only of people who use *Náhuatl* as their primary language and which is their first language, then the estimate is low. It is significant their teacher did not present stereotypes about *campesinos* and indigenous on stage, where *campesinos* and *Nahua* culture are portrayed as violent, mystic, or dangerous. Instead an appeal to speaking languages like *nahua*, not dialects, with dignity, was made by their teacher. The *Náhuatl* language is often referred to by *mestizos* as a dialect, and many presentations of *nahua* and other indigenous groups by *mestizos* resort to plays, and dance choreographies that perpetuate stereotypes, or that put *costumbres*, ritual, on display. The performance occurred in Chontla, Veracruz, another municipality with a high number of speakers of indigenous languages: *Tének* and *Náhuatl*. This

performance would not have happened without the transmission of *Náhuatl sones de costumbres, son huasteco* and *huapango* of Ponciano Fajardo to his son Santiago Fajardo Hernández and daughter-in-law, Soraima Galindo Linares, and friend, Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, as well as his attendance to events and transmission to youth at events like this one.

Apprenticeship with Don Ponciano Fajardo: One-to-one Teaching (with an entire family to learn *sones de costumbre* and culture)

Don Ponciano had just spent the entire afternoon teaching me how to play *Xochipitzahuatl* on violin, as he had also done with me on many other afternoons and with other people who apprenticed with him, even though he never grabbed a violin. He would either play the *quinta huapanguera* and whistle the tune to any violinist who was playing with him, or simply whistle the tune until they started playing, and then he might accompany them. Normally, I did not record these sessions, because I was busily trying to learn the tune, or how to play, but I had to leave, and he wanted to help me remember his version of the tune.

In 2004, when I was brought here by his son and daughter-in-law, Santiago and Soraima, my teachers at the *Viva el Huapango* workshop, Ponciano had whistled the same melody when I was learning the *jarana huasteca*. Now that I was learning violin, he took the time to teach me the tunes, just as he taught me how to accompany, always whistling the entire violin part. Once the violinist learned which tune it was, if they already knew it, or learned it from him, he would either accompany them, or his sons or other guests would accompany them. It was how he taught any of his visitors who came to his house to share and learn about *sones de*

costumbre, and other styles of music that are part of the repertoire in the Huasteca region.

We had just come back to Chicontepec from the *Encuentro de Niños y Jovenes* in Huayacocotla, Veracruz, where his son Ponciano Fajardo Hernández and daughter-in-law Soraima Galindo Linares had led *quinta huapanguera* and *jarana huasteca* workshops for a conference that gathered the best students under 21 years of age from *son huasteco* workshops from all over the Huasteca. Invited as an elder *huapanguero*, Don Ponciano had gone to the *Encuentro de Niños y Jovenes Huapangueros* as well, rooming with his *compadre Maestro* Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela. Eduardo Bustos was leading workshops on verse composition and improvisation, and *huapango canción* composition for all of the young people at the event. The event lasted three days. Don Ponciano had sat with some of the other elder musicians at the *encuentro* and watched. The elders all spent time during the event talking and teaching any of the young people, or anyone else for that matter, how to play *huapango* apart from the formal workshops. Because I had already taken many workshops and my son Marcos was now enrolled in one of the workshops with other children, I sat with some of the older *huapangueros* and spoke with them outside of the workshops. I accompanied Ponciano to the store, because I enjoyed his company, and because by 2008 he was waking with difficult. I would go to the different workshops and take pictures and record the proceedings, but not stay too long. The elders were also invited to talk to the entire group of children about their lived experiences as musicians during a different epoch. I was

on my way back to Xalapa, but Santiago, and Ponciano's family invited me to stop at his house, a place where I had stayed before in 2004 and again in 2007.

July 8, 2008. Transcript of *Xochipitzahuatl* lesson.

Doña Ofelia and Elsie (Ponciano's wife and daughter) to Ponciano: 'Grab the recorder.' "*Agarra la grabadora.*"

Me: 'Grab the recorder.' "*Agarra la grabadora.*"

Don Ponciano Fajardo Martínez says in a sweet voice, playing the straight man in a comedy act, 'Is it on already?' "*Ya esta prendida?*" He looks at the recorder, he wiggles his eyebrows, and his then wiggled his cowboy hat without touching it, a move he has practiced many times to grab the attention of female family members, female ethnomusicologists, students and grandchildren, and blows into the recorder's microphone, then smiles (pointing to the recorder). 'It's not whistling.' "*No chifla.*"

Everyone laughs.

Ponciano Fajardo Martínez then began to record himself whistling the violin part, so that I could continue to learn his version of a violin tune for a *Xochipitzahuatl*. He had patiently whistled the tune several times for me. While sitting on a small wooden chair on the patio he whistled and everyone continued what they are doing—but more quietly—pretending not to listen to him whistle or watch our lesson.

It was a scene that his entire family had witnessed and participated in many times with me and many other people. While Ponciano is the teacher, or a guest or another member of the family teaches, the entire family also participates in this transmission., through hushed whispers and conversations in the background. The family members take turns even with directing people who are visitors how to record music and take pictures, when they forget to record something important. The family carries on with their routine, or visitors in the house, and make

occasional comments about how the lessons proceed along with other conversations.

Ponciano began teaching his four sons this way: Hever Ludin, Hugo, my teacher and workshop leader Santiago, and José. In 1981, when Santiago was just seven years old, another workshop leader, Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, also sat on this patio and shared and learned and shared music in this way (Bustos 2012: 10). I mentioned the whistle in another conversation to a *trovadora* from Pánuco Veracruz, and she said that her father who played *jarana* sometimes spent several days whistling tunes to violinists to get ready to play music for *Carnaval* and *Xántolo*, Day of the Dead, when she was little. She and her sister would watch and laugh, because he would whistle until his lips looked purple, practicing for the special occasion (Conversation María Antonieta Váldez October 31, 2008).

In 2004, I had observed Santiago whistling to his violin students in the same exact way in Ciudad Mante, to teach the melodies of *sones huastecos* and *Xochiptizahuatl*, while he led the *jaranas* and *quintas* in their accompaniment. In 2008, his son Hever also whistled tunes to me, while I tried to play them on violin and he played *quinta huapanguera*. His other son Hugo, who taught me a few *sones*, used his violin, but I had seen him whistle too, when he was accompanying a violinist, or a student who did not know the melody.

When Don Ponciano finished the third melodic block, or variation of the tune for *Xochiptizahuatl*, his granddaughters, daughter and wife laughed loudly in the background, at the ending cadence of four notes, traveling in a scale from the dominant chord to the tonic. Although he just whistled, the notes were: A, B, C#, D. It

was just one of many endings that could have been whistled for *Xochipitzahuatl*. One of his granddaughters, listening to our lesson on the patio, clowned as though she were a radio announcer. Without leaving any dead-air time, the granddaughter said, in a voice that she seemed to have practiced many times in this context, “*y ahora seguimos con....*” ‘and now we will continue with....’

Musical Gatherings

Every time a new musician came to Ponciano’s house, or whenever Santiago and Soraima visited and brought visitors, or students, the family would hold a musical gathering, and also introduce people to the culture around Chicontepec. In 2004, the first time that I came to Mexico to study *son huasteco*, after meeting *Maestro Ponciano Fajardo Martínez* at *La Novena Edición del Festival de la Huasteca* in González, I started my classes at the *Viva el Huapango* Workshop in Ciudad Mante. Once the workshops were out of session at the end of August, Santiago and Soraima asked me and my son, Marcos, to accompany them to Chicontepec to visit Santiago’s family, but and to make sure to bring my recorder and camera, because I was going to meet many *huapangueros* and learn how to play *son huasteco*, but I was surprised to learn so many different *sones de costumbre*. Don Ponciano held a music party at his house and invited several musicians from Chicontepec, and his sons arrived, in honor of Santiago and Soraima visiting. Because I was also learning how to play, they had me play several times during our visit. Ponciano directed the music-making, and different people tried to play music together. One of their visitors

started playing different *sones de carnaval*. When he did not know the tune, Don Ponciano, or Santiago, would whistle the tune. When the violinist had a tune that no one else had heard, the family would accompany him, and eventually we pulled out a recorder. That evening, Don Ponciano and the family would teach several *sones de carnaval* to the violinist, and record “El Son de la Botella,” and a version of “El Canario,” that was not yet a part of their repertoire. At these informal music gatherings, different pieces of musical repertoires were exchanged.



Figure22: Gathering at the House of Ponciano Fajarado Martínez (Photo: Kim Carter Muñoz August 11, 2004).

Soraima y Sus Huastecos perform Xochipitzahuatl (thin flower)

When Soraima Galindo Linares and the rest of *Soraima y Sus Huastecos* perform, they almost always play *Xochipitzahuatl*. Even though a simplified version is taught to many of the students at the workshops, *Soraima y Sus Huastecos* perform four verses in *Náhuatl* at their concerts. Soraima always announces the song saying that they will sing a song in *Náhuatl* that she learned from Santiago's family.

Even though she does not speak *Náhuatl*, her father-in-law and Santiago's family are speakers of *Náhuatl*, who taught her how to pronounce the lyrics, as she says, "**como de veras se pronuncia.**" The translations below show the complete verses of the version of *Xochipitzahuatl* that *Soraima y Sus Huastecos* perform. It is not the version that they generally have their students learn. The lyrics were transcribed from a performance of the group that we were fortunate enough to organize at the University of Washington in October of 2007, sponsored by the *American Music Partnership*, the School of Music and the Department of Women Studies (now *Gender, Women and Sexuality Studies*).

Xochipitzahuac(version by Soraima y Sus Huastecos, transcribed by Kim Carter Muñoz, cross-checked and verified phonetically with Soraima Galindo Linares, Santiago Fajardo Hernández, and Hugo Fajardo Hernández, writing system standardized and translated to Spanish by Hever Fajarado Hernández, Kim Carter Muñoz, Gabriel Florentino and Abelardo Cruz de la Cruz; English translation Kim Carter Muñoz)

Xiyacanya compañeros
tipaxalotih María
timoyahualozceh pan tonantzin
Santa María Guadalupe.

Vámonos ya compañeros
Iremos a visitar a María
Nos reverenciaremos ante la virgen
Santa María de Guadalupe.

Let us go companions
we will go on a pilgrimage
to revere the Virgin in dance
Holy María de Guadalupe.

Xochipitzahuac timihtotizceh
tiquixpantizceh tonantzin

'Flor menudita' bailaremos
Presentándonos a la virgen

We will dance 'thin flower'
In honor of the Virgin

Chicomexochitl timactilizceh
pan itlanamic ticcuazech pantzin
teipan tiyazceh ipan amelli
ticmactilizeh tlaepecholi**
huan tonantzin ma quiceli
nelliya ahuiyac ni totolin.***

Xiconicanya ce anizado
xiconicanya ce licor
xiconican ce lemeteh huinoh
moixpantzin Santo Señor

Cuicaticateh nochi totomeh
pampa ya mero tlaneciya
tlanqui tlaixpialli, tlanqui tlahtolli
hasta moztlatzin nimechillia.

'Siete flores' le ofrendaremos*
Frente a ella comeremos pan
Después iremos al manatial
le llevaremos ofrendas
de papel picado* y tamal**
para que la virgen reciba
este sabroso guajolote.***

Tomen ya este anizado
Tomen ya un licor
tomen esta botella de aguardiente
frente al Santo señor.

Están cantando todas las aves
Porque ya pronto amanecerá
ya se acabo la fiesta
ya se acabaron las palabras
hasta mañana les digo.

We will offer 'Seven Flowers'*
In front of her we will eat
bread
Later we will go to the spring
Bringing cut paper figures*
and tamales as offerings**
So that the Virgin receives
This tasty turkey.***

Drink this anise liquor
Drink a liquor already
Drink this bottle of can liquor
In front of our holy father.

All the birds are singing
Because soon it will be dawn
The fiesta is over,
The words are done
Until tomorrow, I say to you all.

* Chicomexochitl, 'Siete Flores,' 'Seven Flower" 1) a diety that represents young and mature corn together and is conceived of as a young boy. 2) a ritual offered to this diety also known as 'La Fiesta de Elotes' the Corn Festival. 3) *a son de costumbre* played in the ritual. 4) Cut paper that is used for rituals and curing, or the act of offering paper cuttings.

**Tlalpepecholi 1) a large tamale that has ritual significance in some communities and is part of ritual offerings, along with other foods. 2) a ritual where offerings that will later be part of a meal are given to the earth, such as a turkey, or the tamale.

***Totolin. 'guajolote,' 'turkey' is a autochthonous animal, indigenous to the Americas, with ritual significance. It is used for important meals such as weddings and ritual meals. Turkey is also represented on the *Nahua Xántolo* 'Day of the Dead' altar with clay figures that hold candles, alongside clay chichimeh 'dogs,' which are set on the altar as offerings and will accompany the ancestors as companion animals. The turkey figures are symbolic offerings of traditional food to the departed beloved ancestors.

The verses of this version *Xochipitzahuatl* make reference to an entire ritual or custom that it will be a part of, where *Xochipitzahuatl* is played as part of a dance offered to the Virgin of Guadalupe, known as Tonantzin, 'Our Mother [Earth]'. The dancers, musicians and other people who make this offering, bring either a turkey, or a large tamale called a *tlaepecholi*, and make an offering to the earth with dance, paper figures that are cut for rituals, music, song, incense, and food. Once the offering is over people return a neighboring household, and have a feast with wine and food. When I first studied with Soraima and Santiago, they taught me a part of *Xochipitzahuatl*, and explained the dance and some of the customs mentioned in the

lyrics; however, in the workshops most students do not learn this version of *Xochipitzahuatl*, because of the syncretic cultural references in the lyrics and the difficulty of pronouncing Náhuatl correctly, especially when it is foreign to the student.

Transmission of Culture from Chicontepec

Students who actually visited the family of my workshop teacher Santiago Fajardo Hernández were given many opportunities to learn about *mestizo* and *nahua* culture in Chicontepec, Veracruz. Although many did not, because they were sleeping in after late nights of playing music, during the days Professor Ponciano, Santiago Fajardo and other relatives showed us around Chicontepec. The mother of Professor Noe Ibarra, Profesor Ponciano's son-in-law, was also a retired schoolteacher, without any request from me, she invited me in and arranged for me to help her and watch her make traditional bread from Chicontepec, so that I could learn more about the culture. Other relatives showed me traditional embroidery, another activity that women have done in *nahua* and *mestizo* communities as secondary occupations for additional income besides midwifery, bone-setting and massage (Sandstrom 1991: 139-140).

I did not fully realize how much work went into these arrangements and how many times they had hosted people, mostly people who have attended *encuentos huapangueros*. While I was listening to a recording of Don Ponciano in which he listed all the things that I must learn to do in Chicontepec, so that I could stay. I

remembered how several people had said they learned more about the Huasteca and *son huasteco*, than if they had only learned in music workshops in Mexico City. They would remember that they went to a house of a '*viejo huapanguero*' (Interview Felipe Valle Robles December 2, 2001). Another student would fondly talk about when they learned how to play *son huasteco*, and about the region, when they visited Don Ponciano and Doña Ofe. (Interview Aurora Valderama June 10, 2004). The Fajardo-Hernández family was discussing how I was learning to play *jarana*, and I heard Ponciano jokingly say, "she learned how to make bread," (pause) "all she has to do is learn how to embroider and she could come live in Chicontepec."

The joke worked, because my position as a woman, and the cognitive dissonance of me playing a *jarana*, were being indexed. Also, another cognitive dissonance played into this joke, because I was a white woman from the US, who was taller than most people there, who traveled with a small child, and wore a long skirt. I looked the part of almost every missionary who had come to the Huasteca region since the mid-20th century from the US. I carried a backpack filled with notebooks, recordings and a video camera. However, people thought they were books, maybe a Bible, the *Jehova's* Witness publication the *Watchtower*, or the *Book of Mormon*. Several of the neighbors had expressed concern that a missionary was staying at the house of a musician family.



Figure 23: Mother of Noe Ibarra Baking Bread from (Photo taken by Noe Ibarra SanchezChicontepec July 12, 2004).

The joke followed after a verse where they mentioned that people had asked if I was missionary, and the verse swore that I was not a missionary, because I wore a tank top, drank and played *huapango*, a music found sometimes in *cantinas*, along with at *nahua* rituals that are condemned by missionaries. The joke also reflected the loving care that was taken to show the culture from Chicontepepec to us, along with the music I had come there to study as an ethnomusicologist. The family had hosted many guests and taught them either about Huastecan regional music from Chicontepepec, or the culture in the area, or both.

The joke played off of a truth. In the area around Chicontepepec, not many girls and women had taken classes or learned how to play violin, *jarana* or *quinta huapanguera*, nor did many sing *huapangos*, or *sones huastecos*, but there were many other musical activities and dance that are traditional for women for example, *La Danza de la Inditas*, which is one dance group where women and girls pledge to go on a pilgrimage and sing prayers and devotion in *Náhuatl*, or occasionally Spanish, for example. However, Don Ponciano taught many other women and girls how to play *jarana* and speak and pronounce *Náhuatl* correctly, who were not from Chicontepepec, such as, students in workshops, who also attended *encuentros huapangueros*, or the wife and daughters of his son Santiago. I was never there to witness his one-on-one transmission to his sons, from interviews I learned that *sones de costumbre* and *Nahua* language were passed on to his daughter-in-law, Soraima and his granddaughters, Cecilia and Lupita (Guadalupe) through

conversations and one-on-one apprenticeship teaching (with other family members as witnesses and helpers).

During my visit in 2004, Ponciano was busy jokingly teaching his granddaughter Lupita and me both how women in Chicontepec carry water on their heads, and also how to greet people in *Náhuatl*, in addition to teaching us to strum a *jarana*. Each morning when we would wake up before Soraima and Santiago, Don Ponciano would be sitting on the patio in a chair. He would look at us and say, “Piyali,” ‘Hello,’ that is how people greet each other here in Chicontepec. Lupita was just four years old at the time, and he would look at us grab a container, and explain to us that women carry water in containers on their heads. He was especially focused on Lupita. He would demonstrate the skill himself, and then place the container on her head.

However, in 2008, Don Ponciano was less focused on teaching about the traditional roles of women in Chicontepec, which Ceci, Lupita and I also had already learned, although maybe in my case, not very well. Don Ponciano was completely beside himself with happiness. During his presentation of a *huapango* that he had composed for the *encuentro huapanguero* in Amatlán, his granddaughters Lupita and Cecilia sang *Xochipitazahuatl* for the other young *huapangueros*, at the *Encuentro de Niños y Jovenes Huapangueros* in Huayacocotla. After I finished the recording, Doña Ofelia invited us to drink coffee and eat *mole*, and we were then taken to the bus station in San Sebastian, Veracruz, to board the bus and return to Xalapa. While I did not learn from Don Ponciano first, I learned from Santiago and Soraima. Still it is true that Don Ponciano’s quiet and unassuming mode of

transmission of culture and music and that of his children Hugo, Hever and Santiago, in particular, at the *encuentros* and with his family at home, has gently shaped the entire system for teaching *son huasteco* that is linked to the *encuentros* and the PDCH.

Transmission by Don Ponciano at *Encuentros*

Don Ponciano often appeared when he heard *sones de costumbre* and would stand in the background at these events, as children and youth played *Nahua sones de costumbre* for *carnaval*, *Xántolo*, (Day of the Dead) and especially *Xochipitzahuatl*. He would coach the students from the sidelines, and encourage them by playing along. In particular, I was struck by a moment when the young men who studied with me in the *son huasteco* workshop, *Viva el Huapango* spontaneously played the same instrumental version of *Xochipitzahuatl*, that Don Ponciano whistled to me when he was coaching me on violin. At the time, I did not think to include Don Ponciano in the video frame playing along with the young men on the sidelines, or the expression of excitement on his face when the boys starting playing the *son* with no prompting from their teachers or any other adults. Ponciano's melodic version of *Xochipitzahuatl* can be heard in the music played by Soraima Galindo and Santiago Fajardo's students, from their first workshop teaching youth how to play Huastecan music, based in Ciudad Mante, Tamaulipas, at an informal jam session at that I recorded in 2005 in the *Encuentro de Huapangueros* at the *Fiesta de Amatlán*, Veracruz. View the video at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NPZrnsz3EZc>.



Figure 24: ¡Viva el *Huapango*! Playing Xochipitzahuatl at Amatlán, Veracruz (Photo: Kim Carter Muñoz, 2004)

As Huastecan music workshops for youth began to blossom in the region, the workshop leaders began to have conferences for *formadores de huapangueros*, educators for *huapango* musicians and dances, and also conferences for children and youth to work together on honing their skills as *trío huasteco* musicians. I watched this process as Ponciano Fajardo Martínez, Soraima Galindo Linares, Eduardo Bustos and Santaigo Fajardo Hernández all gathered around some of the participants in *El Encuentro de Niños y Jovenes Huapangueros* in 2008, in Huayacocotla, Veracruz, who were playing *Nahua sones de carnaval* (View the video at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g_ZSny_bpmE).



Figure 25 : Youth Playing Sones de Carnival El Encuentro de Niños y Jóvenes Huayacocotla, Veracruz; Left to Right: Santiago Fajardo, unknown youth, Eduardo Bustos Valenzuela, Ponciano Fajardo Martínez, Florencio Valente Gomez Martin, unknown youth. Soraima Galindo Linares is present but not in the frame of the photo. (Photo: Kim Carter Muñoz, 2008).

In the performance at *El XVII Festival de la Huasteca*, through classes at *El Encuentro de Niños y Jovenes Huapangueros*, (the Conference of Huapanguero Children and Youth) Don Ponciano's knowledge and desire for cultural understanding was indirectly transmitted to the students who were not *Nahua* speakers and to other leaders of workshops, such as Perfecto López, by Ponciano's family and friends.

Xochipitzahuatl travels to Querétaro and Back at the XVII Festival de la Huasteca

At the *XVII Festival de la Huasteca*, the children in Trío Armonia Queretana did not sing the same version of *Xochipitzahuatl* that *Soraima y Sus Huastecos* sing; however, this transmission of the piece of music and its meaning is still important, because it caused the children to be excited about *trío huasteco* music and also instilled a greater understanding of the diversity of people in the Huasteca. To provide the full context of this performance, it is important to note that at this presentation in Chontla, there were a number of community members, and a *son huasteco* workshop that included children who spoke Náhuatl as their first language. However, the teacher Perfecto López and his students did not speak this language.

View the video at: <http://youtu.be/tZGarZB6NLE>.

Announcer:

Ellos son armonia querétana vienen de ___ Querétaro, del Municipio de Jalpán de Serra, y van a cerrar con un tema que se ha convertido en un himno para la Huasteca y despues van a tocar unas amigas que tambien son de esa generación de niños que está buscando y luchando por la vigencia y permanencia de *son huasteco* y fuerte aplauso para los niños que van a tocar para los amigos que son de Chontla, Veracruz.

They are Queretaran Harmony, they are from Querétaro, from Jalpán de Serra, and they are going to finish with a theme that has become a hymn for the Huasteca. After them, we will hear from some friends, girls, who are also part of this generation that are seeking and fighting for the relevance and permanence of *son huasteco*. A big round of applause for the children who are going to play for our friends here who are from Chontla, Veracruz.

Tiyacana ya ___
Tipaxalotih Maria
Timohualozceh pan Tonantzin
Santa María Guadalupe.

Let us go _____(unintelligible)
we will go on a pilgrimage to see Mary
to revere the Virgin in dance
Holy María de Guadalupe.

Vamos todos compañeros

Let's go everyone

a María
Acompañamos a la Virgen
Santa María Guadalupe.

To Mary
We will accompany the Virgin
Santa María Guadalupe.

(Performance Armonia Queretana, *El XVII Festival de la Huasteca*; recording and translation: Kim Carter Muñoz October 6, 2013).

Trío Armonia Queretana only sang the first verse and its translation, alternating between *Náhuatl* and Spanish, and they did not pronounce the *Náhuatl* or Spanish exactly as Soraima Galindo Linares, or native *Náhuatl*-speakers, would have pronounced them. However, the importance of this music is not lost on the children or the audience, as these children came from a community where there are no indigenous language speakers and sang the *son* to a crowd of the entire Huasteca in a small municipality where many speak *Náhuatl*. Theirs is a direct lineage from Ponciano Fajardo's teaching, and Perfecto López acknowledges these children's inspiration from learning the *son* through taking classes from Soraima Galindo Linares and her family. As I looked over to Don Ponciano when the children sang, I could see that he patiently smiled, even if they forgot some segments of the verses while they were singing. The entire audience applauded the children, and I remembered when Don Ponciano or anyone in his family would hear me as I learned. If I made a mistake, he would say, "Está bien, eres un principiante." "Its ok you are a beginner."



Figure 26: Armonia Queretana Performing Xochipitzauatl in XVII Festival de la Huasteca Chontla, Veracruz (Photo: Kim Carter Muñoz 10/06/ 2012)

Don Ponciano, and his children, friends, and family, have revitalized *trío huasteco* music and moved *nahua* identity to a more central place in the Huasteca through the transmission of repertoire at *encuentros*, in workshops and in person. Not all of the children and youth who learn *trío huasteco* musicianship continue to play, but all of the students in the workshop have learn something about Huasteca regional music as well as *nahua* culture. This has created more young musicians, and has changed the repertoire and people that are presented at cultural events and festivals better represent the Huasteca.

The chapters that follow will show how two different sets of *huapangueros* who are not workshop teachers also transmit and perform their versions of

huapango, local dance and identity for the Huasteca region and at home through *encuentros huapangueros*. Before I make this transition, however, I will highlight an excerpt from an interview with my main teacher in music workshops, Soraima Galindo Linares, from when I asked her who her music teachers were.

KCM:

¿Quiénes fueron tus maestros de música? Who were your music teachers?

SGL:

¿De música? Pues nada más, con quien me inicié fue Tomás Gómez Valdelamar y después él mismo me buscó la oportunidad de que yo estuviera integrara en el Conjunto Típico Tamaulipeco, y ahí pues aprendí todavía más huapangos, más sonos, con el señor Carlos Villeda Palacios o también conocido como Carlos Castillo “El zurdo”, él tocaba violín, es primo hermano de Artemio Villeda Marín, hermano de Lucio Villeda, de Pánuco Y nada más, hasta ahí.

My only music teacher, with whom I started was Tomás Gómez Valdelamar. Later, he gave me the opportunity to join the *Conjunto Típico Tamaulipeco*. There I learned even more *huapangos*, and more *sonos*, with Mr. Carlos Villeda Palacios, also known as Carlos Castillo “The Lefty.” He played violín and was a first cousin of Artemio Villeda Marín, the brother of Lucio Villeda Marín from Pánuco. And that was the end of [my apprenticeships].

Mis maestros, actualmente, digo yo, son los huapangueros, los señores grandes que me encuentro en los festivales y que observo con cuidado cómo es que tocan, cómo es que bailan, cuál es su estilo. Uno nunca deja de aprender.

My teachers, actually, I would say, are the *huapangueros*, the older men that I find in the *festivales* and I observe carefully how they play, how they dance, what is their style. One never stops learning.

(Interview Soraima Galindo Linares August 9, 2008; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz)

Even though there are institutional workshops, the elders and even some highly skilled *huapangueros* who are not workshop leaders all play an important role in teaching youth, children and even the teachers of workshops, how to play *son huasteco*, *huapango* and other styles of music. The next section will highlight a few of these individuals as well as their communities in and out of the festival.

SECTION 3—*Viejos Huapangueros* Case Studies: Trans-local Festival Performance
and
Local Values

Ch. 7 “Rocking the Cradle of *Huapango*,” Pánuco *Trovadoras* and *Trovadores*

Pánuco: Gender and Participation

Introduction: Cultural Patrimony, Patriarchy, and Women’s roles in *Son Huasteco*

In this chapter, I analyze how women *trovadoras* from Pánuco, Veracruz are key players who have created a scene in which youth and communities think that Huastecan poetry is cool, through their constant updating of the tradition with new lyrics and humor. I suggest that *trovadoras* and *trovadores* have “rocked the cradle of *huapango*,” upsetting gender norms and updating *huapango* as something cool, that rocks peoples’ imaginations, and makes communities want to organize their own *fiestas*, so that *huapangueros* will be encouraged to travel there to perform, dance and sing with others in their community. I will excavate the erased history of women from several levels of society and ethnic backgrounds in the Pánuco-Tampico region, before the establishment of a national version of *huapango* from Pánuco, Veracruz, which created a static stereotype of *huapango* for the national imaginary in *ballet folclórico*. The history of their participation is important to understand the significance of their participation, as something based in a long and varied history of women performing as musicians, singers and dancers, and not just as the muses or objects of musicians’ affections that inspire verses and are intended to woo. These women and men from Pánuco, amateur and professional musicians and *trovadores*, have reclaimed participatory *huapango* for all of the Huasteca region alongside schoolteacher workshop leaders and indigenous musicians that hold specialized knowledge of ritual *nahua* music and dance along with *huapango*.

They are one set of *huapangueros* who have contributed to this music scene and cultural movement supported by local communities, the state cultural institutes, and the PDCH.

Pánuco, Veracruz was officially declared "*La Cuna del Huapango*," 'the Cradle of *Huapango*,' in 2002 by the *Consejo Nacional de las Culturas y Artes* (CONACULTA). One of the first municipalities where the Spanish settled in the 16th century, within less than 20 years after the overthrow of Tenochtitlan, census records show that there were no indigenous residents in this municipality; all were designated as *mestizo*. In the period from the 1940s through the 1960s, people from the upper levels of society within Pánuco used *huapango* politically. As part of this project, they standardized steps and fashioned costumes to create an academic form of *son huasteco* dance that informed the portrayal of the Huasteca in the national imaginary of Mexico as an alternative *mestizo* identity from that of the center of Mexico.

In versions of *huapango* dance linked to *ballet folclórico* and dance academies, Pánuco is touted as the birthplace of the national form of *huapango* dance through academies. Like many other origins stories, especially those linked to building an national identity, the origins story for *huapango* is inherently gendered and racialized. National projects, and cultural patrimony, are concerned with establishing the ethnic and sexual legitimacy of a nation. In histories linked to *ballet folclórico*, and folkloric projects from outside of the Huasteca, women have generally been represented as on dancers and the occasional singer, because elite women's participation and women's musical history has been circumscribed and

erased by patriarchy stemming from the of the center of the Mexican nation, from elite *mestizo* male patriarchy towards their own families, and from professional male musicians (indigenous, *mestizo* and *afro-mestizo*). As I will show in the course of this chapter, however, there is a rich history of women's roles within *huapango*, and they have played an important role in *son huasteco* since its origins that go back to at least the 18th century.

Since the beginning of the PDCH, women *trovadoras* from Pánuco—*las panuqueras*—in particular, Esperanza Zumaya, María Antonieta Váldez and Natalia Váldez—are at the majority of the cultural events that make up the trans-local music scene. In this scene, youth from the Huasteca and from Mexico City are learning to be performers of *son huasteco*. It has become a trans-generational music, dance and cultural festival scene. Traveling and performing in the cultural events has become a way of life for many practitioners of *huapango*.

In the present revival, these women have been important to the reclaiming of *son huasteco* as a participatory community practice, through the composition and improvisation of verses, through shared bodily enjoyment of dance to *trío huasteco* music to build a community, and through their desire to share and teach the tradition. From the beginning of this cultural movement to reclaim participatory *son huasteco* and *huapango* through music festivals, female *trovadoras*—poets who compose and improvise original verses to *son huasteco*—from Pánuco have played an important role in the transmission of the art of composing and improvising original verses and *décima* poetry in the *huapango* fiesta in participatory concerts, called *encuentros huapangueros*. *El encuentro de huapangueros* is a late-night

concert, that begins after the conclusion of the official program of the *Festival de la Huasteca* that features grant recipients. Performers can sign up for an open mic, and they take turns playing on the stage. In these as well as other contexts, *las panuqueras* have performed together with male *trovadores* and *viejos huapangueros*, who are professional musicians from Pánuco, Veracruz, and in the Port of Tampico.

I argue that these women “rock the cradle of *huapango*” to contest an official history that erased the participation of women as singers, poets and even instrumental musicians in the genre. This erasure occurred through the stylization of *son huasteco* that created an academic form of the dance called “*huapango nacional*,” that in turn formed the basis for *ballet folclórico*. *Las panuqueras* informally transmit and also subvert the practices of wooing, contesting and reinforcing gender roles through *controversia*, poetic battles between men and women, to new generations of *son huasteco* musicians by selecting young and inexperienced *tríos huastecos* at the *festivales* and *encuentros* to accompany them. The *viejos huapangueros*, who are men, also do this by performing for and with inexperienced *son huasteco* musicians at the events on and off stage, in both sequential and simultaneous music, poetry and dance sharing. The *trovadoras* further “rock the cradle of *huapango*” as they claim Pánuco as the birthplace for participatory *huapango*, and de-center *academic* and *ballet folclórico*’s version of *son huasteco*, which loosens *ballet folclórico*’s stranglehold on the representation of Huastecan identity through dance. In so doing, the women reclaim participatory *son huasteco* music, dance and verse-making for the entire Huastecan region, and its

diverse people—women and men, youth and elders, *mestizo*, indigenous, and *afro-mestizos* peoples.

Based on performances that were observed in multi-site research in Pánuco and Tampico, and oral histories collected in the time period covering 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009 and 2011-12, and at the trans-local *encuentro huapanguero* music festival and fiesta scene, this chapter will show the importance of women *trovadoras* in *huapango*, and their agency in the *huapanguero* trans-local *huasteco* cool music festival scene, by excavating their history, and demonstrating the circumscription of women's roles in music through musical nationalism and patriarchy. It will also show how, through their roles as transmitters of tradition, women maintain a rich participatory *mestizo* Huastecan tradition where courtship, gender roles and power are negotiated through song, poetry and dance, by both men and women. The chapter will show how gender roles are upturned through composition of poetic verses, following the *son huasteco copla* tradition, by powerful female *trovadoras*. It will provide a brief description of women's and men's participation as *trovadores* at family fiestas in Pánuco, as a continuation of a long history of communal participatory performance in *huapango* to the sounds of a hired *trío huasteco*. It will show how gender and power can be negotiated in *huapango* between men and women through the Pánuco *trovadoras'* choice to perform *controversias*, poetic battles between men and women. Importantly, women chose to perform with young musicians from outside of Pánuco, and through this practice, they ensure that *son huasteco* continues to be played in many locations.

Erasing Women Trovadoras and Musicians

The earliest study of *son huasteco* written in the United States was *The Son Huasteco: A Historical, Social and Analytical Study of a Mexican Regional Folk Genre*, by Lawrence Saunders, 1976. It used information provided by Raul Pazzí, and a recording that he produced of a woman, Ema Maza del Ángel, singing with the group *Los Cantores de Pánuco*. However, Saunders completely turned a deaf ear to the voice of the woman who gave the recording its signature sound in 1962. In the mid-1970s, after the transformation of *huapango* engineered by Raul Pazzí had reached its zenith, as a master's student at UCLA, Lawrence Saunders wrote—through a lens colored by US patriarchy towards women of his own culture and towards other cultures— it is a “break with tradition” to have “a woman sing in the *sones*” (1976:10). Saunders based his conclusions on the testimony of male dancers, such as Raul Pazzí, who was not a musician or *trovador*, but who was a key figure in the academization of *son huasteco* dance, and the invention of a *mestizo* folklore associated with this academic tradition. He also interviewed Rolando Hernández Reyes and Artemio Posadas, who were not from the Pánuco, Veracruz-Tampico region, but were from other sub-regions of the Huasteca. They were based in Mexico City and San José, California, respectively, when Saunders interviewed them. Saunders wrote:

Only men are musicians in the *son* tradition. Some *mestizo* traditions such as the *canción ranchera* or the *corrido* in the Jalisco area allow for the participation of women in the role of vocal soloist. Most *mestizo* forms, including the *son*, are only performed by men. The presence of a female vocal singer in some of the *sones* on the recordings used for this study represents a break in the tradition (Saunders 1976: 25).

Saunders went on to state that women are typically only the dancers and the muses for men's verses of love. Drawing exclusively on the first high-fidelity LP record of a single group, playing *son huasteco*, Saunders made extensive reference to *coplas* (verses) for his analysis, perhaps unaware that Ema Maza del Ángel not only sang and inspired these words, but she was the mastermind who selected the musicians to accompany her on the album and wrote these and many other *coplas* for *son huasteco* (Interview Ema Maza del Ángel August 2, 2004). Saunders interpreted this *copla* as one of sadness, powerlessness and resignation to a lost love (1976: 10):

Ni con la ausencia se olvida
 las horas que se han gozado.
 Lo digo aunque sea mentira
 lo juro aunque sea pecado:
 que si hay pena en la vida
 es recordar lo pasado.

Not even with distance
 are the hours enjoyed forgotten.
 I say it even if it is a lie
 I swear it even if it is a sin
 that if there is suffering in life
 it is remembering the past.

(*Copla* Ema Maza del Ángel; translation: Kim Carter Muñoz)

But, the reality is more complex. If one views the context of this *copla*, it was authored by a clever young woman in the 1960s, who coyly negotiated sexuality and decency in a poetic tradition inherited from Spanish courtly verse under the watchful eyes of her Catholic parents, cousins, sisters and other young women who were rivals for the attentions of the same men at these parties. This verse could also be an example of words that could be used to remind a friend, potential romantic interest, or even consummated lover that of the hours she enjoyed with him. She is ambiguous in her statement where she says, "even if it is a lie and I swear even if is a sin," because the last lines suggest either that she is suffering for remembering the past, or that she is lying and saying that the relationship is in the past. Thus, while

the listener can hear this as a lament, or feigning a lament of a lost love for the benefit of the listeners at a party, the personae of the *copla* evokes the memory of shared passion, or even sin, in the ears of her lover at the party.

The story behind the woman, Ema Maza, and the male singer on this recording is hinted at, occasionally, when the people on these recordings reunite, and this hint of romantic relationships indexes the necessity of women's participation in these parties as dancers, inspirations of the verses, and occasionally, as musicians and *trovadora*, poetess-singers. Women's roles as musicians and *trovadoras*, however, have often been met with disapproval and jealousy by parents, community members, and even other women and young girls (Interview María Antonieta Váldez Flores and Natalia Váldez Flores August 8, 2007; Interview Ema Maza del Angel and Esperanza Zumaya del Ángel August 2, 2004).

The romantic aspect of this tradition and music, the dialogue between men and women, as well as women's agency when they dare to sing, it is hinted at in a video filmed during *El XI Festival de la Huasteca*, in Pánuco, Veracruz, when artists in attendance at the festival surprised Ema Maza at her house with a serenade, Ricardo "El Mapache," the younger brother of "El Aguila Negro" Everardo Ramirez Ochoa, the singer who answered Ema Maza's verses on this recording, improvised verses gently teasing Ema Maza as several musicians, promoters and scholars attending the festival gathered outside of her house. The *coplas* mentioned the recording and made allusions that Ema Maza might have nearly married Ricardo's older brother (Nicolas Tempache Cardenas video of the *XI Festival de la Huasteca* in Pánuco, 2005).



Figure 27: Album Cover of *Huapangos Huastecos* con Los Cantores de [and Ema Maza] on vocals with A Drawing of the Costume for the Huasteca Designed by Raul Pazzí, 1962 Cisne(Digital Image Courtesy of Soraima Galindo Linares).



Figure 28: Ema Maza del Ángel with El Sol Poniente Prize Awarded By El Patronato Pro Huapango at La Fiesta Anual de Huapango, Amatlán (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz, August 2, 2004)

The Invention and Political uses of a National Huapango from Pánuco

During the 1940s-1960's, the area around Pánuco went through a profound change due to the rise and nationalization of the oil industry. Pánuco, Veracruz and Tampico, Tamaulipas became strongly linked economically. *Son huasteco* musicians from all over the Huasteca who wanted to become professional *trío* musicians moved out of their communities to Tampico to sustain themselves at bohemian *café*s, *cantinas*, and social clubs such as *El Casino Tampiqueño*. An elite political class rose through the ranks. This occurred as a result of the increased wealth afforded by the oil industry (including the rising value of land that contained oil deposits underneath it), as well as the shipping, fishing and ranching industries. A folkloric association was established in the Pánuco-Tampico area, led by Raul Pazzí, who became its president. Many of the people involved in this organization were also elected to serve in public office. Pazzí served as the *Presidente Municipal* of Pánuco during the 1970s (Lira Lozano 2005).

The history of the nationalization of *son huasteco* is well documented in a permanent exhibit in Pánuco at *La Casa de Cultura*. In his role as president of the folklore association, Raul Pazzí began staging folklore with typical costumes drawn from the entire Mexican nation, along with beauty pageants to select queens for regional fairs based in Pánuco and at social events in *El Casino Tampiqueño*. At first, the association did not have a costume for the Huasteca region, and many of the beauty queens in Pánuco wore costumes, such as the costume from Pinotepa, Oaxaca, or the *China Poblana*, for the staging of the nation's folklore.

Because the Huasteca region was so large and diverse, covering portions of six states and containing five ethnolinguistic groups, besides Spanish-speaking *mestizos*, there was no single costume for the Huasteca region, as there was for several other parts of Mexico. In 1961, after touring internationally *with El Ballet Folclórico Nacional de Amalia Hernández*, as the Huasteca's dancer, and as a representative from the State of Veracruz to Cuba along with a contingency of *son jarocho* musicians and dancers, Raul Pazzí helped to design an official costume.

During the early 1960s, Pazzí negotiated deals, promoting Huastecan identity as part of Mexican national identity; for example, the album that Ema Maza and *Los Cantores de Pánuco* recorded reached national prominence in the early 1960s. He recommended that *Los Cantores de Pánuco* appear in the Mexican Cinema in 1975. They appeared in a cameo in the movie *Simón Blanco*, the story of a revolutionary hero in Guerrero. While these cameos promoted *Los Cantores de Pánuco*, and made Huastecan culture a part of Mexico's imaginary, it erased regional culture distinctions, and created inaccuracies around tradition. The most enduring creation of Raul Pazzí was an academic form of dancing *huapango* and a costume, that has gone on to become a part of the national imaginary of Mexico in regional groups such as Conjunto Típico Tamaulipeco and in the *Ballet Folklórico Nacional*.

Raul Pazzí promoted Huastecan regional culture through fixed dance steps, as well as through the creation of a Huasteca regional costume made to represent all of the Huasteca. He also brokered the participation of *son huasteco* musicians in the Mexican cinema and for international tours. However, through this codification, important elements were all pushed to the background: dance steps that people

used in participatory *huapango*, the musicians, *trovadores* and women singers. The spectacular choreography of large groups of dancers on the folkloric stage and in *conursos de baile*, was foregrounded. The academic representations of traditional *son huasteco* went on to define the roles of women as that of only dancer and the inspiration of verses, even though this was not the way that families from Pánuco and professional musicians from the area remembered it. I will turn to their oral histories briefly, along with some secondary sources of scholarship on early Latin American music that mention the predecessors of *huapango*, and I will also refer to early performances that include women in the Pánuco-Tampico region of the Huasteca.



Figure 29: Raul Pazzi and Rosita Chirinos Dancing Debuting the Costume of Pánuco, Veracruz in 1961 (Photo taken from the exhibit in *La Casa de Cultura*, Pánuco, Veracruz).

Excavating Women's Rich History

When I initially became interested in *son huasteco*, most people who I asked denied the presence of women as musicians and *trovadores* in *huapango*. These people included cultural administrators, anthropologists, and even some other *son huasteco* musicians. There are few recordings and few photographs of these female instrumental musicians.

Jazz historian Sherrie Tucker notes a similar phenomenon with instrumental jazz musicians and all-girl jazz bands, particularly when examining the swing era (2000). Borrowing from black jazz historians' methodology, Tucker tilts the time frame of the swing era. While black jazz historians tilted the time frame to an earlier one than the 1930s, to locate black jazz musicians' histories, Tucker tilted the time frame to the middle of World War II, in order to uncover a rich history of all-girl jazz bands. Similarly, if the time frame of the birth of *huapango* is focused on the 1940s-1960s, one finds that mostly men were professional musicians, only a few women were *trovadoras*, and women rose to prominence as dance champions of *huapango*. However, if the time frame is tilted slightly earlier, a history of women in varied roles in the Pánuco and Tampico is revealed, where women are not only dancers, but *trovadoras* and professional instrumental musicians who worked in *cantinas* in the Port of Tampico and played for the community celebrations in the close-by ranches between Tampico and Pánuco.

This section will recover early accounts of women *huapango* musicians in the colonial period through the work of music historians, and then will recount more recent female musicians who were active before the 1940s and after the 1960s,

through oral histories. While people not from the Pánuco region denied the presence of women before the most recent educational programs, Pánuco *huapanguero* families and professional musicians who came to Tampico to work in the *cantinas* remember these histories.

Some of the earliest accounts of music and dance in the Americas show women in the roles of singers, dancers and instrumental musicians in the area around Tampico and Pánuco. As the area is a port region with some of the earliest Spanish and African settlers in the Americas, it should come as no so surprise that music would emerge in this area that combined these cultures. Women's participation in music, dance and song in ports where travelers, the military and sailors arrived is supported by historical documents that survive from this period, and were produced by travelers' accounts and denouncements from the Inquisition in Mexico.

In the 17th century, one of the first documents to mention music in the Americas states that King Felipe of Spain was invited to a celebration in the port of Tampico, where a dance called la *chacóna*, which featured stringed instruments and *zapateado* dance. This dance, and its associated rhythm, is cited as a combination of African and Spanish elements that are common in the coastal regions where Spanish and Africans first arrived and settled. It became one of the first global dance music rhythms that was incorporated into early European baroque music (Chasteen 2004; McClary 2007). Travelers' accounts from the 18th century tell of women who played harp in the port of Tampico and sang in a high falsetto (Chasteen 2007). This area was the port of entry for ships, and had professional musicians, including

women, for the entertainment of sailors. As early as the 18th century, travelers' accounts report that in Pánuco, women sang and danced on wooden platforms to the accompaniment of violin and guitar.

The History of Professional Women Son Huasteco Instrumentalists

Men who are musicians in the Huasteca region acknowledge historical *trovadoras* and singers, such as Ema Maza del Ángel, Rosita del Ángel, Violeta Herbert, and even singer/instrumentalists, who were integrated into *tríos* as full-fledged members; namely, Ambrosia Reyes and Tomasita del Ángel, who played on the radio, in parties and in other events. Some *trío huasteco* musicians also provided their own observations, that there were girls and women from the Huasteca region, and, more recently from Mexico City, who either sang or performed in their *tríos*. They then proceeded to sing the women performers' favorite verses. For example, one musician, Bernabe Calderón, told me that when he was a young boy (in the early 1950s), he witnessed at least one woman who played *jarana* and sang in a co-ed *trío* in a bar in Tampico, and who sang quite well. Calderón also revealed that he was jealous because his father, who was also a musician, gave the good *jarana* to his sister (Interview Bernabe Calderón August 6, 2007, Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas).

According to oral histories gathered by Juan Jesús Aguilar León from musicians in Tampico between 1956 and 1957, a live program featured *El Trío Panuquense*, with Inocencio Zavala (El Treinta Meses) on violin, Juan Delgado Ramirez on *quinta huapanguera* and Tomasita del Ángel on *jarana*. Tomasita del

Ángel was recognized for her mastery of the *jarana* and for a sensual voice. She played in a *trío* with Lorenzo Galindo and Galindo's son. Tomasita del Ángel's *trío* was hired by Don Patricio Chirinos, who fell in love with her, married her, and then Chirinos prohibited Tomasita from singing in public. But, Don Patricio became sick and lost his property. So with the pretext of her husband's sickness and in his name, she returned to *huapango*, and played *música huasteca* to support Don Patricio and herself (Aguilar León 2000: 282; Interview Roberto Váldez August 2, 2007).

The mother of María Antonieta and Natalia Váldez, Doña Francisca Flores Aradillas, corroborates approximate dates of Tomasita del Ángel's performing career, since she played at Doña Francisca's wedding in 1932. At the wedding, Doña Francisca guessed that in 1932, Tomasita del Ángel was not a young woman, but she must have been somewhere between 30-40 years old (Francisca Flores Aradillas del Váldez August 2, 2007).

Ambrosia Reyes, known as "La Bochita," was one of the greatest players of the *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera* (see the woman with the dress that has strategically placed oil towers in Figure 33). She came from a *huapanguero* family, and she learned music growing up. She was a *trovadora*, and knew very old verses, and it was said that she had better rhythm than most men. Juan Jesús Aguilar says that one morning, working in the bar "El Comercio" in Tampico, with Celestino Reyes, Ceferino Galindo and David Camacho, after playing the *son* "La Pasión," Ambrosia Reyes had a terrible headache. She told Camacho that she didn't feel well. She sat down at a table that opened up to Calle Aduana, leaned onto her *jarana* for support, and right there, death came to her (Aguilar León 2000: 282). Ambrosia

Reyes was captured on an LP recording of the *Primer Concurso Nacional de Huapango* in Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas in 1958, on which she sang “*La Rosa*” (see Figure 30).

These are just a few of the women who have performed *son huasteco* as singer/instrumentalists and poetess/singers. The tendency to erase these women along with others like them, because of concerns about decency, or because their participation was limited during the early years of marriage, or because they were not professional musicians, has contributed to their invisibility. While it is impossible to return to that time and interview many of these women about their activities and performances in *huapango*, in the present, three *trovadoras* from Pánuco actively perform in *encuentros huapangueros*: María Antonieta, Natalia Váldez and Esperanza Zumaya. The next section will show how they contest gender and negotiate power with men who are professional musicians, to gain a space on the stage at *encuentros huapangueros*.



Figure 30: Album Sleeve of the Primer Concurso de *Huapango* in Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas 1958 Ambrosia Reyes 'La Bochita' played *quinta huapanguera* and sang "La Rosa," note Reyes is in the modern dress featuring oil towers (Image: Courtesy of Maestro Juan Castro López, *El Conjunto Típico Tamaulipeco*, and Laura Ahumada, Radio Announcer).

Tamazunchale: Lugar Donde la Mujer Mande, 'Place Where the Woman Would Rule'

The first *Festival de la Huasteca* that I attended was held in Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí (see Figure 9). As a host community for a trans-local traveling festival that promoted the development of Huastecan regional music, and helped to create a traditional music, poetry and dance, *Huasteco-cool* scene, Tamazunchale is a community in which more than 50% of the population speaks an indigenous language called Náhuatl, a language that I would learn in 2007. However, at the seventh edition of the festival, *El Séptimo Festival de la Huasteca*, I would meet an important *trovador*-musician and *trovadora* from Pánuco. Pánuco became one of the first settlements where people designated themselves as *criollo*, Spanish-born in America, and *mestizo*, even as far back as the mid-16th Century, but not as indigenous. In this area, not even 40 years after the Spanish arrived in Pánuco, the governor had sold all of the indigenous *huastecos (ténec)* from the area, to work as slaves in the Antilles, in exchange for cattle to pay Spanish *encomiaderos* to settle the area and convert indigenous people to Catholicism. The area began to form its own music and dance early on, through the mixture of Spanish and Africans socially at dances.

Only weeks before this festival, on August 7th, 2002, Pánuco, Veracruz, was officially declared by the *Consejo Nacional de las Culturas y los Artes*, (CONACULTA), as “*La Cuna del Huapango*”, the “Cradle of *Huapango*,” as part of its history. This designation grew out of the efforts of a movement within the different state secretariats and institutions of culture and arts, to revalorize *huapango*

holistically within the dance, music and poetry as a unified expressive genre. Previous efforts funded by the government's educational institutions to support *son huasteco* and *huapango*, had focused on dance. As I had outlined in previous chapters, this movement grew into the *Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca*, which was originally based in San Luis Potosí, but was later moved to Mexico City in 2001, during the change of the government from the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* to the *Partido de Acción Nacional*. As part of its activities, the consortium supported researchers who wrote books documenting *son huasteco*'s present state as well as its history. It also funded educational workshops and didactic publications to promote youth's participation in learning how to play the musical instruments, dance, and write the verses that make up this genre.

Although many of the agents with the events sponsored by the PDCH do not consider academic *huapango* authentic, and dislike its emphasis on spectacle over participation, the status of Pánuco as the birthplace of *Huapango*'s reformation into a dance style featured in academic dance and *ballet folclórico* by dance master Raul Pazzí, also influenced CONACULTA in making this designation official. Pánuco is one of the oldest Spanish settlements established in Mexico before the middle of the 16th Century. Pánuco was the arrival point for many Spanish and African slaves, and became an important center for *son huasteco* and *huapango*; in fact, before this official designation it was already cited as the birthplace of *huapango*.

El Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca, and affiliated scholars, radio hosts, journalists, teachers and musicians, were all featured in *El Festival de la*

Huasteca, because the official program featured research, recording and other projects that were funded by grants sponsored by the *Consejo Nacional de Culturas y Artes* (CONACULTA). These projects emphasized supporting aspects of *son huasteco* that had been left out of earlier types of folklorization, which tended to focus more on stereotyped costumes and set dance steps. The histories of *trovadores*, musicians, ethnolinguistic groups and women were an important part of this project, as were teaching the arts of playing instruments and learning to compose and improvise verses

A day after arriving at Tamazunchale, on the first day of the *Festival*, I examined the official program of the *Seventh Edition of the Festival de la Huasteca*, I was excited to learn that the legendary Don Artemio Villeda Marín, the *trovador*, poet, lyric improviser, and *jarana* player behind *Trío Camalote*, would be there. He was one of the first *trío huasteco* musicians to travel the world accompanying Raul Pazzí, in the 1950s, when he was selected to represent Veracruz to Cuba to perform for Fidel Castro, because of his skill as a verse improviser. Don Artemio Villeda would be presenting a book of his verses and an oral history of his life that had been compiled and published with funds from *El Programa de Apoyo a las Culturas Municipales y Comunitarias* (PACMyC), CONACULTA, and *El Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes* (FONCA) at the Festival.

The first night's *Encuentro de Huapangueros* featured six *tríos huastecos* from each state containing portions that comprise the Huasteca region, and an invited group from *La Sierra Gorda, Dr. Chessaní y Sus Huapangueros*. *La Sierra Gorda* is a neighboring region, and has a related style of *son*, also in San Luis Potosí, (See

Muñoz 2006; Chávez 2010). Prophetically, although in the moment I did not see it coming, in the concert, the *trovador* Elias Naïf Chessaní, sang a series of *décimas*, ten line verses with that all ended with a line dedicated to the host city. Tamazunchale's name in *Huasteco*, Tének, means 'place where the woman rules' (some say this refers to a time before the Spanish conquest).

As I cradled my sleeping young son in my arms, a group of locals—sweet, grandmotherly types who were new to my acquaintance – began wiping my son's sweat off of his forehead and onto his eyebrows, and in 103-degree weather no less. As that was going on, I was aware of each *décima* ending with the line, "*Lugar donde la mujer mande*"—'Place where the woman shall rule.' As the concert ended, it featured a tribute to Socorro Perea, then 80 years old. She was a teacher-folklorist-musician who collected *son arribeño trovos*, poetry, and made a book and recording in the early 1980s. Socorro Perea took the stage to perform an entire set: *poesía*, *valona* and *son* for the finale, which ended the official program.

Then, the participatory portion of the concert began, which featured people who were not listed on the event's official program, but who had signed up for their turn on the stage. The announcement came.

<p>Representando la huasteca veracruzana, y Pánuco, la Cuna del Huapango, una mujer nombrada, el Falsete de la Huasteca, Esperanza Zumaya del Ángel.</p>	<p>Representing the Veracruzán Huasteca and Pánuco, the Cradle of <i>Huapango</i>, a woman called, the Falsetto of the Huasteca. Esperanza Zumaya del Ángel.</p>
--	--

Expecting to see another small elderly woman like Socorro Perea, my eyes turned and saw a large, well-groomed, strong woman who was almost 50 years old, with a short pixie haircut, dark cat's-eye sunglasses, thin eyebrows, red lipstick,

high-heeled sandals, and wearing a brightly embroidered white cotton traditional dress. The announcer did not bother to change the masculine title of “*El Falsete*,” to the feminine, “*La Falsete*,” even though Esperanza Zumaya del Ángel was obviously a woman (see Figure 34).



Figure 31: Esperanza Zumaya (in the middle) with Soraima Galindo Linares and Santiago Fajardo Hernández (left and right) (Photo: Kim Carter Muñoz August 23, 2008).

Esperanza was still negotiating which *sones* she would play from off-stage, towering over one of the musicians, who was much shorter than her, and looking up at another musician who was on-stage, one hand on her hip, smiling, elbow jutting out, and holding a microphone. As she climbed onto the stage, she took a drink from a cup. I pressed “record” on the video camera. I readied myself to greet her after the

concert, because I had heard one of her verses on a recording *El Caiman* (Corason™ C0109).

To understand the power dynamics at play in the performance, one must understand that in *son huasteco*, the singer of a verse, called a *copla*, is echoed by another singer for the first two lines, in a sort of call-and-response. Occasionally, the performance might also include members of the community who are skilled at writing and improvising these verses and other poetry. These individuals are called *trovadores*. Sometimes, many people from the community improvise lyrics, and set up a competition to see who can make the best verses to the *son*. They sing until one *trovador* runs out of verses. If it is a *controversia*, a poetic battle, then the poets try to insult each other, or win through superior logic and poetic skill. In festivals, when *trovadores* get on stage with a *trío*, one of the members of the *trío* echoes them if another *trovador* does not take the stage. In a *huapango fiesta*, a participatory party for *son huasteco* with *zapateado* dance, music and poetry, people sing poetry of their own composition, improvisation, or selection, from traditional verses that are already made, almost like an original and organic karaoke. Each *son huasteco* has associated themes that can be linked to their name. For example, a *son* like “*La Azucena*,” the Lily, is often used to speak of the unrivaled beauty and nobility of women, extolling their charms, and calling attention to their color: white, *blanca*, light, *güera*, black, *negra*, or the most popular color in this *son*, for its rhyme and resonance with the majority of the population in the Huasteca, dark, *morena*.

As Esperanza sang some verses, I noticed that although she sang well, sometimes the musicians who answered her back were uncomfortable with

repeating her words. Although it was subtle, unspoken social dynamics, those encompassing power, aggression, sexuality, mastery of language, the stage, and tradition, were being negotiated between Esperanza and these young male musicians. These musicians were not from her hometown, and although they were spectacular singers and instrumentalists, they were not her equals in the improvisation of verse.

The musicians' discomfort was heightened after Esperanza insisted on her selection of "*El Gallo*," The Rooster, for one of the three *sones* that she would perform with the group on stage. In this *son*, the rooster symbolizes male virility and sexuality. Musical prowess and masculinity are also expressed through the use of a strong crystalline falsetto. Esperanza had already shown that she could sing a clearer falsetto than the other musicians, in the *sones* that she had performed before *El Gallo*. The violin began the introduction with phrases associated with the melody of the *son*, and then Esperanza began to sing *coplas* of her composition, as well as traditional ones. The first *copla* was standard, but the anxiety of the musicians became heightened as she sang the following *copla*. While the musicians did not know what she would sing, they seemed to register the feeling that it could be dangerous for a woman such as her to sing about a rooster. When she reached the third line, she soared up softly to a high D at the word "*cuando*" or 'when.'

Esperanza Zumaya:

El gallo que nace fino
Cuando sacuda canta
Cuando sacuda canta
El gallo que nace fino

The rooster who is born fine
 When he shakes he sings
 When he shakes he sings
 The rooster who is born fine

Musician:

El gallo que nace fino
 Cuando sacuda canta
 Cu [falla la voz]ando sacuda canta
 El gallo que nace fino

The rooster who is born fine
 When he shakes he sings
 Whe[voice cracks]n he shakes he sings
 The rooster who is born fine.

(*Copla* Esperanza Zumaya del Ángel; transcription and translation Kim Carter Muñoz)

The musician who answered her, also playing *jarana*, could not make the high D ring on the third line. His voice cracked, so he returned to the lower A. While the other musicians looked amused, he tried to remain poised after his voice cracked.

While in many *sones*, a singer may leave out the high note, in this particular *son*, it was unusual for a singer's voice to crack at the top note. The key of the *son*, D minor, is not very high, and the high octave note, occasionally sung in falsetto, is within the easy vocal range of most male *son huasteco* musicians. The high note in "*El Gallo*" is generally within the range of male musicians whose voices are past their prime, who have lower vocal ranges, or even singers whose voices are just tired.

Nerves, a tired voice, or the discomfort of answering Esperanza Zumaya, did not matter at that moment; however, several meanings coalesced to insult this musician. In the last four lines, through double meaning and allusion, Esperanza rather unambiguously implied that this young man, whose voice cracked, was not man enough to sing or perform, in music or otherwise, and showed him to be her lesser in vocals and poetry.

Esperanza Zumaya:
 Pero el que nace collón
 Cualquier gallina espanta
 En la mejor ocasión
 Se le espume la gargata.

But the one who is born cowardly
 Any hen scares him
 On his most important time
 his throat foams up.

Clearly, this hen out-sang the rooster on stage and yet he had to continue repeating her words for the whole performance. Each time he repeated the words, Esperanza set him up for a critique of men, with words that might have been innocuous coming from any other singer, before she went in for the jab with the last four lines. He was forced to continue playing, even as the violinist and *quinta* player could not contain their chuckles because of her lyrics, and because his voice had cracked at the most inopportune moment.

Over the course of several more *coplas*, Esperanza established her dominance in the art of creating verses and singing, over the other musicians. Each time she sang, the young musicians, who were skilled interpreters of *son huasteco* accustomed to singing from the masculine self to a feminine “you”(as lovers), or a masculine “you” (as rivals), were forced to contemplate what type of message, or poetic trap, Esperanza might have been setting up as they answered her first two lines. As I cradled my child in my arms and recorded the concert, a male audience member told me that they loved to hear Esperanza sing her verses, because she always stuck it to the men.

.

El Gallo (the rooster)

copla: Esperanza Zumaya del Angel

transcription: Kim Carter Muñoz

$\text{♩} = 120$

Esperanza: El ga llo que na ce fi no cuan do sa cu da
(falsetto)

can ta Cu a do sa cu da can ta el ga llo que na ce fi no Male
singer: El
(male singer tries D falsetto,
but sings lower A after his voice
cracks on high D)

ga llo que na ce fi no cuan do sa cu da can ta cu an do sa cu da

can ta el ga llo que na ce fi no Esperanza: pe ro el que na ce co yón
(falsetto)

cual quier ga lli na loes panta en la me jor o ca si

ón se lees - pu me la gar gan ta.

transcription Kim Carter Muñoz 2013

Figure 32: Transcription of Performance of El Gallo (The Rooster) Eperanza Zumaya del Ángel's Performance and the musician's adjustment in order to sing without falsetto

This performance, and its reception, helped me to understand that even a love verse, however innocent, directed towards the usual feminine “you,” could be fraught with danger if the man was unsure of himself, or if he had his mind focused on sex and sexuality, especially if the verse were being sung by this woman. The musician continued to hesitate when he had to answer her back. The lines from the next verse are written out in short form, without the repetitions:

Quisiera en tus ojos verme	I would like to see myself in your eyes
en tu mirada pasearme	and in your eyes wander
en tus cejas esconderme	in your brows hide myself
en tus brazos arrullarme	in your arms be cradled and rocked
como aquel niño que duerme.	like that child who is sleeping.

(*Copla* sang by Esperanza Zumaya del Ángel; transcription and translation Kim Carter Muñoz)

After Esperanza had sung the verse, another audience member who was in conversation with me and the other people around me looked at me and my child cradled in my arms, and remarked, “¿Sabes?, a ella le gusta las mujeres.” ‘Did you know? She likes women.’ There were many other women besides me, and some men as well, holding sleeping babies. Even my child was passed around and held in the arms of several different women at the concert.

I experienced a moment here, which I had experienced many other times later on, and other listeners in the audience also experience, but usually when listening to male singers. A moment when through the comments and the reactions of the other listeners, it seems as if the verses might be directed towards you. In this case, it was one of Esperanza’s verses that she had sung on her recordings, and also at many events. Another fan added, ignoring the comment in an important move,

which was clearly the fan's attempt to ignore the previous comment, by disagreeing that the verse was directed at me, and instead trying to focus on what was more important. "*Son solamente versos. Para mí ella es la mejor de las mujeres de Pánuco, para hacer versos.*" "They are only verses. In my opinion, she is the best woman from Pánuco at making verses.'

Women musicians often become the source of discomfort through the cognitive dissonance that their presence causes in musical settings. On the subject of African-American jazz and blues, both Hazel B. Carby and Sherrie Tucker write about early African-American women jazz musicians and singers, and how their sexuality, and femininity, become sources of insecurity, surveillance and policing. Scholars, record producers, and even audiences feel the need to speculate on and define their sexuality and femininity (Carby 1998; Tucker 2000). In all of the liner notes of Corason™ Discos compilations of *son huasteco*, the writers of the liner-notes also engage in defining and maligning Zumaya, and other women performers from Pánuco, although it is based in unexamined internalized attitudes that are common about women musicians, even by women researchers such as myself (Corason™ COB601, CO103, CO109).

Writers imply that women need to drink to go onstage, or that the women change the words and sing their love verses to men; however, in most cases the verses captured on the recordings and sung in person are not gender-specific and do not have a gendered, *tú*. I was not interested in whether or not she sang the verse to another woman. What interested me was that the moment made me aware of the discomfort that some audiences have with age and sexuality, as well as the

representational violence that we as writers, record producers, and scholars can inflict on performers' identities. In this performance, Esperanza Zumaya's beautiful verse was gender-neutral verse, sung neither to a man, nor a woman. It was the audience members' own discomfort with her on the stage, and her as a striking, larger, and older woman, which caused him to want to define the sex, sexuality, and gender of the person who was the inspiration of her verse and what it all meant.

After Esperanza's performance, I met her at the door of the *Palacio Municipal*. I bought her CD, which she signed and dedicated to me and my family. In a moment that would come to define much of my research methodology that followed with her and other performers, she invited me to visit her in Pánuco, Veracruz. She mentioned that it was lucky that I had come to this festival, because Don Artemio Villeda would be present at the presentation of a book of his verses published by the PDCH. She had given Don Artemio Villeda a ride from Pánuco to the Festival in her car.

I asked Esperanza if she was one of the first women to sing in *son huasteco*, and she said, "No.." There were many other women who sang *son huasteco*, including, cousins of various degrees on her mother's side of the family, such as, Ema Maza del Ángel, Tomasita del Ángel and Rosita del Ángel, along with her cousins from her father's side, Natalia Váldez Flores, also featured on *La Antología del Son Mexicano*, and María Antonieta Váldez Flores. However, what stood out to me at the moment, in contrast with *son huasteco* musicians from outside of the Huasteca, in Mexico City, or administrators who had a vested interest in the success of the development program and model, was how within the Huasteca there was a

general acceptance that there were both historic and living women who participated as *trovadoras*, and even as working musicians. Roles that scholars denied existed for women. None of these musicians from the Huasteca felt that it was necessary to define the sex, sexuality, body size, or age, . Esperanza Zumaya and Artemio Villeda promised to help me learn more about *son huasteco*, *huapango* and the role of women within this musical system. Later I would attend several parties, wakes and events in Pánuco at Esperanza Zumaya's and Natalia and María Antonieta Váldez's invitation.

In the following section, I will turn to the local performance context of family parties that include *huapango* to understand the participatory tradition of verse composition, improvisation and singing in Pánuco. In Pánuco many people contract specialists within the community who are skilled instrumentalists to play the instruments of *trío huasteco*, and sing when no one has verses ready, or hire professional musicians for this role in a patron-client relationship. A significant portion of people that attend these parties take their turns singing verses and reciting poetry, from small children to the elderly. The performance practices in these parties form the basis of much of what the elder musicians, *trovadoras* and *trovadores* , transmit at the *encuentros huapangueros* in informal moments, where people play and dance participatory *huapango*.

Family Fiesta Huapangueada in Pánuco, Veracruz

Son contains lyrics on diverse subjects, ranging from romantic petitions and repartee between the sexes, to social commentary and political satire. *Son huasteco*

has been important for some constructions of Mexican national identity through music and dance, and is a potent identity symbol for individuals from the Huasteca region. It is the life blood of many parties alongside popular music of the moment, such as rock, *norteño*, *reggaeton* and *pasito duranguense*, or it may push all of these other styles out of the sonic space of the party, because even the youth in some families prefer *son huasteco* and the *trío huasteco* over any other style of music.

By the time I attended my first family *fiesta* in Pánuco, Veracruz, at the invitation of Esperanza Zumaya, I had already learned how to play *jarana huasteca*. This limited the amount of photography that I was able to collect as part of my participant observation in the early stages of my research, because I was placed into role of honored guest/novelty act, where the *trovadores* and musicians asked me to perform with them for extended periods on the *jarana huasteca*. In 2004, 2007 and 2010, I was able to attend birthday parties, have a *huapangueada* held in my honor, commemorate the sad occasion of the anniversary of the death of renowned *trovador* and member of *Trío Camalote*, Artemio Villeda and attend the funeral of Genaro Martínez, violinist of *Trío Camalote*. On each of these occasions, community members participated as singers gathered around the musicians.

People contacted and made arrangements with *viejos huapangueros*, who were professional musicians either based in Pánuco, Veracruz, such as *Trío Regionales de Pánuco*, or musicians from Pánuco, who had relocated to Tampico to be closer to more work, such as *Los Caporales de Pánuco*. During research trips in 2007, 2008, 2010 and 2011, I observed that many of these musicians waited for work close to the gastronomic market in Tampico, which became a historic area for musicians to

wait for work since the oil industry's boom in Tampico. Usually, one musician spends time outside, in his uniform, waiting for prospective clients, while his *trío* companions wait inside a *cantina*, where they keep their instruments. They contact each other when they are hired spontaneously, and to schedule formal gigs from this location. Clients also hire them to play *sones huastecos* by the piece in *cantinas*, restaurants or the market, while the patron dances and sings their *coplas* over the top of the music. It is from this location that many musicians are also hired to sing and play *trío huasteco* music at parties, and where they network with each other.

In the area around Pánuco musicians are contracted so that the entire group of people gathered around the musicians can sing their cherished *coplas* for *son huasteco*, like karaoke, or improvise original *coplas* to songs, that court, romance, praise or make barbs (serious or playful) at other people in attendance. The performance of *son huasteco* in Pánuco is different than in many other places, because it is the home of so many skilled verse improvisers and people with a vast knowledge of traditional verses. The musicians sing and play verses until members of the community interrupt the musicians by anticipating the beat and singing slightly off-rhythm, until their claim for their right to sing is established. The rest of the people gathered around answer in unison to the second line of the verses.

In an interview that I conducted with Natalia Váldez on August 1, 2007 after one such event, I asked Natalia why she uses the highest range she can muster when she sings *son huasteco*. Some musicians and academics have theorized that women cannot sing falsetto, but this can be argued against, because there are many examples of women at this time who sing falsetto beautifully. Natalia limits her

preferred singing to the high range of her voice, which expresses the influence of Ema Maza del Ángel and her recording with *Los Cantores de Pánuco*. She did not know, but many people present at the interview did mention that she was especially prone to playing around with the rhythm.

Natalia sings counter-rhythm. While her tendency to do this has been critiqued by several musicians, singing counter-rhythm is a style of singing that many non-instrumental musician *trovadores* (male or female) use. It may be because she has focused on improvising verse, and each skilled performer with this tendency learns to keep their voice aligned consistently with the music, but may not necessarily link it to the changes of the *rasgueos* on the guitars; . Another reason for this style, may be because *trovadores*, who are not instrumental musicians as well, must vie for the space to sing, cross-rhythm style of singing enables the *trovador*, or *trovadora*, to maintain their place to sing their verses as well. Counter-rhythm dancing is also popular in Pánuco, Veracruz. If someone is able to precede the other people at the party rhythmically, they can gain their right to sing their verses where everyone is a *trovador*, or singer, and possibly manipulate the tempo to monopolize the performance time and sing more verses than anyone else at the party.

The instrumentalists accommodate this rhythm, to varying degrees. Some *trío huasteco* musicians express discomfort at the manipulation of tempo;, others are particularly skilled at accompanying the singer's idiosyncrasies and cross-rhythm singing, and do not seem to mind. as much, because they express amusement. In a party where everyone wants to sing, this style of singing seems to be deployed in order to assert a chance to sing. If the singer lags behind in rhythm,

they can also stretch out their singing and jump in before the other singers realize they are done singing, to sing more than one verse at a time.

In this context, María Antonieta Váldez and Natalia Váldez told me to jump in to sing my verses. As people each took turns in the *fiesta*, Natalia and María Antonieta both expressed how difficult it is as women to sing the verses at certain moments, because the musicians do not always give them enough time to start singing their verses, and other *trovadores* jump in. Each of these women is skilled at gaining a forum for singing their verses in the participatory party. However, it is interesting to note the dynamics and imbalance of power between individuals in the *fiesta* in terms of who is able to sing without having to vie for a space for singing. It not only reflects the person's reputation as a singer or musician, but also the imbalance between the sexes. If the women wait to sing on the beat in this participatory *fiesta*, many times a male *trovador*, or instrumental musician will have jumped in already. As the women sing and use some of the performance time, occasionally a bad mannered individual will jump increasingly sooner in order not to cede a place to people who they do not like to allow sing their verses. In Pánuco, the women collaborate with each other, and if a man does not repeat back the two first lines of her verse, her sisters, cousins and friends will join in. While there are some people who monopolize the performance time, there are also men who cede the space to the women in a democratic, or some times a chivalrous way.

At the *fiesta* people select verses where they announce their name, they use old verses of beloved people who have passed away, and sometimes they improvise and in a mode of performance called *controversias*—battles between *trovadores*—

and these can be between men and men, women and women, or women and men. The centrality of this poetic tradition to *huapango* in Pánuco, and the participation of many people at the party at varying levels as dancers, singers and poets, cannot be overemphasized. At birthday parties, weddings and funerals, people of all ages from Pánuco families who are *huapangueros*, small children, adults and the elderly sing verses that are traditional or original composition. *Décima* poetry and *coplas* are written down for beloved friends and given as gifts. New verses that are improvised are memorized by other *trovadores*.

Elder musicians, *trovadores* and *trovadoras* all take these practices to share at the trans-local *huapanguero* scene at the *encuentros huapangueros*. These tradition-bearers are invited to participate on stage and to perform, as well as to socialize and play and sing *huapango* informally off stage. Through their invitation to the *encuentros* the events reinforce the participatory practice of *huapango* for all of the Huasteca region's communities. The *controversia*, has been placed on stage for these *encuentros huapangueros*, for its poetic content and display of *trovadores*, and also for the ways that it displays the negotiation and mockery of gender roles between men and women by *trovadoras* and *trovadores* from Pánuco.

In the next section, I will show how *controversias* have been archived by the women and men from Pánuco, as a way to document their artistic trajectory and the tradition on their independently produced CDs. It will also analyze how collaboration is also a way to teach participatory *huapango* and humor as a performance practice to new *huapangueros*. They accomplish this by selecting musicians who are at are beginning their training as musicians at these *encuentros*

to accompany their presentations of this tradition. The next section will cover this these texts, recordings and performances before analyzing the performances of gender, and transmission of playfulness and humor through this medium to new generations.

Writing and “Rocking the Cradle of *Huapango*,” and the *Controversia*

The performance mode of the *controversia* in *son huasteco*, or a battle between *trovadores*, has many versions throughout Latin America. The *topada* in *son arribeño*, a neighboring style of *huapango*, is one example. *Son jarocho trovadores* also perform their verses in battles. *Controversias* can be about local, regional, national and international politics, the news, or gossip, or they might also convey knowledge, and establish who is the master of such knowledge, in the form of riddles. They can be performed to any *son huasteco*.

In the area around Pánuco, Veracruz, in the Huasteca, many verses have for *controversias* been written and improvised for “El Cielito Lindo,” where men and women criticize each other. Several books of verse from the middle and late part of the 20th Century feature these verses, Hilario Menéndez Peña’s *Monografías y Cantares Huastecos* (1944). The book includes verses to memorize for poetic repartee between men and women. Patricia Florencia Pulido, a dance instructor and dance partner of Raul Pazzí for many years, has more than ten pages of these *coplas* for “*El Cielito Lindo*” for her history of *trovos* in the Huasteca (1994). Tomas Gómez Valdelamar features this theme for *coplas* in his book of verses sung from 1920-2000 (2000).

In Don Artemio Villeda's book of verses, *Los Tiburones Van a Comer Muchos Versos*, he wrote about a single performance, and his preparation for the performance, in which he won against Ema Maza del Ángel, who was one of the best verse composers of her generation.

Una vez pasó un detalle en Pánuco con una cantadora que se llama Rosita del Ángel que por su buena voz le dicen La Charra, y la otra que es mi comadre Ema Maza que está en el disco con los Cantores del Pánuco. Entonces mi comadre Ema tiene un verso que aplaca a cualquier cantador; ellas defendiendo a la mujer y el cantador atacando a la mujer. Entonces ella al último tiene un verso que dice:

Ema Maza con honor
defiende su ser sagrado,
no seas ingrato y traidor
por la leche has mamado
la mujer es lo mejor.

Con eso aplacan a cualquier cantador. Entonces esa vez me agarré con ella y dije, con eso me va a querer aplacar. Entonces más o menos me previne. Pero lo que más me molestaba es que Nacho Coronel, hermano de Juanito de los Cantores de Pánuco estaba mirando aquello, dije: "Aquí si me apantalla, Nacho es el jurado." Cuando ella me canto ese verso que le contesto:

Esa es la época aquella,
ahora ya no hay cariño,
por presumirnos de bella
ya no le dan pecho al niño
ahora mama una botella.

One time, something happened in Pánuco with a singer named Rosita del Ángel, who is called La Charra for her great voice, and my *comadre* Ema Maza, who is on a recording with *Los Cantores del Pánuco*. So my *comadre* Ema has a verse that defeats any male singer. Rosita and Ema defend women and a male singer attacks women. So Ema Maza, always at the end of this business, has a verse that says:

Ema Maza with honor
defends her sacred being.
Don't be an ingrate traitor.
You nursed on milk
thus woman is the better of the sexes.

With this verse she always put down any male singer. So this time, I challenged her. I said, "She is going to try to beat me with that verse." So, more or less, I prepared. But, what bothered me the most was that Nacho Coronel, the brother of Juan Coronel of *Los Cantores de Pánuco* was watching us, and when I started poetically challenging her, he said, "Here, now, I am impressed. I (Nacho) will be the jury." So when she sang that verse to me, I answered her:

This is the new era,
now there is no more love,
in order to boast of our beauty
women don't nurse their babies
anymore now the bottle nurses the baby.

y entonces ya no me contestó y le digo:

And so then she did not answer me anymore and so I said:

Yo no te vengo a ofender
y ni tampoco te riño,
pero debes comprender
que la que da pecho al niño
pues se siente más mujer
y le tiene más cariño.

I am not here to offend you
nor am I here to attack,
but you must understand
that she who nurses the child
well she feels more like a woman
and the child loves her more.

y se viene Nacho a felicitar-me, “yo aquí
tenía que oír algo bueno.”

and Nacho comes up to congratulate me
and says, “I knew I was going to hear
something good here.”

(Testimony and verses sung to *son huasteco* according to Artemio Villeda Marín, *trovador* and *jaranero* of *Trío Camalote*, for a *controversia*, between Artemio Villeda and Ema Maza del Ángel. Translated by Kim Carter Muñoz. *Cuaderno de Versería de Artemio Villeda: Los Tiburones van a comer muchos versos*. Compiled by Armando Herrera, *Programa del Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca*, 2001, p 22-23).

The book goes on to explain that Ema Maza del Ángel, could not come up with another answer to him, because she was not prepared. Then it explains the tradition of *controversias*, and provides a perspective of the story, something that was left out of the nationalization and the internationalization of *son huasteco* from the 1940s-1960s through academic dance and *ballet folclórico*.

Son huasteco has been a genre used for courtship and the negotiation of the relationships between the sexes over generations at family parties, in dances where youth find mates at community dances under the watchful eyes of parents and siblings, weddings. *Son huasteco* was also sung in brothels, and dances entertaining sailors, fishermen, oil workers and field hands away from their families on the weekends had after they had been paid. It is courtship dance music, with composed and improvised lyrics, about love, triumphs, rivalry, and politics dedicated to

courtship and humor. This particular mode of performing the controversia may have emerged in the context of courtship—*i. e.* the teaching, reinforcement and contestation of gender roles in the party and also as a way to engage in courtship through playful teasing, without engaging in any overt romantic verses that would have been unacceptable for young women to sing.

The *huapango* party in these contexts becomes a forum where both men and women are given time to perform lyrics as *trovadores*, and dance, while a skilled *trío* plays. *Son huasteco* in these sexually-charged participatory contexts of singing and dance has the uncertain potential to maintain or challenge the hierarchies between the sexes, when concerns of decency are placed aside for the moment, and even in contexts where the decency of young women and men is enforced by families.

Ellen Koskoff writes that in traditional societies, performance can maintain the established social/sexual arrangement, and “appear” to maintain the established norms, but only to protect other things that are more important. They can, protest, yet maintain, the order or threaten the established order and hierarchies between the sexes (Koskoff 1989: 10). Within the poetry and dance of *son huasteco*, since at least the 19th century in Pánuco, Veracruz and other communities, political and romantic hetero and homo social relationships are negotiated. The relationships are negotiated covertly, through charm, intelligent humor, gallantry and poetic prowess; or overtly, through romantic lyrics, humor, bawdy sexuality, double-entendre, and criticism of rivals and the opposite sex.

The *controversia* has been recorded on CDs supported by the PDCH and performed in *El Festival de la Huasteca* as a realignment of folklore on the stage with local lived traditions, however they have not been *controversias* between men and women. *Trovadora* sisters María Antonieta Váldez and Natalia Váldez placed one example of such a *controversia* on an independently released recording *Pánuco "Cuna del Huapango,"* 2007. Born in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Váldez sisters grew up during the time when *son huasteco* made its stake on the territory of the folkloric stage, and also became a best-selling genre of traditional popular music throughout Mexico. They grew up attending *huapangos* in ranches around Pánuco, and became recognized as accomplished dancers and then famous singers from Pánuco.

María Antonieta provides a humorous performance of repartee between the sexes to the *son "El Gallo"* on this recording. She sings with Don Artemio Villeda. On this recording, the verses tell the story of a fight between an ex-husband and ex-wife. While it is an old form of verse combination, it is a recent innovation to put this type of performance, once limited to community parties and now staged at festivals, on a recording. Antonieta performs the persona of a divorced woman in this song with particular relish. The Váldez sisters decided to place this piece of literary genius on their CD to allow promote one of María Antonieta's favorite style of verses, and to reflect some of types of verses that get sung at the best *huapangos*, even if they do not usually make it onto recordings.

Artemio Villeda:

Presumes que eres muy hermosa
Que eres muy guapa mujer

You show off you are beautiful
That you are good-looking

No me sirves para esposa
 No me supiste querer
 Aparte de ser celosa
 No me dabas de comer.

You are no good as a wife
 You didn't know how to love me
 And besides being jealous
 You never cooked for me.

María Antonieta:

Allí si estás equivocado
 Tratando mas de ofender
 Tu eres un desordinado
 No cumples con tu deber
 Y si no me traías mandado
 ¿Quién te daba de comer.?

There you are wrong
 Just trying to offend me
 You are messy
 You don't do your duty
 Who fed you even though
 You didn't bring home the bacon?

Artemio:

Yo no sé que te pasa
 Fuiste mi mujer primera
 Allí sabe toda la raza
 Que eres una cualquiera
 Nunca estabas en la casa
 Por andar de cantelera.

I don't know what's with you
 You were my first woman
 Everyone knows
 That you are a bad woman
 You were never in the house
 Because you went to *cantinas*.

María Antonieta:

Tu no mas en las *cantinas*
 Donde te gastas la lana
 Yo siempre estoy en la ruina
 No me das para la semana
 Yo me voy con la vecina
 Para que me de una botana.

You were always in the *cantinas*
 where you spent all the money
 I went to visit the neighbor,
 to have a couple of drinks
 because you never helped with
 groceries, to eat the cocktail snacks.

Artemio:

Yo no aguanto mas habaldas
 Yo fui tu primer esposo
 En la casa nunca estabas
 El decir es muy penoso
 Ni la ropa lavabas
 Siempre mi ropa lo traías mugroso.

I can't bear any more gossip
 I was your first husband
 You were never home
 It is embarrassing to say
 You didn't even wash the clothes
 My clothes were always dirty.

María Antonieta:

Yo fui tu mejor senora
 Por eso te enamoraste

I was your best woman
 That is why you fell in love

Nunca tuve lavadora
 Ni me compraste un traste
 Yo quise una licuadora
 Y nunca me la compraste.

I never had a washing machine
 You never bought me a dish
 I wanted a blender
 And you never bought me one.

Artemio Villeda:

Yo creo mejor le paramos
 Terminamos el *huapango*
 Al fin nada ganamos
 Sin al fin divorciamos
 Yo creo que salgo ganando.

I think we better stop
 Let's finish the *huapango* (song)
 Anyway we win nothing
 If in the end we divorce
 I think that I will be better off.

María Antonieta:

Yo te supe mantener
 Con chile de molcajate
 Si te encuentras otra mujer
 Porque eres un aguardete
 Ella se vendre a comer
 Los sobres de mi mesa.

I knew how to keep you fed
 With salsa made in mortar and pestle
 If you find another woman
 Because you are a boozer
 She will settle for
 the leftovers from my table
 (my abandoned husband).

("El Gallo," *Pánuco La Cuna del Huapango*, independent recoding María Antonieta y Natalia Váldez, 2007. *Coplas*: María Antonieta Váldez; transcription and translation Kim Carter Muñoz).

María Antonieta Váldez is answered by her sister Natalia; while Don Artemio Villeda is answered by Don Chego Esquiél Rocha. When I asked María Antonieta and her sister Natalia why they included this selection on their CD, she said that they wanted listeners to hear everyone's voices before they deteriorate due to age, and while everyone was still alive. María Antonieta wanted to pass on the *controversia* to future generations through the recording, so that listeners would know that the tradition is alive through poetry about contemporary issues and with humor. In this way she shows that the tradition updates, but through old *sones* and the continuation of old performance practices. María Antonieta said that young people

can study the melodic form and character of the controversia from the recording which had her and her sister performing with one of the greatest *trovadores* from Pánuco. I asked her why she, Natalia, Esperanza and their friend and *trovador* Miguel Compeán perform at the festivals with young musicians, and people not from like the Huasteca like myself, when she could perform with the greatest *huapangueros* from Pánuco at the festivals if she wanted to., however, she said, that she chooses to perform with as many young *huapangueros* as possible so that they become better musicians, gain exposure, and learn how to compose new verse. María Antonieta, Natalia Váldez and Esperanza Zumaya have been some of the most encouraging people in the *encuentros huapangos* and other events for me during my research and youth as I was learning how to play *son huasteco* and perform. Until that moment, I never considered the conscious decision that they had made to perform with young and inexperienced musicians as one of teaching and transmission, “*para que no se deja de tocar esos sonos,*” ‘so that these *sones* are still played.’ The Váldez sisters, and their cousin, Esperanza Zumaya, spend most of the year traveling to *encuentros huapangueros* throughout the year, distributing their CDs, and promoting themselves and the tradition as exciting and cool for all generations, young and old.



Figure 33: María Antonieta Váldez (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 23, 2008)



Figure 34: Natalia Váldez Flores (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 23, 2008)

Rocking the Cradle of *Huapango El Cielito Lindo* on Huasteca TV: Trovador@s transmitting tradition and parodying gender

At the beginning of this chapter, I mentioned that the *trovadoras* and *trovadores* from Pánuco are engaged in performing, promoting and transmitting participatory *huapango* through their roles in verse composition and improvisation at a trans-local *huasteco* cool music festival scene at *encuentros huapangueros*. There are other such fiestas that have *encuentros huapangueros*, besides Amatlán and *El Festival de la Huasteca*. Youth and *viejos huapangueros* travel to these *encuentros* throughout the year to perform, to create community and to continue the tradition of *huapango*. The *trovadoras* have selected the genre of *controversias* to perform the dual work of transmitting tradition and performing gender. There are also many men who support the *trovadoras* in performing and transmitting this knowledge, such as *trovador* Miguel Compeán, from Pánuco, Veracruz, who has been attending *encuentros huapangueros* since the beginning of *La Fiesta del Huapango Anual Amatlán* in the 1980s.

The *encuentro huapanguero* scene is about music, dance, community and culture. People within the scene create bumper stickers, t-shirts, traditional clothing, videos, commercials, documentaries, web pages, organize festivals and *fiestas* in their home community, and they produce and publish radio programs, magazines, and television programs about these *huapango* scene. In this section, I will analyze how *trovador* Miguel Compeán and *trovadora* Esperanza Zumaya do the dual work of transmission of tradition to young *huapangueros* at *El Festival en*

Tamk'iyam, San Luis Potosí, as well as and parodying and performing gender in the son “*El Cielito Lindo*.” The *trovadores* selected young performers, *Trío Tlacotzin*, to perform on the stage with them, even though they were inexperienced performers in comparison with any of the elder *huapangueros* who were also in attendance at this festival.

The video of this performance is interesting, because a regional multi-ethnic identity also nest local identities on the stage and screen. The multi-ethnic framing is embodied by a young announcer is dressed in traditional *tének*, *huasteco*, clothing from Tamk'iyam, but makes her announcement in Spanish language. In the background underneath her voice is the *nahua son* “*Xochipitzahuatl*.” Then local identity from Pánuco is displayed trans-locally, as the video cuts to an excerpt of a performance produced for public television in Tamk'iyam, with Esperanza Zumaya proclaiming, “*¡Arriba las mujeres!*” Up with women!, “*Ya ganamos!*” “We already won!”

The performance ensues with a succession of verses not unlike the “dirty dozens,” between *trovador* Miguel Compeán and Esperanza Zumaya. In each verse they select a traditional verse that pokes fun at the opposite sex, or in the case of Esperanza, she makes soft personal attacks on the masculinity of Miguel, based on events in his own life that are known to the community listening to her verses, who know he is not really offended by these attacks.

Huasteca TV
Comité *Huapango* Tamk'iyam
Controversia Cielito Lindo
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aJpWwaMr4rc>

Miguel Compean:

La mujer que es chismosa
 Vive en las calles
 Contando chismes goza
 Y a todo el mundo le dá detalles
 Con gran esmero
 Pero tiene la casa
 y la cocino como chiquero.

The woman who is a gossip
 Lives in the street
 Enjoying telling gossip
 And to the whole world she gives
 The details with a lot of care,
 But she has her house
 like a pigsty.

Esperanza Zumaya:
 Yo los hombre comparo
 Cielito lindo, con el mosquito
 Donde dan el piquete, Cielito Lindo
 Dan el brinquito
 Y son fatales
 Al fin de encimarnos, cielito lindo
 Son informales.

I compare the men
 Beautiful sky, with the mosquito
 Where they put their stinger,
 Beautiful sky, they give a jump
 And they are deadly
 After they land and bug us, Beautiful sky,
 they are unreliable.

Miguel Compeán:
 Todo el hombre que se casa
 Cielito lindo con una viuda
 Por las noches se espanta
 De eso no hay duda
 Eso es muy cierto
 De bajo de la cama, cielito lindo
 Le ronca el muerto.

All men who get married
 Beautiful sky with a widow
 At night they scare themselves
 About this there is no doubt
 This is very true
 Underneath the bed, beautiful sky,
 The dead man snores.

Esperanza Zumaya:
 No le hables de la mujer
 Porque es pecado
 Debes que comprender
 Que una te ha creado
 Y te ha querido
 Y que la que ahora tienes
 Hoy día, Miguel, te ha mantenido.

Don't speak ill of the woman
 Because it is a sin
 You should understand
 That one has raised you
 And she has loved you
 And the one you have now
 Today, Miguel, has supported you.

Miguel Compeán:
 A todos me avengo
 Y a Esperanza yo le digo
 que la mujer que tengo
 mas que veinte años
 la he mantenido
 y si es cierto si tuviera
 con que me dá cariño
 la mantuviera.

I settle the score for all
 And to Esperanza I tell her
 That the woman that I have
 For more than twenty years
 I have supported her
 And this is true if I were to have
 Just with the love that she gives me
 I would support her.

Esperanza Zumaya:
 Los cazadores cazan
 Cielito Lindo a ésta paloma.
 Uno me tira jaras
 y el otro broma.
 Vuelo asustada
 Estos cazadorcitos
 No me hacen nada.

The hunters Hunt
 Beautiful sky, this dove.
 One shoots arrows at me
 and the other one jokes.
 I fly scared
 But these little hunters
 Don't scare me.

The young *trío* that plays underneath Esperanza Zumaya and Miguel Compeán receive exposure for their performance with these *trovadores*. As part of a trans-local music scene that reclaims *huapango* and *son huasteco* for communities, and opens a space for the performance and contestation of gender and ethnic identities, the *trovadoras* and other Pánuco musicians and male *trovadores* have changed the representation of gender in *huapango*, and reclaimed participatory *huapango* for the entire Huasteca region. The way that the *trovadores* constantly update the lyrics for the *sones* and playfully use humor creates an excitement about *huapango*. Each time an old traditional *son* is played by the musicians, they update it with their new verses.



Figure 35: Controversia Between Esperanza Zumaya and Miguel Compeán (left to right Ricardo Galindo Linares, Soraima Galindo Linares, Santiago Fajardo Hernández, Esperanza Zumaya del Ángel and Miguel Compeán. Security from the Municipality of Xochitlán, Puebla in the background. (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz 08/20/2008)

Las trovadoras from Pánuco are one set of many who have contributed to this music scene and cultural movement supported by local communities, the state cultural institutes, and the PDCH. In Pánuco, a primarily *mestizo* (African and Spanish) portion of the Huasteca, verbal art, dance and music have been part of what has been selected as distinctive from this region. Women have been significant agents who have rocked the stage with their reclamation of their places as singers and creators of original verses. They have shown the rest of the region how gender roles are played with, inverted and conveyed with humor. The *trovadoras* from Pánuco, as elders, alongside *trovadores* have made *son huasteco* cool for communities and youth in *encuentros huapangueros*.

In the next chapter, I will analyze how professional *nahua* musicians perform as intercultural agents in the *trans-local Festival de la Huasteca*, defining how they belong as *huapangueros*, and which pieces from their local musical patrimony and performance practices they will share with and give to the rest of the Huasteca region. As agents from a primarily *nahua* communities in the Huasteca, their ethnicity, language and *costumbres* are selected as distinctive and part of what makes their music also appealing to communities and youth of the Huasteca region. Just as the women from Pánuco, these *huapangueros* exercise their social agency in representing themselves even as the region defines them.

Ch.8 *Nahua* Musicians' Performing Identity at Encuentros Huapangueros "¡Cualli ta imitotili!" "Their dance is beautiful!"

(Nahua: language, music and soundscape)

Introduction:

This chapter complicates my representation of a multi-ethnic utopia forged by the trans-local *huapango* scene by way of highlighting the nested identities of insiders and outsiders at play in the performances of *nahua trío huasteco* musicians—who are also specialists in *sones de costumbre*—in *El Festival de la Huasteca*. *Nahua* musicians who are not workshop leaders through the PDCH, and do not create a canon at the national or regional level have different perspectives on *sones de costumbre* than those of formal workshop leaders. As tradition bearers, they have been invited to represent their communities' specialized ritual music that has been labeled by program officials as "At Risk Music," and by schoolteachers as "*sones de costumbre*." These musicians perform their identities and *nahua* music at regional events in a way that shows a desire to contribute to the festivity of the *encuentro* without de-contextualizing ritual music for display as cultural spectacle. This analysis and description will show how several tríos with *nahua* musicians balance their roles as *huapangueros* and entertainers who "*alegra la gente*," 'make people happy,' with that of their *oficio*, appointed office, as traditional musicians who preserve and keep ritual music linked to spirituality and rites of passage in their communities.

In the final section, my analysis will show how one *trío*, *Trío Calamar*, performs overt and embedded *nahua* identity through a sophisticated set of cultural

references that are audible semiotic substitutes, which evoke their music project's usual performance context of the Saint's day *fiesta* while also evoking their home from the Náhuatl speaking region around Hidalgo and Veracruz. *Calamar's* performance jokes with and cues cultural insiders, as they make observations in Náhuatl about the dancers below them from their position on the stage. Meanwhile, for cultural outsiders who do not understand Náhuatl, the unintelligibility of the language does not take away from the authenticity of *Trío Calamar's* performance, and for some listeners, unintelligibility reinforces the authenticity of these performances.

Many *nahua* musicians who perform at *encuentros huapangueros*, like other elder *huapangueros* or professional musicians, are tradition bearers who are recognized for their knowledge, or who received support for projects from various grants administered through the PDCH and its partners. Based on their status, they are selected by their state's institute of culture and arts, and they have been invited to represent their funded project, community's specialized music, and/or their local versions of *son huasteco* and *huapango*. All of the musicians who perform at *El Festival de la Huasteca* do so in different ways that contribute to the shared festivity of the *encuentro huapanguero* and highlight their local or ethnic contribution to the shared music and practices of the region. However, because of the more prominent place of *nahua* identity, language and repertoire in Huastecan regional identity since the start of the PDCH, in 1994, both non-*nahua* and *nahua* sometimes claim musical pieces like *Xochipitzahuatl* as their cultural patrimony.

Xochipitzahuatl in many *nahua* communities is not just one musical piece, but a set of related tunes within the *Xochipitzahuatl* tune family that are played for various life passage events, rituals and religious dance. Some musicians point to specific occasions for different versions and transpositions of these kinds of tune families. The transplantation of a specific *Xochipitzahuatl* into the canon of *trío huasteco* workshops and folkloric trans-local festivals and its presentation as “our music” has many effects on the performance practices beyond just a narrowing of repertoire.

Many of the performances of *nahua sones de costumbre* especially by non-*nahua*, workshop trained students, leave out the subtleties in style and language that make the music express sentiments and inspire somber, beautiful, sad or happy emotions. Most *viejos huapangueros* specialist musicians express their support of the workshop students as they learn to play the music. However, some non-*nahua* students and musicians think that, because the violin melodies do not have the same kind of ornaments and developments of variations as virtuosic versions of *sones huastecos* like “*El Gusto*,” or *huapangos* like “*El Toro Requesón*,” that *sones de costumbre*, “Indian *sones*, (sic!)” are “simple” (sic!) and “repetitious.”

Most workshop students—and many music scholars—ignore changes of timbre, strumming patterns and strokes on *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera*, placement of main beats that are either staggered with the violin, or synchronized, vibrato, slides and other kinds of “ornamentation” (sic!) that give these pieces of music their character and emotional content. Some *nahua* musicians express positive emotions and surprise when another *trío* performs *nahua* music with the

correct style and ornaments in a festival setting. Then, through comparison with other *tríos*, some indirectly express dismay that *nahua* language and music presented by many of the young groups on stage that are given an important place in the events of *el Festival de la Huasteca* does not capture all of the essential sounds, meanings in language, and style in their performances.

In this chapter, I analyze how *nahua* musicians exercise agency in the festival through their performance choices, such as whether, or not, to perform in ways that highlight their identity, to sing in Náhuatl, to place religious dances, or everyday culture on display; and whether, or not, to unpack the significance of the music for outsiders, or merely play the music with no explanation for non-*nahua*. Their performances differ from those linked to the workshops and cultural institutes, which tend to present individual pieces of music with lengthy explanations. Even if musicians do chose to perform and explain the significance of the music themselves, most speak about personal experiences and customs linked to the music as found in their local communities and others that are close by, instead of framing its significance as “our” heritage, or the heritage of an entire region or nation.

In the XVII edition of *El Festival de la Huasteca*, in Citlaltepec, Chontla and Tántima, Veracruz, several children’s groups performed different versions of Xochipitzahuatl and translations of other songs into Náhuatl. Not a single adult *trío* sang in Náhuatl, even though the theme of the festival was ‘At Risk Music’ and in this addition of the festival the majority of *trío huasteco* musicians were speakers of indigenous languages.

Many presenters of research projects and dance groups featured diverse music from the Huasteca that is played on instruments besides *trío huasteco*, because the theme of the XVII edition of the festival was “At Risk” music. Many of the presenters of projects and books, also brought along dance groups and musicians, such as the *huasteco* or *tének* version of *matachines: taksom son*, a dance from the Huasteco ethnic group that features two harps and two rebecs, and is a syncretic representation of Christ’s apostles. A professor from Xalapa presented a project where he recreated the *acafioli*—a violin made out of reed that was played by some older *nahua* musicians in the years before violins were readily available. Although the theme of the festival highlighted indigenous identity, among *tríos* with members who were renowned for composing *coplas* for *sones huastecos* in Náhuatl, there was a surprising lack of use of the language, or *sones de costumbre*.

Crescencio ‘Chano’ Silva, the *jarana* player and director of *Trío Alegría Huasteca*—a *trío* that was based in Tampico, Tamaulipas, was well known for his performance of *coplas* in Náhuatl. In many editions in *El Festival de la Huasteca* he has sung *coplas* in the language. However, in the XVII Edition of *El Festival* he only sang in Spanish.

Trío Tepexocoyo, from Chicontepec, Veracruz, a *trío* where the youngest member was in his 60s, were framed as specialists in *sones de costumbre*; however, their performance featured only one *son de costumbre*, for a wedding. The rest of their presentation featured the *huapango canción*, “El Toro Requesón,” and another *huapango canción* “El Mil Amores.” The *trío* exercised agency by performing their unique versions of *huapango canciones*, instead of a program of only *sones de*

costumbre, or a standard format of *son de costumbre*, *son huasteco* and *huapango canción*. The *trío* had a unique style of playing the modern song genre that was based on the rhythm of *son huasteco*. Yet, the audiences and dancers could not appreciate their style in the event. The sound technician, who had just mixed for several sets of musicians with integrated pickups in their Huastecan instruments, did not properly place the microphones for the acoustic instruments of the group.

The one of the announcers of the program, Enrique Rivas, tried to recover face after their performance by explaining that the theme of the festival was “At Risk” music and that sometimes our ears are not accustomed to the sound of these older styles of playing, but that we should value the music—I might have said the same thing. Others in the audience who were musicians were angered by this explanation, because the sound tech had more of a detrimental impact on the reception of the musicians than their unique style. *Tepexocoyo* sounded fine acoustically in the when they played where musicians gathered off-stage—and with better microphone placement and monitor balance the audience would have also heard them at their best.

To Sing or not to Sing in Náhuatl on ‘Star Mountain’

Musicians who speak Náhuatl often make a decision not to speak the language when they perform with their *trío* for a number of reasons. The majority of *nahua sones* are instrumental pieces. The audience may not speak Náhuatl. The musicians have performed *son huasteco* and *huapango canción* in Spanish since they

began to play as youth when they apprenticed with elder musicians, even when they were in a *nahua* village. The decision to sing in Náhuatl is often a personal one, and has been more common in cultural events like *El Festival de la Huasteca*, or on recordings, such as one released by *Alegría Hidalguense*, and other *tríos* beginning in the early 1990s, than in most contexts. The following vignette and performance illustrates how having the ability to speak Náhuatl or speaking the language as a mother tongue, imparts cultural capital in the festival, yet, it is a double edged sword, because in mainstream Mexico, indigenusness still has a stigma attached to it. Singing in an indigenous language also renders *coplas* “unintelligible”¹⁶ for the majority of the audience at the events—an act that has advantages and disadvantages.

Trío Perla Huasteca from Altapexco, Hidalgo, were excited about presenting their new CD in the festival when I encountered them to the side of the stage in Citlaltepec, Veracruz. I knew two of the members, Fortunato Alvarado Galván and Adán Vite Chávez from playing with my violinist, José Hernández in his hometown, Huejutla, Hidalgo. I also knew the leader of the *trío*, Benjamin Galindo Salazar, from previous editions of *El Festival de la Huasteca*. Benjamin and the *quinta* player Adán, both spoke Náhuatl. All three musicians were known as excellent improvisers of verses in Spanish.

As Galindo showed me his CD and he decided he wanted to swap his CD for mine, Adán asked everyone what was the name of the town hosting the festival.

¹⁶Unintelligibility plays into an old performance scenario of the America’s according to Diana Taylor, where the Spaniards, ethnographers and *mestizos*, portray indigeneity as difficult to understand and mysterious (Taylor 2003: 53-78).

Everyone answered at the same time, “Citlaltepetl.” A glint entered Adán’s eye and he chuckled. “Citlaltepetl,” in Náhuatl means ‘star mountain.’

Tríos often have one performer who specializes in composing verses for the location where they are playing, or for the people who are present at the event. I was told by the cab driver when we arrived that the town was given the name because at a certain time of the year, Venus sparkles and shines in the sky particularly brightly on the mountain that this town is perched on.

As Fortunato, Galindo and José, continued the conversation below the stage, Adán asked again for someone to repeat name of the town. The other two the musicians and my violinist José said, “Citlaltepetl,” and laughed. One of the other musicians said, “Va estar cabrón,” ‘it was going to be difficult¹⁷’ to rhyme with the name of the town. Everyone laughed. They were being ironic, although no one clued me in. A few of the men also were uncomfortable with the use of such language in mixed company. The last syllable of Citlaltepetl, -etl, is a common ending for nouns in Náhuatl.

Playing dumb, or the straight part of the comedy act, in order to fulfill their expectations of me as a *gringa*, even though they already knew I spoke Náhuatl, I mentioned that in my pocket dictionary of Náhuatl, there are more than 500 terms that end with the syllable. They burst into laughter and one musician affectionately growled my name in an annoyed tone of voice in a pretend effort to silence me. I

¹⁷ Even at this momento, the musicians were engaged in word play. “Vá a estar cabrón,” was being deployed with a double meaning. It translates crudely as, “It is going to be a bitch to rhyme with Citlaltepetl,” and “It will be bloody awesome if he rhymes with Citlalteptl.” The word is also used to express admiration among men and some women who swear.

decided to attend their performance. I wanted to see how Adán would rhyme on ‘Star Mountain.’

In the following performance, the leader of *Trío Perla Huasteca*, Benjamin ‘Galindo’ Salazar, is framed in his dual role of professional musician and verse improviser. The announcer Enrique Rivas Paniagua only briefly mentioned Galindo’s *nahua* identity. However, this brief reference shows the social capital that speaking Náhuatl has in the cultural context of the festival. Yet his capital is not universal in Mexico and does not erase the dilemmas of using the language, and the social dynamics surrounding this choice, caused by racism, appropriation, erasure and incomprehension.

The rest of the introduction highlighted the skill of Galindo for his funny verse and showed the long artistic trajectory of the *trío*. *Perla Huasteca* is well-known both inside and outside of their local community. A transcript of the performance has been provided below, with my own translation.

Perla Huasteca performance example:

Enrique Rivas:

En la decimoséptima edición del festival de la Huasteca, representando la Huasteca hidalguense un trío que se llama Perla Huasteca, provenientes de Atlapexco, Hidalgo. Un músico, Benjamín, popularmente llamando Galindo, se llama Benjamín pero es más conocido como Galindo Salazar. Es conocido en el mundo de la música popular de la Huasteca por su poderoso voz, su gran facilidad de improvisar versos y la alegría de sus letras. Así

In the XVII th Edition of the Festival of the Huasteca representing the State of Hidalgo’s Huasteca, a trio that is called Perla Huasteca. From Atlapexco, Hidalgo, a musician, Benjamin, known as Galindo, he is named Benjamin, but he is better known as Galindo Salazar. He is known in the world of Huastecan popular music for his powerful voice, his great ability to improvise verses and for the joyousness of his words. *He is also a speaker of Náhuatl.*

mismo es un hablante de Náhuatl.

El trío tuvo una destacada participación en el programa siempre en el domingo del apartado, “México hay mas que un encuentro,” al principio de los años setenta. En la inícia del convocatorio de la novena edición de los Estímulos Creativos Cultural de la Huasteca fueron beneficiados con un apoyo para un proyecto para grabar un disco compacto Perla Huasteca, material que se está presentando en este decimiseptimo Festival. Van a tocar El Triunfo, El Caiman y el Aguanieve.

The trio had a distinguished participation on the radio program on Sundays, “Mexico there is more than one encounter,” at the beginning of the 1970s. In the Ninth Edition of Huastecan Cultural Creative Stimulous Grant they were awarded support to record a compact disc *Perla Huasteca*, material that they will present now in this Seventeenth Festival. They will play “El Triunfo,” “El Caiman” and “El Aguanieve.”

(Performance Perla Huasteca, *El XVII Festival de la Huasteca*; recording and translation: Kim Carter Muñoz October 6, 2013)

Three verses have been extracted from the performance. Each of the performers shows their skill at composing and improvising original verses. Galindo sings a verse naming his *trío* and requesting a drink of water. The violinist, sings a *copla* that expresses hope for finding love at a late age. However, it is only Adán’s *copla*, which shows his mastery of Náhuatl and his desire to communicate with the majority of the audience.

Benjamin Galindo Salazar:

La boca traigo reseca
para cantar este son
si me traen agua a secas
lo digo de corazón
lo digo que Perla Huasteca
cantará con gustación.

My mouth is too dry
To sing this *son*
If they simply bring water
I say it with my heart
I tell you Perla Huasteca
Will sing with pleasure.

Fortunato Alvarado Galván:

Y a la tarde se alborea
y el tiempo nos amenaza
Cúpido me dio la idea
qué no pierda la esperanza

Now the afternoon sets
And time threatens us
Cupid gave me the idea
Not to lose the hope

el amor que se desea
aunque es tarde se alcanza.

that the love that is desired
is found even if it is late.

Adán Vita Chávez:

Mi falsete lo estremece
(Mi frase que lo establece)
lo digo con armonía
cuando canto se me hace
lo digo con simpatía
digo que viva Citlaltepetl
donde reina la alegría.

My falsetto makes it stand out
(My phrase establishes it)
I say it in harmony
When I sing it seems to me
I say it with affection
Long live Citlaltepec
Where joy reigns as a queen.

(Performance Armonia Queretana, *El XVII Festival de la Huasteca*; recording and translation: Kim Carter Muñoz October 6, 2013)
(See example <http://youtu.be/DcwlTAnRD6Y>)



Figure 36: Trío Perla Huasteca October 6, 2012 Citlaltepetl, Veracruz (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz)

Not only does this *copla* show Adán's linguistic flare, it provides an interesting example of professional *nahua trío huasteco* musicians negotiate interculturality in many ways. I thought that Adán might resort to a shout-out of the various names of towns in the area that all end with the syllable '-etl,' or its Spanish transliteration '-ec.' However, as a seasoned performer and composer of sophisticated verses and rhymes Adán did not perform in this way. While Adán and Galindo speak Náhuatl, they only do so in certain situations. Náhuatl is spoken for many musicians at home, with close friends. When people are present who do not speak Náhuatl, out of politeness and in order to communicate, many do not speak Náhuatl. Also not speaking Náhuatl to an outsider, who speaks Náhuatl, conveys many social messages, including: mastery and friendship. Not speaking Náhuatl can even be used to establish social distance—the message: “you are not one of us,” but “we are one of you.”

Adán pronounced the name of the town in Náhuatl, “Citlaltepētl.” The phoneme “-tl,” is soft, and in the area around Huejutla, is sometimes almost omitted. Adán Vite Chávez employed the Huejutla variant of Náhuatl, to make the sound soft, and rhymed it with “estremece,” ‘stand out,’ and “se me hace,” ‘it seems to me.’ It was a beautiful example of interculturality and how the choice of whether to use Náhuatl or not creates community and is personal, artistic and political. The musician who had made the joke about the difficulty of rhyming “Citlaltepētl,” turned to me and affirmed in similar language, “Es cabròn,” with admiration and sincerity, that Adán, “was brilliant for rhyming Citlaltepētl with Spanish.”

Nahua Trío Huasteco Musicians

According to Alan Sandstrom, *nahua* musicians represent a special group of people, intercultural agents, within their communities in the Huasteca who help to define the ethnic community as part of the majority Huasteca region and as different from the *mestizo* majority through music. The music that they play helps the community continue to practice rituals that are different from non-*nahua* Mexican Catholicism and which are connected to religion as well as spirituality, the earth and the land. *Nahua* musicians regularly shift between *mestizo* and *nahua* society in order to practice their profession.

Musicians have shifted between *mestizo* Spanish speaking and Náhuatl speaking worlds and have worked professionally for generations both inside and outside of their communities (Sandstrom 1991: 140). Other individuals within *nahua* communities maintain contact with non-*nahua mestizos* and establish ritual kinship relationships with *mestizos* especially for periodic employment outside of the community and also to find a place for children who do not inherit land (Sandstrom 136-141), But, musicians do this on a daily basis through their knowledge and work.

Costumbres (rituals) and *danzas* are potent sites where Huastecan *nahua* define their community and beliefs, which have been in contact with Spanish and *mestizo* communities in the Huasteca since the 16th Century, and where they

contrast their communities and values with those of *mestizos* (Sandstrom 1986: Chapter 6, 7-9). Inside *nahua* communities these musicians are essential in their service the community where they play the music that accompanies *rituals* (*costumbres*), and *danzas*. Some of the dances are *Los Huehues* (*Viejitos*) and *El Comanche* for Carnival and for *Xántolo*, the four days that constitute what is known elsewhere as *El Día de los Muertos*, the Day of the Dead; *Chicomexochitl*, 'La Fiesta de Elotes,' the Corn Festival; the *Mecos*, for *Nanahuitili*, also known as Carnival; and local versions of dances that constitute forms of the *Matachines* dances found in Greater Mexico and Latin America: *La Danza de Tres Colores* 'The Dance of Three Colors,' *Xochitini*, 'the flower dancers' and *Las Inditas or Guadalupanas* 'The Indian Women, or Guadalupes.' *Nahua* musicians often assist in teaching ritual dance and song to community members. Their service as musicians counts towards communal work that is required of all adult residents in *nahua* communities which is sometimes known as *faena*.

Besides being ritual specialists who serve their communities, these musicians create ties between *nahua* villages, as professional musicians who travel to their fiestas and are payed. They are itinerate workers who play music outside of their communities to earn money for the cash economy in *mestizo* society in the Huasteca. I did not understand the switching of languages that happened fully until I traveled between the community of my violinist José and the county seat many times in the back of trucks that serve as public transportation. When we would enter Huejutla proper, he would warn me to stop speaking Náhuatl, because most people don't speak that in the city. As we would approach José's village, the women

would joke with me and speak Náhuatl, then comment about the fact that I spoke Náhuatl to the rest of the passengers.

Musicians, as consummate professionals, play *huapango*, *son huasteco* and any music that people want to hear them play, such as *cumbias*, *canciones* and *corridos*. In the case studies that preceeded—of performances at los *encuentros huapangueros*—*nahua* musicians assert their multiple roles as professional musicians, communicators through verses to the audience and entertainers who “*alegra la gente*” with *huapangos*, *sones huastecos* and *canciones*. The performances of musicians were instances where while artists were framed as speakers of Náhuatl and specialists that perform *sones de costumbre*, but the musicians challenged expectations, even in an event where *nahua*-ness imparted some social cache and authenticity.

These musicians chose to stay play *sones huastecos* and not to sing in Náhuatl on ‘Star Mountain,’ in order to communicate with the entire audience. Náhuatl still gave Adán Vite Chávez the knowledge and vocabulary to make a sophisticated and soft rhyme with Citaltepetl. During these performances the musicians chose to stay within the genre of *huapangos* and *sones huastecos* and selected other markers of local identity besides the music for the *danzas* and language for their performance. Not everyone in the audience would perceive that Adán had successfully performed Náhuatl identity. In fact, only a verse maker who knows some Náhuatl, would fully appreciate his performance and understand the skill that it took.

In the section that follows, *Trío Calamar* will negotiate the double edge of using Náhuatl where the majority of the population does not understand the

language in the festival in a different way. They hint their own role as the traditional musicians who keep ritual music linked to *danzas*, spirituality and rites of passage in their communities and use Náhuatl for most of their performance.

La Leva Cruzada (the Crossed Uprising) at the Huastecan Festival

During the performances of musicians in the previous section, *Trío Perla Hidalguense* from Altapexco, Hidalgo and of *Trío Tepexocoyo*, from Tepexocoyo, Chicontepec, Veracruz the musicians were framed by the announcers as speakers of Náhuatl and or experts in *sones de costumbre*. However, *Trío Calamar's* presentation at *El XV Festival de la Huasteca*, did not have such a framing of their specialization, or ethnicity, by the host, even though the project that they had received funding for was specifically linked to *La Danza Las Tres Colores*. Instead of presenting material from their CD on stage, or the dance and music as spectacle on stage. *Trío Calamar* used a varied repertoire of performance that evoked memories for people that include the local religious celebration where this dance is performed as worship. In order to understand the references that *Trío Calamar* made in their performance in *El Festival de la Huasteca*, my performance analysis compared videos of performances of *Trío Calamar*, from Huejutla, in two different contexts: 1) at the *XV Festival de la Huasteca* and 2) observations of these same musicians accompanying the religious dance, *La Danza de los Tres Colores*, as specialists in the music, in a *fiesta* in a neighboring community, Chililico, in Huejutla, Hidalgo. Calamar's performance at the *encuentro* of the *XVII festival de la Huasteca* was remarkable for

its unique references local identity, personal and ethnic identities, through language, violin playing style, and soundscapes.

One quick performance of a firework's sound effect reminded some audience members the use of fireworks in *nahua* religious *fiestas* and linked their performance to the setting of *La Danza de Tres Colores*. I assert that their performance of this soundscape transports cultural insiders to the religious *fiesta* where the dance is performed. I do not know whether the reference is entirely conscious, or subconscious for the performers. Listeners commented on how the fireworks reminded them of attending Saint's Day celebrations. *Trío Calamar* references a layered identity of regional *huapango*, players of older rarely played *sones*, *nahua* ethnicity through language, and the local version of the *danza* they are renowned for without displaying *nahua*, *danza* and music as folklore on a stage.

I will first present my encounter with the performance of *Trío Calamar* in *El XV Festival de La Huasteca*. Then I will situate how the staging of the cultural history of the host site of the festival Tampico, and its pre-Hispanic and colonial history combine with the performances of these contemporary musicians. I will interpret the performance and performed codes by translating the Náhuatl lyrics, situating their musical style and reception, and decoding the performed codes that hint at and provide references to religious dance. Finally, I will present observations and an interview with Victor Moedano about *La Danza de los Tres Colores* in its *fiesta* context by *Trío Calamar* and observations and interviews about their performances the larger context of dance in their community, in 2007, 2008 and 2010-11.

Crossing the Festival Grounds

I ran across the park that surrounded Tampico's *Teatro Metropolitano*, the festival grounds for the *VX Festival de la Huasteca*, as the *nahua trío huasteco Trío Calamar* took the stage. I was excited that they would be on the program, because they were from a community in Huejutla de Reyes, Hidalgo, and they had played music with the violinist of my *trío huasteco* in the United States, José Hernández,¹⁸ who was from a community close to *Trío Calamar's* town in Huejutla. *Trío Calamar* had mentored José and asked him play with them when Alejandro, the son of the violinist, was young went away for school.

I had learned *nahua* repertoire for *trío huasteco* from the region surrounding Chicontepec, Veracruz first, before any other *trío huasteco* repertoire, as part of my initial foray into studying *son huasteco* by participant observation research in 2002

¹⁸ I had met José after placing announcements in different Mexican grocery stores in the US, where I had listed all of the styles of music that I had wanted to play in the *trío*: *son huasteco*, *huapango*, *sones* for Day of the Dead, Carnival, *corridos* and *canciones rancheras*. A man from a neighboring town had answered the ad. We performed for a small workshop with children, me on violin and other man on *quinta huapanguera*. After the workshop he suggested that we play music with a friend of his cousin's who was across the country, and was a better violinist than me. José called the other man on the telephone and after hearing us accompany him on violin, he decided to move where we were to start a *trío huasteco* with us, because all of the other *huapangueros* had left his city at the time and we immediately sounded as if we had been playing for years together over the phone. I played several years with José outside of my main sites of multi-site ethnographic and participant observation research, which was on folkloric festivals and community festivals in the Huasteca region of Mexico, but also included some documentation through community visual ethnomusicology, focused interviews and oral histories. We performed mainly as working musicians in Mexican restaurants and grocery stores in Seattle, Washington and for private parties. We also played at some folk festivals and for the occasional school program, or educational workshops for children in community programs.

and 2004 through workshops, in Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí, Mexico City and various cities in Tamaulipas; and by playing informally and in lessons with school-teachers Soraima Galindo Linares, Santiago Fajardo Hernández and their family. I had continued to learn more *música huasteca*, in field research, interviews and participant observation in 2007-2008, and in the summer of 2010. Yet, the music, *nahua* language and perspectives on *nahua* culture that I had learned from the members of my *trío*, non-school teachers, from Huejutla, who were working in the United States, was different from almost everyone that I met before in the *encuentros*. I was excited to see how *Trío Calamar* would perform and what pieces they would play.

Staging the Huasteca in the XV *Festival de la Huasteca*

It was already nighttime. Purple and blue lights shined on the stage and the group. A video projector transmitted their image larger than life on movie screens set up on the sides of the stage. The backdrop featured a larger than life image of a very late Post-Classical Huastecan sculpture of the *Diosa Huasteca* from 1521 (see Figure 39). The image was from an excavation located in Tampico, Tamaulipas, a portion of the Huasteca where the indigenous people, the Tének, or Huastecos, were taken by force as slaves. They were sold by the Spanish to slave holders in the Lesser and Great Antilles, sickened, and forcefully moved to work in mines in other

parts of Mexico, under the governorship of Beltrán Nuño de Guzmán just a few years later during the 16th Century.¹⁹

During the 20th Century, Tampico was the epicenter of the modernization of Mexico through the oil industry as well. The first international airport was built in Tampico in order to develop the region's oil industry first exploited by European and US oil companies and then by the Mexican National Oil Company, PEMEX. Tampico was the port of entry to the rest of the Huasteca region for centuries. The Huasteca has been a region where mestizo-ization and the maintenance of indigenous language, land tenure and life ways have been in competition from the 16th century to the present.

The Huasteca has been portrayed as an idyllic, exotic paradise with living traditions and pristine waters and forest and, on the other hand, as an industrial wasteland born out of the transformation of a highly diverse tropical forest, mountains and plains, through extraction of oil, the pollution intrinsic to a sea port, cattle ranching and citrus agriculture. All of these characterizations are true, but regardless of where you go in the Huasteca, *trío hausteco*, *huapango*, has been part of both impulses as a tradition that is old and the entertainment of the workers, who have come to Tampico and elsewhere within the Huasteca to work.

¹⁹ Beltrán Nuño de Guzmán began the conversion of portions of the Northern portion of the then province of Pánuco into cattle ranching land, by trading Huastecos as slaves, destined for mines in New Spain and the Antilles, for horses, at an exchange rate of 10-15 Huastecos (Tének), per horse. He justified these their enslavement by saying that the Spanish crown would benefit from the gold that was extracted in a letter written on August 27, 1529. These horses and land were given to *encomienderos*, Spanish settlers who were given domain over land, all of the indigenous people within their territories, and all of the labor of its original people in payment for their work of converting the indigenous people to the Catholic faith (*Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca* 2008: 50).

In the festival, contrast between the image on the backdrop of a pre-Hispanic artifact of a female goddess, from a culture distinct from the Aztec empire, and the modern *son huasteco* musicians who spoke in Náhuatl, combined to represent a long Huastecan regional history and diverse its population. The actual artifact was a small nude female figure carved from bone.

The Post-Classical Huastecan culture that produced this small artifact continued after several migrations of the Tolteco speakers of Náhuatl into the region south of the present day Pánuco-Tampico area. While they were tributaries to Tenochtitlán, instead of a complete subjugation by the Mexica (Aztecs) they continued as powerful sedentary agriculturalist and artisan traders based in the area around what is now known as the Pánuco-Tampico region, with outposts in Chalco, a region close to Tenochtitlán.



(1) DIOSA HUASTECA, TALLADA EN HUESO ARTICULADA DEL PERIODO POSTCLÁSICO 1521 DC DE LA CULTURA HUASTECA. TAMPICO, TAMAULIPAS

Figure 37: Announcement for the XV Festival de la Huasteca: replicated on the stage's backdrop at the festival (<http://www.huasteca.org/> 07/16/2012).

Less than 10 years after this figure was made, the majority of the Huasteco population gone from this region, removed in a brutal exportation of slaves to the lesser and greater Antilles in exchange for horses and cattle for Spanish *encomiendero* settlers, who had permission from the Spanish crown to force indigenous residents to do free labor in the region. The Spanish also brought African and freed *afrodescendientes* into the region as slaves, and *caporales*, cattle foremen. Their descendents have influenced the culture of the Huasteca region around Tampico and Pánuco.

The indigenous group the *huastecos*, who call themselves the *tének*, and whose name in Náhuatl gave name to this region, still have over 112,000 people who identify as this group and speak the language. They continue to live in portions of San Luis Potosí and Veracruz in the Huasteca, because they fled the areas that they had occupied for more than a millennium. They did so to escape the brutality of Spanish settlement and exploitation, brutality that was sometimes aided and abetted by Tlaxcatecos and other Náhuatl speakers from the center of Mexico during the colonial period.

The musicians in front were well-dressed contemporary cowboys. They enacted a music scene centered on the revival and strengthening of a unified regional based participatory identity based on the performance of *son huasteco* and *huapango* in *trío huasteco* music, but which had many local variants and diversity in customs that are associated with *trío huasteco* music. *Trío Calamar* performed as modern, active and participating indigenous musicians simultaneously representing the entire Huasteca region, *nahuas*, the state of Hidalgo, Huejutla de Reyes, and Huixquilitla (their community of less than 2000 inhabitants that had been the subjects of many classic ethnographies in the Huasteca—including Guy Stresser Pean in the mid 20th Century).

These two images on the stage combined representations of nationalism and indigenous identity that are very different from that of the center of the nation. Both contrast with the dominant representation that Eric Van Young characterizes as a “vampire.” Where Van Young says, the State draws upon the glories of the dead indigenous cultures as an ancestral identity that belongs to all people, but which is

fused with European progressiveness and modernization, to erase the violent conquest, forced slavery, rape and recent violent land conflicts between indigenous communities. He also says the centrist representation of an ancient Aztec patrimony assists in the domination of modern indigenous peoples (Van Young 1994: conclusion).

The title below the image on the backdrop read, “*XV Festival de la Huasteca: Turismo cultural y desarrollo sustentable. (XV Festival of the Huasteca: Cultural tourism and sustainable development)*”. The image of the doll would be reprinted on T-shirts that are given to the performers and other official participants, along with backpacks and other momentos of the Festival. The image of the musicians would be recreated by a series of different performers with their own ethnicity, language, gender and local practices inserted into their performance.

Representing the State of Hidalgo’s Huasteca

From the stage, I hear the male and female radio personality’s who host the festival, Ludivina Nieto from Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas and Enrique Paniaguas, from Mexico City say in unison, “Representing the Huasteca Hidalguense courtesy of the Consejo Estatal para la Cultura y las Artes del Estado de Hidalgo, *El Trío Calamar, ‘Trío Calamari’*²⁰ for the Fifteenth edition of el *Festival de la Huasteca, ¡nuestra fiesta de quince años! Our quinceñera party.*”

²⁰ Trio squid.

Even though they were featured early in the concert that makes up each night's program of the *Festival de la Huasteca*, where early in the *encuentro*, performers who have applied for support for projects to record CDs or for workshops for youth and the community of all ages to learn *son huasteco* and other related genres are featured their project was not announced by the hosts: Enrique Paniagua and Ludivina Nieto. Dressed in sharply pressed black dress-shirts, creased white pants, polished black dress shoes and belts, and three distinctive styles of pressed brim on the same cowboy hats (see Figure 38).



Figure 38: *Trío Calamar* Performing at the XV *Festival de la Huasteca* (Photo: Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010).

I made it to the stage just in time to begin to video record. I took a deep breath, and pressed the record button after checking the sound levels on my digital SLR. *Trío Calamar* began to sing *El Gusto*, 'the pleasure,' with soaring violin and sparkling falsetto, in *Náhuatl*. Then a friend, Rosy, leapt out of the chairs set up

behind the dance *tárima* and screamed hugging me and jostling my camera. Not wanting to complain about the interruption of recording *El Gusto* in *Náhuatl*, because a big part of the scene around *huapango* is to value sharing the event in the moment and having a good time with other people, I hugged her. The camera began to film her feet, and I asked her how she has been. Rosy told me that she was waiting to get on the *tárima* and dance when the *trío* of Joel Monroy from Ciudad Valles, she commented ‘the one that sings good verses (sic!) –in Spanish,’ takes the stage. I give her a great big hug. Then when she sat down and my friend, photographer and radio host from Tampico, Tamaulipas, Juan Pablo Castillo Rodríguez looked around gave me a thumbs up and a wink, I felt safe to began filming the performance of *Trío Calamar* again.

I was excited by everything that *Trío Calamar* brought into their performance: local styles of *son huasteco* shared by my *trío*’s violinist, *son huasteco* lyrics in *Náhuatl*, in a *mestizo* regional style of Mexican popular music usually sung with improvised verses in Spanish. The style has roots that go back several hundred years and this style has been shared by *nahuas*, *otomís*, *tepehuas*, *pames*, *tenek* and Spanish speaking *mestizos* across ethnolinguistic lines within the Huasteca region. But, *Trío Calamar* they started making indexical references to local performance contexts of *trío huasteco* religious music: *danzas* of the *nahua* communities of the Huasteca of Veracruz and Hidalgo. The repertoire, language, music style, signaling to the audience and the semiotic substitute for the context they are best known for, the Matachines dance called *La Danza de Tres Colores*, will be analyzed in the following sections.

Náhua Repertoire and Playing with Identity in the Encuentro Huapanguero

While I had come to expect Náhua *sones* as part of the repertoire performed in *encuentros*, *Trío Calamar*'s three short pieces did not include any *danzas*, or *sones de costumbre*. They did fulfill my expectation of at least one *son huasteco*, usually sung in Spanish. Many *tríos* with Náhuatl speakers began performing Náhuatl lyrics in *sones*. This practice started shortly before the beginning of the PDCH, with the first album of *Trío Alegría Hidalguense*, sons and grandsons of Martín Hernández, who were from the community of Huehuetla, in Huejutla Hidalgo. The *trío* featured Eusebio Martínez, on violin, Julian Martínez, on *jarana*, and Santos Hernández on *quinta huapanguera*. *Trío Calamar*, from Huixquiltila, Huejutla, was also at the forefront in of this practice in the early 1990s. As I said earlier in the chapter, in many PDCH events, *Trío Alegría Huasteca*, from Tampico, also sang in Náhuatl: their *jarana* player, Crescencio, 'Chanito' Silva, from a Náhuatl speaking community in San Luis Potosí, although his performance also thwarted my expectations in *El XVII Festival de la Huasteca*.

The first piece *Trío Calamar* played was "El Gusto," a *son huasteco*, but with lyrics in Náhuatl. The second piece they played was a *huapango* that I had heard few *tríos* play, except for *tríos* in or from Huejutla, "China del Alma," but with lyrics in Spanish. In "China del Alma," the falsetto and violin sparkled. Their synchronizing of Spanish syllables with the *manazos*, the hand strikes, of the *jarana huasteca* and *quinta huapanguera* was impeccable. The third piece, "La Leva Cruzada," 'the

crossed *Leva*,’ or “*La Leva por Cuatro*” ‘the *Leva* in Four,’ was a piece that I had learned from my violinist in the US, who said that it was an old *son* he had learned from his father. Although I cannot generalize about whether this piece is more common in the repertoire of *nahua* musicians, I have only found it in the repertoire of *nahua* musicians who play *trío huasteco* music.

My violinist in the US, was also the son of Don Martín Hernández, a violinist whose legacy of ritual music such as, “*El Canario Viejo*,” “*El San Josetzin*,” and other pieces was left with all of his sons José and also *Trío Alegría Hidalguense*. The archive of *la Comisión del Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas* had recordings of Don Martín that were incorrectly labeled and which his family cannot access.

“*La Leva Cruzada*,” was taught to me by José in Seattle. He told us it was played in A major, and that sometime the older musicians like his father played certain transpositions of *sones* in certain keys at particular times of the day or night in celebrations. José said it was called “*La Leva Cruzada*,” because the fingers of the *jarana* and *quinta* had to cross the strings to transpose the chords from open G major, to A major.

It was a difficult piece, that many of the musicians at the festival would have a hard time playing without practice, because of the key. In essence, while it only had a few chords and was repetitious, it was no simple matter to accompany in this key without a capo. This piece may be one that has performed a signaling function in *nahua* communities. In their three short pieces that are part of the *encuentro*—which has the multiple meaning of “encounter,” “meeting,” and “face-off,” in English—they opened the *encuentro huapanguero* with a gentle reversal of

colonialization, defining themselves and *huapango* not as mainstream *mestizo*, but as *nahua*. Calamar used repertoire that sounded simple, but it was not as easy as it appeared on the surface.

Unpacking Two Huastecas Aesthetics at Play on Violin and Language ²¹

When *Trío Calamar* began to perform, their aesthetics and choice of language clashed with the aesthetics of some of the other listeners at the XV *Festival de la Huasteca* its first evening. It is understandable to want to hear a style of music known for naming people present at the party and making jokes in improvised poetry, in your own language, whether it is Spanish, or Náhuatl. However, this clash of aesthetics went beyond language, but also spread into every aspect of the performance. I was surprised to register some elements of the different expectations and desire to see something related to each *person's* own experience with *huapango*, at the moment.

In the case of my friend's preferred group, which was *Joel Monroy y sus huastecos*, the group that Rosy was waiting for, the violin style of Joey Monroy could not be more different than the style of Cirilo Moedano, the violinist of *Trío Calamar*. Cirilo and other musicians from Huejutla valued his violin playing for clear, beautiful jeweled tones, and Cirilio coaxed crying emotions out of the violin through his use of

²¹ These observations of aesthetic contrasts are based on multi-site participant observation research playing and talking about music with people from Huejutla de Reyes, Hidalgo, in Tampico, Tamaulipas, in trans-local music festivals and in a violin workshop with some individuals and their extended music making social networks. It is also based on people's receptions of their performances in various contexts.

vibrato. They could trace the style to many musicians from the area, including Cirilo's mentor, Don Ramos, or Tío Ramos. When Tío Ramos was younger, Cirilo Moedano had accompanied him along with Tío Ramos's son as a way to learn (Interview Tío Ramos April 20, 2011). A crying violin sound is highly prized by some listeners from *nahua* speaking communities around Huejutla. During one practice in the United States in 2009, my *quinta* player and violinist, who were from this area, remembered how my violinist's father used to play with a crying sound during music that was for rituals, or customs like weddings.

Joel Monroy had a wild arpeggiated violin style he personally developed as the violinist of *Los Camperos de Valles*, and as a youth, he was the *jaranero* that accompanied Heliodoro Copado, the original violinist of *Los Camperos de Valles*. He refined it more as a professional musician in Tampico, Tamaulipas, playing with *Los Caimanes de Tampico* as a violinist, and sometimes accompanying other professional musicians in Tampico such as 'Agustín El Chile' Espinosa. Then he returned to Ciudad Valles and played with other musicians.

The division of the style violin and song, corresponded not only to ethnic-linguistic group (*mestizo*-Spanish speaking vs. indigenous Náhuatl speaking), the styles came from different groups of musicians in distinct communities (Ciudad Valles and Tampico vs. Huejutla). Each style represented an artistic genealogy of mentorship, influence and family, with different orientations and uses of music.

One style was oriented towards individualistic falsetto with melissmas that change places in the vocal lines, even in the same performance of the same singer. It also featured extreme virtuosity through individuality of ornamentation and speed

and violin lines with arpeggios. The style often created elaborate variations of even the most simple piece, such as, “El Caballito,” “The Pony.”

The other style featured competent accurate expression of a music style, where mastery is shown through soaring slide falsetto in the voice that hit each note in the slide perfectly in tune as almost a catch. The style also featured expressive violin playing with contrasts in vibrato, and the complete absence of vibrato along with slurred bowing. Finally, the style for *Calamar* featured key changes and the transposition of pieces that occasionally marked the division between different life events, rituals and performance contexts.

Nahua, Language, Masculinity and Identity in Coplas for Son Huasteco

For many listeners who do not speak Náhuatl, *nahua* identity in this performance, authenticity was symbolized merely by the choice of creating *coplas* in the language for the *son*. However, the *coplas* that *Trío Calamar* sang in “*La Leva Cruzada*,” revealed both *personal* attitudes in romantic relationships from a male perspective and gender relationships. The first *copla* that Cirilio sang, seemed to be sung to his wife, not a new love. Musicians work long hours, are absent from home, and are in places where there are other women. This can create discord in a marriage. The lyrics reveal partnership and shared work as a way of expressing caring:

Na nimitzilhui tihuallauh,
amo timocualanizceh
nimitzyoltlali tihuala,
más cualli titequitizceh,

I have come here to say to you
let's not get mad with each other
come here and I will console you
its better that we work

tlan huicatl mitzyoltlilana
xihuala timomihtotizceh.

If you like this *song*,
come here, we will dance.

(Performance Trío Calamar, *El XV Festival de la Huasteca*; recording and translation: Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010).

In the last two lines, Cirilio Moedano invites the woman to come over to him if she likes the music so he can dance with her. The words are an expression of mutual decision-making and partnership within a love relationship, such as a marriage.

The second *copla* that was sang by Victor, he makes an oblique reference to courtship. The words say he remembers when he saw a beautiful woman in a small town, surrounded by flowers.

Huehcaquiaya na nicpanti
axhueliti ni quelcahua
ipan ce pilcaltitlantzin
campa xochitl moxoyahua
iztoc ce pilichpocatzin
huan nelia nechyoltililana.

When I saw her
I cannot forget
It was in a beautiful town
where flowers grew everywhere
there was a beautiful maiden
and I believe she desired me with her heart.

(Performance Trío Calamar, *El XV Festival de la Huasteca*; recording and translation: Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010. Transcription and translation; Kim Carter Muñoz).

In the last two, lines Victor shows how uncertainty can make love more exciting. I translated the last line as “I believe she desired me.” In Náhuatl, it is actually a very passionate line, “Nelia nechyolittlilana,” “Nelia” ‘maybe’ “nech-‘to me’-“yoli-‘heart’=“tlil”-‘fire’-“ana” ‘past tense third person verbalizer’: “I believe I set her heart on fire.”

The Performance of Separate Huastecas in Zapateado and Language and Unification through Signals

In a reversal of what I had experienced at any other performance at *encuentros huapangueros* at the festival, Victor the *quinta* player made all of his announcements and side comments to animate the audience and dancers in Náhuat instead of Spanish. Victor Moedano spoke in a booming voice, as if he were a radio announcer, or the leader of a *música grupera*, musical group. Most of the *tríos* in the festival avoid this type of aesthetic for their presentations and leave any sort of announcements or speech to the MCs.

The way that *tríos* announce and present themselves is another important marker, besides choice of repertoire, where the aesthetics of commercial *trío huasteco*, that is played in dance halls and bars like *música grupera*, emerge. The trios that tend to present in cultural events like this one, tend to avoid speaking directly to the audience. *Tríos* that do so are criticized, unless they do so through verse.

However, because the announcements were in Náhuatl, they were not intelligible to many of the audience members who might level such a critique. No one could patrol the borders between commercially viable and culturally authentic *trío huasteco* music in Víctor's performance unless they spoke Náhuatl. His side comments were directed to the dancers, the audience and to listeners on the radio throughout the Huasteca who spoke Náhuatl. Not once in the performance did he use Spanish.

There were a few couples dancing to their music during the last *son*: “tac,” “tac” “slide” “tac,” “tac,” <<pause>>, tac,” “tac” “slide” “tac,” “tac,” <<pause>> (see figure 3).



Figure 39: Zapateado Deslizado (transcription; Kim Carter Muñoz)

Victor commented in a booming drawn out voice like a radio announcer, “Ay, yay, yay amo nijneli. ‘Aaaahh, I don’t believe iiiiit.’” teasing the audience to participate better, as if her were a radio announcer. He made no translation into Spanish.

The *jarana* player, Alejandro Moedano started cuing the dancers to use different steps that matched with the style of playing from Huejutla de Reyes, Hidalgo: “toc,” “toc,” <<pause>> “toc.” toc,” <<pause>>, by clicking his tongue.



Figure 40: Zapateado Doble clicked by the jarana player and then danced by the dancers below (transcription; Kim Carter Muñoz)

In Pánuco (majority *mestizo*) dancers use a variety of *deslizado* (slide) steps, some of which have made it into academic forms of dancing *huapango* throughout the Huasteca. However, in Huejutla, (majority *nahua*), the dancers do not usually use *deslizado* steps. When I used *deslisado* steps at a later time in Huejutla de Reyes,

Hidalgo, where 85% of the population speaks Náhuatl, people corrected me saying that was how los *maestros*, teachers, taught them to dance in school, but it was not how they danced in their community.

There were a few couples dancing and some musicians looking on with intense interest. Cirilo had just finished singing the first verse. The dancers started to dance like Alejandro cued. Although I could not tell if the dancers spoke Náhuatl, Victor let out a yell of affirmation, “Ahhh, ha!” and again in his joking and booming voice, like a popular group, not folkloric, and encouraged the dancers some more in Náhuatl, “*Iuhquinon*,” ‘In that way.’

I was shocked to hear a *sonic* expression of the division of communities along the lines of ethno-linguistic groups by a disjuncture between the dancers and the music. Then, the creation of a larger community that encompassed both groups through the resolution of that disjuncture by musicians cuing the dancers with mouth clicks and then dancers synching up with the cues.

If the dancers were not speakers of Náhuatl, he was reversing the display of dance on stage frequently at cultural events by commenting on the dancing below. The reversal might have also been done on an ethnic level. Where instead of the *mestizo* majority and region watch indigenous dance on display, the Náhuatl speaking majority of those who are listening to his words, is watching *mestizo*, or non-*nahua* dance. If the dancers were Náhuatl speakers, he was encouraging them, and provoking excitement through references to home in almost all aspects of the performance.

Towards the end of the *son*, the dancers finally moved to another *zapateado* that also matched up with the *rasgueo*, without slides.



Figure 41: Zapateado Redoble

As the *son* ended, Victor said in a comment pointing out the off-stage performancee “¡Ay yay yay! Cualli ta imihtotili.” “Ay, yay yay! Their dancing is good!” While during the *son* performance some listeners were not synching up with the *Trío Calamar*, the people who danced at first out of rhythm and style with the *rasgueo*, synched up and *Trío Calamar* and the dancers become one community through interaction, cuing and negotiation. It was a moment where some people present at the event crossed ethnic and local style boundaries by executing the matching *zapateo*, interacting and creating the full sound of *huapango*: with *son*, instruments and dance.

It is important to note that the synchronization of dance with the music was accomplished through signals, and not verbal cues, because Alejandro Moedano clicked the rhythm of the dance with his mouth as the *trío* played.

The Sizzle, Whistle and Boom of *Nahua* Identity

There is a large body of literature on the use of sounds and music to signal, or as semiotic substitutes of language, in particular in the Huasteca, one article by

Charles Boiles, “Tepehua Song Thought,” attempts to show how grammar is mimicked by trío huasteco violinists in rituals in Tepehua village in order to signal participants what to do (Boiles 1967). Arturo Chamorro Escalante in response, suggest that unlike in places where there are tonal languages, such as in Africa where talking drums and other instruments can be substitutes for speech, he suggests that in many cultures in Americas there are many signaling systems, that exist separate from speech, such as whistle calls that send a code that substitutes of languages, or music can also function to bless a place (Chamorro and Zúñiga 2010: 10). I wondered if this was a signal to remember *nahua* religious *fiestas* that include *processions, fireworks and dance*²².

About 25 seconds into the performance of “*La Leva Cruzada*,” Don Víctor Moedano, the *quinta* player and announcer for the *trío* also began making realistic sounds like the bottle rockets that fizzle, shoot, whistle and then explode at every Saint’s day celebration. In some *nahua* communities, there is a *person* within the laity of the church who is in charge of setting off the bottle rockets for the church and for saint’s processions. At each turn with the saint’s image a bottle rocket is lit and sent up into the sky to whistle and announce where the procession is in the town. At each bell of the mass, another bottle rocket shoots off into heaven to publicize the progression of the religious observance. Then at the beginning of each shift of dance of the Matachine type dancers from the Huasteca, that is the male dancers are known as *Tres Colores*, and the female dancers are known as *Las Inditas*, the bottle rockets whistle and pop, announcing that the religious observance

²² *Trío Calamar* had just released a CD, *La Danza de Tres Colores, vol II*, and it was the reason they were invited to this edition of the Festival. ‘

through dance has begun. Several audience members remarked about how their performance reminded them of the *fiestas*.

Although no analysis or explanation was provided for anyone who did not have the references for the music, sounds or language, when I approached Trío Calamar to ask if I could use my recording of their performance for my research, and gave them a copy of my CD that I recorded with Jose. *Trío Calamar* quickly pulled out a copy of their CD featuring music for *La Danza de Tres Colores* to give to me. *Trío Calamar* invited me to go see them play at the event. The cover of the CD made me realized I was not imagining that they were signaling and reminding people that they were known for the music of this dance. I made arrangements to travel to the *fiesta* for the following week.



Figure 42: *Trío Calamar Danza de Tres Colores Vol. II* funded by the Programa de Apoyos Culturales de los Municipios y las Comunidades (PACMYC)

Even though *Trío Calamar* had two recordings that featured music for *La Danza de Tres Colores*, it is significant that they did not perform the music for the dance in the festival. *Trío Calamar's* decision not to perform this music went beyond the feeling that *La Danza de Tres Colores* would be incomplete without the dancers. Calamar's tactics might have hinted at an unspoken feeling that presenting religious music and dance outside of its context would be disrespectful to the tradition and uninteresting for the majority of the audience. The same opinion was expressed by my violinist José in the United States. The transportation of the music to the festival would be inappropriate, even if many dance groups and musicians linked to schools do so. Instead of just refusing to play the music, and perhaps on a subconscious level, they decided to bring the sound of *cuetes*, bottle rockets into their performance at the Festival. Their tactics of performance also hint at signaling practices that several anthropologists have written about in relation to Mexican *mestizo* and indigenous culture. Many in the audience remarked on how the bottle rocket sounds added to the excitement of their playing and reminded them of *fiestas* of patron saints in small villages.

Chapter 9: *La Danza de Tres Colores*: Dancing for the Cross

In the passages that follow, I will provide an account the performance of *La Danza de Tres Colores* in the *Fiesta de Nuestro Señor*, in Chililico. in order to show a limited understanding of the place of this music and dance as a form of religious and community education, the musicians' role and identity as participants and transmitters of the dance , and their role and identities also as consummate professional musicians. The chapter will show how fireworks could be such an unmistakable reference to *nahua* religious fiestas and become part of a performance repertoire that musicians to remind audiences of these events. This dance is a deeply lived form of Christian worship that extends back to the establishment of missions in Huejutla since the 16th century by priests who used the dances to convert the *nahua* to Catholicism. While the dance has some syncretic meaning its survival for five hundred years attests to the importance that religion has in this region to *nahua*.

On August 19, 2010, I traveled from Tampico to Huejutla to attend the *Fiesta de Nuestro Señor*, 'The Festival of Our Father.' . In Chililico, Huejutla, the dance group was already set up outside of the Church . The saint's image was a dark figure of Jesus, on a cross with a large red heart. The celebration involved all of the community. Women and men had booths set up where they sold. *Trío Calamar*, had set up off to the side.

Inside the church, a group of women and girls dressed in embroidered blouses associated with Huejutla, Hidalgo and brightly colored skirts danced to

violin and *jarana*. The women and girls formed two lines, and created different figures of movement as they sang devotional songs in Náhuatl and kept time with their rattles. On top of their heads, which had braided hair, some groups had baskets with flowers, and corn seeds underneath, that they would leave at the altar once they finished their devotional dance.

Outside of the church, there was an area set up where the fireworks technician kept bottle rockets. An elaborate fireworks structure had been set up with figures when lit, would spill sparks below and ignite pinwheels. The structure was topped by a star that would explode into sparkling light when the rest of the fireworks had finished. The star hung from a set of strings at the highest point over the courtyard in front of the church.

At the back of the courtyard two brass bands played from the Huasteca during the boy's dance group rest break. I had just arrived during the break before the dancers for *Los Tres Colores* would begin. Víctor Moedano agreed to let me interview him during their rest.



Figure 43: The Cross of Nuestro Señor placed outside the Church (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010)



Figure 44: La Danza de Tres Colores Group Preparing to Dance, Inditas group inside the church in the far background (photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010)



Figure 45: *La Danza de Inditas* inside the church in Huautla, Hidalgo, the violinist and lead dancers discuss the performance of the dance, photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 15, 2008.

When I sat down to interview Victor about *La Danza de Tres Colores.*, it was the first time I had an interview where the person simultaneously continued to enact his role as both an entertainer and a master of ceremonies during the interview. that performed himself as an entertainer and master of ceremonies in the ethnographic interview like Victor Moedano. During our interview, a brass band was playing in the background. Tellingly, all of Moedano's comments during the interview seemed in perfect synchronization with the brass band, as if he were breathing along with them. He started right in on the interview, without any hesitation, or a question. Even though he had already finished his introductory information, before the band stopped playing, he started speaking again,

improvising more information about himself and the musical group, in order to end at the same time that the band was playing the ending cadence of the brass band: V -

I.

Hay una nanda de viento en el fondo durante su descanso en la fiesta de Nuestro Señor Chililico, Hidalgo. Mientras Moedano toma su descanso, me déja entrevistarle sobre su grupo, y la danza en la Fiesta de Nuestro Señor, Chililico, Huejutla, Hidalgo]

Bueno mi nombre es Victor Moedano. Soy de Huixquilititla, Huejutla, Hidalgo. Desde niño he aprendido a tocar los instrumentos; empezando con la *jarana* y después con la *quinta*, y el violín toco también. Aprendimos desde niños tocar lo que es la Danza de los Huehues, la Danza de las Inditas, la Danza de Tres Colores y de allí pasamos a lo que es el huapango, la valtz, canciones, cumbias, boleros también y otra cosa que es el paso doble. Lo tenemos ya dentro del repertorio pues lo seguimos dando a la música. Somos de Huixquilititla, mi nombre es Victor y hasta este momento manejo la quinta. Y aquí estamos en la Danza de Tres Colores de Allá de Huixquilititla (espera para que termina la banda de viento una cadenza tan tan). Graaaaacías (voz de maestro de ceremonias).

[There is a Huastecan Brass Band in the background. While Moedano takes his break, he grants me an interview about the group and the dance at the Fiesta of Our Jesus, Chililico, Huejutla, Hidalgo]

Well, my name is Victor Moedano. I am from Huixquilititla, Hidalgo. Since I was a child, boy, I began to learn the instruments beginning with the *jarana*, and later the *quinta* and I also play the violin. We [Victor Moedano and Cirilo his brother] learned since we were boys to play what is called the Dance of the *Viejitos*, the Dance of the *Inditas* (Guadalupanas), the Dance of Three Colors, and for there we then began to play the *huapango*, waltz, *canciones*, *cumbias*, also *boleros* and another style that is called the *paso doble*. We have all that in our repertoire and we keep going in the music.

We are from Huixquilititla [Moedano begins drawing out his words to make them coincide with the ending cadence of the brass band's music]. My name is Victor [Moedano slows down some more and he waits again to see if the band will play the ending cadence]. At this moment I operate the *quinta* [Moedano uses a word that makes playing the *quinta* seem like it is similar to driving a car, truck or piece of machinery for a job.] [Victor pauses again for the band's ending cadence]. And here we are at the Dance of Three Colors from Huixquilititla [Moedano pauses a long while waiting for the ending cadence of the brass band.] [When the ending cadence happens he speaks again.]

Thank you [Victor Moedano uses a drawn out master of ceremonies voice ending his speech with the brass band.] [Then, he begins to look at me and laugh once he thinks the camera is off].

(Interview Victor Moedano August 19, 2010; recording, transcription and translation Kim Carter Muñoz)

Victor mentions that *Trío Calamar*, who are the most recognized musicians in Mexico with two recordings of music for *la Danza de Tres Colores*, from Huixquililitla, Hidalgo began to learn how to play music with *La Danza de los Huehues (Los Viejitos)*. Los Huehues that is part of the dance groups that travel from house to house and to the graveyard during the four days that *nahua* in the Huasteca celebrate *Xántolo*, or Day of the Dead. He said they learned to play the Dance of *Las Guadalupeñas* or *Inditas*, which has just violin and *jarana*, usually. Then, they learned *La Danza de Tres Colores*. After that they began playing *sones huastecos*, and *huapangos*, *canciones*, *boleros*, *cumbias* and *paso dobles*. He treats musicianship like a job and service to the community. He uses the word, “*manejo*,” for his main instrument *quinta*—almost comparing musicianship to driving a truck—something else that he also does for a living.

In another conversation, on April 20, 2011, I asked Victor Moedano why they began singing *sones huastecos* in Náhuatl. Victor answered, “We like to make people happy.” Some of the people where they play *huapangos*, and *son huasteco*, understand Náhuatl better than Spanish (Victor Moedano April 20, 2011 Conversation Huixquililitla, Huejutla, Hidalgo).

To understand the history and significance of *La Danza de Tres Colores* outside of its local context, it is one of many different kinds of dances found throughout Latin America and that belong to a group of dances sometimes called, “Matachines” (Conversation Brenda Romero October 31st, 2012). According to Loeffler, the dance is religious and linked to the church. But, Matachines are a folk form of worship, with local meaning defined by the laity wherever it is danced. Was part of grew the early 16th century catechism in the Americas. Fray Peter Ghent, a Flemish priest, arrived in Mexico in 1531. Ghent opened a school dedicated to the arts, and soon recognized that in order to convert the Aztecs to the Church, he needed to compose dance dramas. The dance dramas of the 16th Century used violin and *vihuela*, instrumentation that continues to the present in indigenous and *hispano* communities. It is danced with different local versions from Perú, all the way up to New Mexico (Loeffler in Stevenson 2008: 26-27).

In New Mexico, the dancers often have one person who dressed as a bull, and who represents evil. During the dance the Matachines, who represent the Apostles, castrate the bull, or do some other action to show that evil impulses are overcome by good (Romero 1993: 383). In the fiesta at Chililico during our interview, we started at the front of the church, but Victor moved me out of the way because the bull was about to begin his dance. He was also worried about his *quinta*. Because the loud sounds could split the wood on the body of the large guitar, once the bull with the fireworks was lit. The brass band played while the dancer moved around the front plaza with fireworks shooting out of the top of the figure of the bull that he carried on his head and shoulders. Until I had made the connection between *La*

Danza de Tres Colores and those of Matachines, I did not know why many Patron Saint's Day festivals featured a bull. Once the fireworks in the bull had all been spent, we resumed our interview. Several car alarms had been set off, and excited children chased after the man who carried the frame of the bull, which was only smoking after the last of the fire-works were spent. The brass band continued to play in the background.

Victor Moedano of *Trío Calamar* talks about the role of *la Danza de Tres Colores* in educating youth about Catholicism:

La danza de tres colores es una danza que lo baila un grupo de jóvenes es una adoración al todo poderoso con música y con el baile, ¿no? se le alaba a Dios nuestro padre es por eso que la danza de tres colores pues por eso existe y lo bailan en las comunidades donde tienen el gusto de eso de aprender y adorar a Dios. Nosotros lo bailamos se puede decir de niños, pero después aprendimos a tocar esos instrumentos y dejamos de bailar, pero seguimos dándole vida a la música ya con los instrumentos. Pero sentimos que formamos parte del grupo de danza en la adoración que se hace al todo poderoso.

The Dance of Three Colors is a dance that a group of young men dances. It is a form of worship for the All Powerful done with music and dance. God Our Father is prayed to. This is why the Dance of Three Colors exists and it is danced *in communities where people like to learn about and worship God*. We danced it when we were boys you could say, but later we learned to play these instruments and we stopped dance. But we continued giving life to the music then with instruments. But we feel that we form part of the dance group en for the worship given to the All Powerful.

(Interview Victor Moedano August 19, 2010; recording, transcription and translation Kim Carter Muñoz)

I was also told by one youth on the way to Huejutla on the bus, that *Tres Colores* and *Las Inditas* is a form of service to the community and the nation. The crowns that the dancers use and the braids for the women in *Las Inditas* have ribbons that are red, green and white, the colors of the Mexican flag (Conversation

with an anonymous young man on bus between Tampico and Huejutla, August 20, 2010). Victor began to explain the structure of the dance.

Hay piezas especiales para lo que es la danza. La danza de tres colores tiene su música de entrada y después vienen las otras piezas y ya que se termina la danza es la misma pieza de salida con la que se entra y con la que sale

There are special pieces for the dance. The Dance of Three Colors as its music for the Entrance. Then the other pieces follow. Once the dance is finished it is the same piece of music for the Entrance and the Exit, the same one for the beginning and the end.

(Interview Victor Moedano August 19, 2010; recording, transcription and translation Kim Carter Muñoz)

The dance has more than 10 pieces. The *entrada* and the *salida* are the same piece in Huixquilitla. During the first piece of music the *danzantes* make it clear that the dance is a form of worship, by kneeling. Jack Loffler also mentions in his article on *Matachines*, that the ending piece and beginning piece are the same, and that there are at least 10 pieces of music played for the dance (2008: 27).

La primera pieza que se toca, allí entra los danzantes. Se arrodillan en un acto de adoración para Diós. Se arrodilla, se persignan, y se paran ya para empezar los pasos del baile.

The first piece that is played the dancers enter. They kneel in an act of worship for God. They kneel, they cross themselves and they stand up then to start the steps of the dance.

(Interview Victor Moedano August 19, 2010; recording, transcription and translation Kim Carter Muñoz)

The two dances are complementary but different, this reflects many aspects of *nahua* culture, where there are usually female and male versions of dances. The women's dance, *Las Inditas*, is danced inside the chapel of the church and the men's dance, *La Danza de Tres Colores* is danced directly in front of the Church, in the pathway that leads to the entrance of the Church and faces the Cross. The

instrumentation for *La Danza de Tres Colores* is *trío huasteco* and for *Las Inditas*, it is a *jarana huasteca* and violin without the *quinta*.

En la danza de las Inditas allí tocan y cantan el *Xochipitzahuatl*. Claro es diferente que lo que tocamos en la boda. Porque aquí (en la danza de la fiesta religiosa) se canta las muchachas (del grupo de las inditas). En la danza de las inditas nada mas se usa una *jarana* y violín. Y en la danza de tres colores entran los tres instrumentos: violín, *jarana* y guitarra quinta.

In the Dance of the *Inditas* they play and sing *Xochipitzahuatl*. Of course it is different from the one that we play in the wedding. Because there (in the dance of the *Inditas*) the young women and girls sing it. In the Dance of the *Inditas* only *jarana* and violin is used. And in the Dance of Three Colors the three instruments are used: the violin, *jarana* and *quinta huapanguera*.

(Interview Victor Moedano August 19, 2010; recording, transcription and translation Kim Carter Muñoz)

Once the brass band stopped playing, the dance group and musicians readied themselves to begin. Bottle rockets were set off to signal that *Trío Calamar* and *La Danza de Tres Colores* were about to begin again. The youth ran, took their place in two rows and started to put their crowns with ribbons back on their heads and grab their rattles. When the second bottle rocked went off, Cirilo began to play the violin starting on the dominant chord. When the violin moved to the tonic, Victor and Alejandro began the accompaniment, which alternated between *azote* clicks and strums.

The young boys kneeled before they began to dance the first dance, "*La Entrada*," the entrance. In this performance *Trío Calamar* also played a couple of pieces that Cirilo Moedano composed, such as "*El Pañuelito*," 'The Bandana.' They danced a piece called "*El Espejito*," 'The Little Mirror.' Another one called, "*Mi Sonaja*" 'my rattle.' In all there were more than 15 pieces of music.

Once the dancers finished their last set, after the bull had been lit and spent all of its fireworks, and the *fiesta* was almost over, the fireworks display was lit. It was the grand finale. A spark traveled up the long fuse and sizzled like a snare drum roll. The figures of stars and angels ignited and traveled along the strings. The last figure, which appeared to be an angel lit up, slowly traveled with a sizzle from a string low on the ground, all the way up to the highest point in the plaza and ignite the star.

Fireworks play an important role in the dance, music drama and *La Fiesta de Nuestro Señor* in Chililico, Huejutla, Hidalgo. Bottle rockets, *cuetes*, announce each event. While in other Matachine dance literature authors speak about a dancer who embodies a bull, which represents evil; in Chililico, the bull is a sculpture with fireworks attached. The fireworks are lit and the bull dances until all of the fireworks are spent. After the dance of the bull, and another round of dance by the youth of *La Danza de Tres Colores* another set of fireworks narrates a story of an ascension to heaven through stars and angels that rise to the heavens, or sometimes the story of the birth of Christ. Dance, music and fireworks in combine to convey a drama that reinforces teachings about Christianity.



Figure 44: Bottle Rocket Announcing the Start of the Last Dance of Tres Colores, Photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010 Chililico, Huejutla, Hidalgo



Figure 47: *Trío Calamar* Victor Moedano Cues from the *Cuete* to start the music (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010).



Figure 48: Dancers Kneel La danza de tres colores (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010)



Figure 49: La Danza de Tres Colores Begins After Kneeling (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010)



Figure 48: Dancer with the Bull, After it is lit, one of the stars that will ignite and travel along the fuse to rise to the heavens is in upper left corner, Chililico, Huejutla, Hidalgo, (Photo Kim Carter Muñoz August 19, 2010)

Conclusion:

In the performance at *El XV Festival de la Huasteca*. *Trío Calamar* playfully asserted and balanced their two roles as: 1) professional musicians who entertain *mestizo* and indigenous communities, and 2) teachers and servants to the community as musicians who play ritual music, *sones de costumbre*, and for *danzas* to forge and continue indigenous *nahua* identity, in juxtaposition to *mestizo* Spanish speaking identity. When I attended *La Fiesta de Nuestro Señor*, where *Trío Calamar* was hired to play in Chililico, Huejutla, Hidalgo on August 19, 2010 directly after *El XV Festival de la Huasteca* in Tampico, I found many of the elements that *Trío*

Calamar referenced in the soundscape of the *fiesta*. I also gained an insight into the syncretic spiritual and religious practices that are held together by the work and service of *trío huasteco* musicians in *nahua* communities.

At the festival their short performance which included: music, dress, language, poetry, cues to the dancers and sound effects, which made this moment on that stage in Tampico that represented the whole Huasteca for 20 minutes, local modern, and *nahua*, but with references to a dance that has been practiced for 500 years. As an intercultural, and decolonializing moment the performance was difficult for some participants at the festival to understand, because it was also *nahua* in conceptual frameworks, with little to no interpretation for a non-*nahua* audience. Furthermore, the references referenced local *nahua* identity from Huejutla de Reyes, Hidalgo, Huautla, Hidalgo, and a few communities close to Chicontepepec, Veracruz. *Nahua* language, aesthetics and sounds had occupied the stage without providing the facile interpretations and clearly identified genres associated with folkloric, or educational presentations. They represented the *Huasteca Hidalguense*, the Huasteca, Huastecan *nahuas* and the Mexican nation with their own local modernist reformation of local elements.

Trío Perla Huasteca, *Trío Tepexocoyo*, *Trío Calamar* and many others have also claimed *huapango* as *mestizo* and indigenous. None of these *tríos* portraying a *mestizaje* that melted down Spanish, African and Indigenous to create a uniform culture, but they are claiming one that maintained indigenosity and incorporated Spanish and African influences into their culture over centuries. Their agency to belong to the majority society through playing *huapango* and *son huasteco* and

negotiate it, while also maintaining difference must be acknowledged and they do this with intellectual traditions that are distinct and born out of years of intercultural contact with non-Náhuatl-speaking *mestizos*. I will turn to the broader implications for cultural policy and music performance in the conclusion of my dissertation.

Summary and Conclusion: Development Projects, Scenes, Transmission and the Performance of Identities

In this study, I attempted to show how the *Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca* supported the reclamation of participatory *huapango* by residents of the Huasteca region and as well as how that reclamation's influenced musical performances in the *encuentros* by workshops leaders and their students, *mestiza trovadoras*, and *nahua* musicians. Pluri-ethnic and multicultural policies funded indigenous and *mestizo* residents' projects, as well as earmarked some funds for youth, children and women. The program has had a measured degree of success, because of its emphasis on supporting promoters within the region who make *huapango* and other music and dance from the region exciting and cool for new generations, new populations and communities that had stopped holding *huapangos* in public spaces. It was also successful because of the diversity of performers that they supported. Communities were able to see themselves reflected on the stage when *huapango* was brought to them through *El Festival de la Huasteca*, and also became excited about performing *son huasteco*, through dance, or even on stage as singers and/or musicians, at the *encuentros huapangueros*.

The *encuentros huapangueros* at *El Festival de la Huasteca* were essential to the revitalization of Huastecan regional music. Building on the success of the first *encuentros* which began in 1989 at *La Fiesta Anual de Huapango, Amatlán, Veracruz*, and the cultural work started by the civil association, *Asociación Civil Pro-Huapango*, the early administrators, cultural consultants and organizers of *El*

Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca promoted and revitalized Huastecan regional musics through a trans-local music festival, *fiesta* and *encuentro* scene. Thereby they made *son huasteco* cool among many youth. The PDCH also used the official program before the *encuentro* as a site where they could highlight funded projects and hold music workshops in the Huasteca. The PDCH used workshops, festivals and the invitation of *viejos huapangueros* to create excitement about *huapango huasteco*, indigenous music, and dance from the Huasteca, and generated a cultural renaissance for participatory *son huasteco*. Because of the strength of this cultural renewal, development program became a model for the development programs of other cultural regions throughout Mexico. The PDCH helped some artists, educators, and tradition-bearers access and use funds through state institutes and ministries of culture in the Huasteca and federal agencies, such as the *Consejo Nacional de las Culturas y Artes (CONACULTA)*, the *Fondo Nacional para las Culturas y Artes (FONCA)*, the *Programa de Apoyo a las Culturas Municipales y Comunitarias (PACMyC)* and, as the program matured, *the Convocatoria de Estimulos a la Creación Cultural Huasteca*.

The PDCH has been successful in training new generations to play *trío huasteco* music, and to improvise and compose new verses. Its multicultural and egalitarian policies were reflected in the variety of musicians who emerged from the workshops sponsored by the PDCH, the way that they dressed and their repertoire. In the context of the workshops, both boys and girls were encouraged to participate equally. *Both nahua* and *mestizo* repertoire were taught to the students as a way to foster a positive self-identity and to teach respect for indigenous peoples in

predominantly *mestizo* communities in the Huasteca. Most of these workshops were not located in communities that continued to have a strong connection to *huapango*, and where women have performed for generations as *trovadoras*, nor were they located in communities where the majority of the population speaks Náhuatl. Thus the workshops were presented paradoxically as new, and traditional.

The participation of girls and women was presented in this context as an innovation, and the use of Náhuatl was presented by some contingents of *nahua* musicians as a gift to all children regardless of whether they were *nahua*, or not, from *nahua* communities; while other cultural agents presented *nahua* repertoire as something that belonged to the entire region without any analysis of intercultural relationship between *nahuas* and *mestizos*.

While I did not explore the implications for performance studies of music for the workshop students in depth, I did find, unexpectedly, that the workshops represented a temporary space where the youth were taught and performed reformed versions of *huapango*, *sones huastecos* and *sones de costumbre*. Teachers, regardless of whether they are *nahua* or not, reform the music due to the institutional setting. The girls in the workshops are not encouraged to sing many verses that speak from a feminine perspective on love, or use humor to subvert male dominance as the women from Pánuco have done. Even for the young men, some of the verses are left out of the workshops due to their cheeky humor. Some of the cultural significance for *nahua* music and language was not taught to the students of the workshops, because the music has both a spiritual and religious function that is difficult to translate in an institutional setting to cultural outsiders, and some of the

workshop leaders did not grow up with the *costumbres* that this music blesses and accompanies. Yet, some elder *huapangueros* gift their knowledge, style and repertoire to these students, many who are not from *huapanguero* families through informal teaching or apprenticeship.

Only a few of the students continue to play and perform after they leave the workshops. Some go on to become professional musicians who accompany *ballet folclóricos*, and others go on to become workshop leaders in schools and in events sponsored by the PDCH. Those that continue to play, and attempt to correct and refine their performance practices so that they more closely resemble the style of the elder musicians, move the music into new contexts, places and populations. Most of the young musicians who emerge from these workshops belong to families who are able to provide their children with a high quality or an elite education. This represents a different sector of society than many of the *trío huasteco* musicians in the past, or in the present who belong to *huapango* dynasties. The successful musicians from the workshops tend to go on to become cultural brokers and musicians who represent *huapango* and the Huasteca nationally and internationally.

The site of the *encuentros* was an exciting place to explore models of performance studies related to musical nationalism and the reformation of local practices to cosmopolitan aesthetics (*i.e.* Turino 2000; Mendoza 2000). As I stated earlier, the workshop students and teachers did reform local practices, because the music was taught in an institutional context. However, the *viejos huapangueros*, and other professional *huapangueros*, correct this reformation when they are brought into the setting to perform and share their music in face-to-face interactions on and

off stage. In essence, the policy, which supported and acknowledged *viejos huapangueros*, also served as a correction for the over-institutionalization and reform of *huapango* through the workshops and festivals, because local musicians and professional musicians had the chance to show the rest of the *huapangueros* at the festival “how it is really done,” or in the case of Náhuatl, “how it is really pronounced.” In this forum, both the communitarian impulse to share, and contested authenticities are in constant play through music through the ways in which people talk about the music and evaluate other people’s performances.

The multicultural and egalitarian policies and shared decision making between national, regional and local cultural administrators had interesting implications for many elder *huapangueros*. Some musicians, such as the women *trovadoras* from Pánuco, or indigenous *nahua* musicians, who had been erased from history when *huapango* travelled to Mexico City and internationally, have been able to gain official recognition and a space to perform, as authentic representatives of a tradition they were born into, in cultural events from which they had previously been previously excluded. Although most of these *huapangueros* have not been leaders of workshops in institutions, they have performed their versions of *huapango* and gave some of their music and practices to new generations and populations within the Huasteca. Outside of the PDCH programs, these musicians have begun to teach in their communities and at other *encuentros*; however, they have not taught at the *Festival*, nor have they sought funding for workshops through the PDCH.

The ways in which musicians chose to perform *huapango* reflected intercultural negotiation between *mestizo* and indigenous musicians, as well as the negotiation of gender roles between performers through music, sound and poetry. Although I thought my study would be limited to the institutionalization of *huapango*, I found that the *trovadoras* from Pánuco and *nahua* musicians would use different tactics in their performances to balance their desire to be recognized as accomplished poets and musicians, and to decide how to share, or not share, *huapango* and other associated cultural practices with the other participants and audience. These performers were especially skilled in the ways that they distinguished themselves from other *huapangueros* and how they brought their local and personal identities onto stage through music.

The women *trovadoras* from Pánuco “rocked the cradle of *huapango*,” in their performances at the *encuentros*. These women have used their status as *trovadores* from Pánuco, “the cradle of *huapango*,” to perform in events all over the Huasteca and the Mexico as stars and pioneers of something that few women had done before them in the public sphere. However, they have had their history, genealogy and participation erased and ignored in previous folklorizations of *son huasteco* and *huapango*, however, through rocking and vacillating the time frame of *huapango huasteco* history before and after the period when *ballet folklórico* and academic *huapango* had reached its apogee and the participatory poetic tradition and verses, as well as when musicianship had reached its nadir. These women have used the participatory design of *encuentros* to reclaim a space for themselves in *huapango* as well as in a Spanish, *criolla* and *afro-mestiza* history and genealogy of women

trovadoras from Pánuco. In their song, especially in contests between themselves and male *trovadores* called *controversias*, they reinforce, contest and redefine gender roles in their performances. Finally, they taught and supported youth, both young men and women, by performing with these young musicians in the *encuentros*. Each of these actions could be encapsulated in this concept of “Rocking the Cradle of Huapango” in their performances in the *encuentros huapangueros*, which have multiplied as Huastecan culture has entered a new period of activity since 1994.

Nahua musicians who play music *danzas*, and *sones de costumbre*, as part of their responsibilities as ritual specialists in Nahua communities, and who perform *trío huasteco* music that includes *son huasteco*, *huapango*, *canciones*, *boleros* as professional musicians used different tactics to negotiate interculturality through their performances than teachers. Some of the performers chose whether or not to perform in Náhuatl; other performers chose whether or not to place ritual music on stage. *Perla Huasteca*’s performance was particularly striking, because Adán chose to rhyme “Citlaltepetl” with words in Spanish, instead of performing a verse completely in Náhuatl, or completely in Spanish. *Trío Calamar*’s performance was particularly striking because of their realistic renditions of soundscapes of dance. They employed both the sounds of *zapateado* of *son huasteco* to cue outsiders to synchronize with their *rasgueo* style, and the sound of *cuetes*, bottle rockets, in order would evoke memories for cultural insiders of the setting of *La Danza de Tres Colores*, without actually placing a religious dance meant for devotion on display as spectacle. *Trío Calamar* also use repertoire, violin style, language, and even

transposition to different musical keys to assert their mastery as representatives of rarely played pieces of *trío huasteco* repertoire to other musicians at the festival soundscapes to remind cultural insiders of their local identity. For listeners who spoke Náhuatl their *coplas* provided examples of romantic poetry that inspired nostalgia and evoked romance and passion from a culturally specific masculine perspective for audiences who could decode their lyrics and cultural references. Meanwhile, their use of the Náhuatl language, whether it was intelligible or not to listeners, indexed their authenticity for outsiders, and their cues, and the joy that they transmit through performance, bridged the cultural and linguistic gap between their style of *son huasteco* and that of some of the other participants in the *encuentro huapanguero* at the *XV Festival de la Huasteca*. Other Nahua musicians, who have participated in the *encuentros huapangueros* and *El Festival de la Huasteca*, have performed “*interculturalidad*,” ‘interculturality,’—the state of navigating and being between cultures—by making different decisions in the same contexts

To a certain degree, the *encuentros huapangueros* that have grown out of this cultural movement have become sites where cultural understanding has increased between *mestizo* and indigenous people in the Huasteca, youth have learned about their heritage and also the heritage of others from the region. Even if intercultural conflicts and differences exist between ethnolinguistic communities outside of *huapango*, and women and men have negotiated power relationships through shared music, poetry and dance, continuing old pathways in the Huasteca, and providing alternatives to violence to youth and communities through *son huasteco*, *sones de costumbre* and *huapango*. The divisions between some groups point to the

reality that not all dancers, poets and musicians from the Huasteca are able to access the PDCH, and even some who are able to access the program choose not to do so. There are many reasons for this, regardless of whether it is of their choosing, or not. The reason some musicians are not funded through the PDCH is not just because of the limited funds available, or the merit of the projects. Musicians and dancers with a formal education who live in large cities, and even in Mexico City, outside of the Huasteca, have easier access to information and materials, and have the skills to access and propose projects to benefit from the program. Many musicians do not participate because of their economic marginalization. Some who belong to a family with generations of *trío huasteco* and ritual specialist musicians live in economically marginalized communities, and have joined flows of migration out of the Huasteca to work in large cities, such as Mexico City, Guadalajara, or Reynosa, outside of the Huasteca. Others have joined flows to portions of the United States, such as Georgia, Texas and North Carolina. Other musicians choose to follow the path of commercial and professional musicianship, which is marginalized in the folkloric festival context, and they are promoted in a coordinated way in the mass media, by record labels, such as *Scorpio Discos*, or *Galad Discos*. These labels present and update *huapango* and *son huasteco* so that its promotion conforms to the hype that surrounds other styles of Mexican regional music, which continue to be popular for many youth, in Mexico in the US—using radio spots, and mega-concert tours and videos on channels such as *Bandamax*. As with any program, many talented local dancers and musicians have applied unsuccessfully to the program for support and never make it past the front door which they enter in their municipality's *Casa de*

Cultura, because of personal and political reasons. Many continue to dance, sing, compose verse, and speak their first language in their community, even without relying on funds from these initiatives. Just as with any other festival or program, some musicians and dancers are not selected to be representatives

There are also varied implications for the communities of musicians who have participated in the *encuentros* as representatives, but who are not workshop leaders. For example, even though the *trovadoras* from Pánuco are active participants and stars in *encuentros huapangueros*, the musicians from their municipality who play the style of music from Pánuco have not taught their musical, or poetic style to new generations on a large scale at the *encuentros huapangueros*. For the most part, the musicians from Pánuco are not passing their musical legacy to many musicians in Pánuco, or Tampico, for that matter. Although there are a few exceptions, the *trovadoras* express a sense of pride that the younger generations throughout the Huasteca are learning how to play *son huasteco*, but they also are also sad, because the younger generations are not carrying the style particular to Pánuco.

Some *nahua* musicians, who are not workshop leaders express dismay at the way that religious and spiritual *nahua* music is performed and displayed within the region on the stage, or how the music and lyrics are distorted or simplified. While much of the *nahua* music that is linked to customs and rituals continues to be played in local communities with large populations of Náhuatl speakers, communities where the language and costumes have fallen into disuse, and claimed by communities are also reclaiming the music where it was never practiced.

While my research began to show how local practices are transferred and evoked in the *encuentros huapangueros*, in the two groups of elder *huapangueros* that I chose to highlight in the previous chapters, I did not fully show the my findings in the local settings of performance. In the *encuentros* I was particularly intrigued by how each set of performers playfully fulfilled the expectations of the audiences, and my own expectations as a researcher, while still eluding stereotypes. The women from Pánuco have a rich family heritage of women and men who have practiced *huapango* for generations. Their stories about their families show an important social history and geneology that is Spanish, *criollo* and *afrodescendiente*, which is hinted at, but rarely overtly spoken. Nor did I fully explain the ways in which the Pánuco *trovadoras* playfully use humor to invert gender hierarchies and power dynamics. Finally in the previous chapters and in my research I have yet to fully analyze the use of music in *nahua costumbres* as a way to bless the community and transmit spirituality, nor how music might be a way to signal the communities where they are in a ceremony, or ritual.

In the future, I hope to continue to develop my research on these aspects of performance and to archive some personal accounts and oral histories of these musicians as well produce useful material through community videography in each of these communities in their local contexts of performance. It was only through community ethnography and videography that was able to learn about the reception of music performances as well as the intentions of the performers. Through making my research available to the communities who have shared and given their music and dance with me, and through continued collaboration I hope these planned

projects will also contribute in ways that align with each community's priorities to practice and conserve *huapango*, and associated forms of dance, poetry and music as they choose. Whether, or not, communities frame these expressive genres as intangible and fragile musical patrimony, or lived tradition, I aspire to find methods to preserve my research in ways that facilitate better access for musicians, poets and dancers to archive, set permissions to share, and use materials that contain their stories, histories and performances.

Bibliography

Aguilar León, Juan Jesús. 2000. *Los trovadores huastecos en Tamaulipas*. Ciudad Victoria: Instituto Tamaulipeco para la Cultura y las Artes, Dirección de Patrimonio Histórico Cultural, Espacio Cultural Vicentino.

Aparicio, Francis and Candida Jaquez (eds.). 2003. *Musical Migrations: Transnationalisms and cultural Hybridity in Latin/o America*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1991. "GLOBAL ETHNOSCAPES: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology," in Richard Gabriel Fox ed., *Recapturing anthropology: working in the present*. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press.

Becker, Howard. 2004. "Jazz Places," in Bennett, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson (eds.). *Music scenes: local, translocal and virtual*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Behague, Gerald. 1979. *Music in Latin America: an Introduction*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

_____. 1991. "Reflections on the ideological history of Latin American ethnomusicology," in Nettl, Bruno, and Philip Vilas Bohlman. *Comparative musicology and anthropology of music: essays on the history of ethnomusicology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1994. *Music and Black ethnicity: the Caribbean and South America*. Coral Gables, Fla: North-South Center Press, University of Miami.

_____. 2000. "Boundaries and Borders in the Study of Music in Latin America: A Conceptual Re-Mapping," *Latin American Music Review* 21(1): 16-30.

Bennett, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson 2004. "Introducing Music Scenes," in Bennett, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson (eds.). *Music scenes: local, translocal and virtual*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Béhague, Gerard. 1984. *Performance practice: ethnomusicological perspectives*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press.

Bigenho, Michelle. 2002. *Sounding indigenous: authenticity in Bolivian music performance*. New York: Palgrave.

_____. 2006. "Embodied Matters: *Bolivian Fantasy* and Indigenismo". *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*. 11 (2): 267-293.

Boilès, Charles. 1990. *Tepehua thought-song: a case of semantic signaling*. A Century of Ethnomusicological Thought.

- Cadena, Marisol de la, and Orin Starn. 2007. *Indigenous experience today*. Oxford: Berg.
- Canessa, Andrew. 2005. *Natives making nation: gender, indigeneity, and the state in the Andes*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Carby, Hazel. 1998. "It jus be that way sometime: The sexual politics of women's blues," in O'Meally, Robert G. ed. *The jazz cadence of American culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chasteen, John Charles. 2004. *National rhythms, African roots: the deep history of Latin American popular dance*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Chatterjee, Partha. 1989. "Colonialism, Nationalism and Colonialized Women," *American Ethnologist* 16(4): 622-633.
- Chamorro E., J. Arturo, and Fabiola Margarita Zúñiga Vargas. 2010. *Sustitutos acústicos del lenguaje verbal: una visión interdisciplinaria de los signos audibles, parafonías y comportamientos sonoros*. Guadalajara, Jalisco: Universidad de Guadalajara, Centro Universitario de Arte, Arquitectura y Diseño.
- Corona, Ignacio, and Alejandro L. Madrid-González. 2008. "Introduction: the postnational turn in music scholarship and music marketing," in *Postnational musical identities: cultural production, distribution, and consumption in a globalized scenario*. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books.
- Coronado, Jorge. 2008. "Against "Indigenismo": José Ángel Escalante, Culture and Andean Modernity". *Latin American Literary Review*. 36 (71): 53-74.
- Programa de Música Tradicional-FONAPAS and INI. 1983. *50 Encuentros de Música y Danza Indígena*. México: Troje Taller.
- Guy, Nancy. 1999. "Governing the Arts, Governing the State: Peking Opera and Political Authority in Taiwan," *Ethnomusicology* 43(3): 508-526.
- _____. 2002. "'Republic of China National Anthem" on Taiwan: One Anthem, One Performance, Multiple Realities," *Ethnomusicology* 46(1): 96-119.
- Dowd, Timothy J. Kathleen Liddle and Jenna Nelson. 2004. "Music festivals as scenes: examples from serious music, womyn's music, and skatepunk," in , in Bennett, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson (eds.). *Music scenes: local, translocal and virtual*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Dudley, Shannon. 2002. "Dropping the Bomb: Steelband Performance and Meaning in 1960s Trinidad," *Ethnomusicology* 46 (1): 135-164.

_____.2003. "Creativity and Constraint in Trinidad Carnival Competitions," *World of Music*. Volume on *Contesting Tradition: Cross-Cultural Studies of Musical Competition*, (guest editor Frank Gunderson) 45(1):11-34.

_____. 2008. *Music from behind the bridge: steelband spirit and politics in Trinidad and Tobago*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Glasser, Ruth. 1995. *My Music is My Flag: Puerto Rican Musicians and Their New York Communities 1917-1940*, Berkley: University of California Press.

Grazian, David. 2004. "The symbolic economy of authenticity in the Chicago blues scene, in ," in Bennett, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson (eds.). *Music scenes: local, translocal and virtual*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Guss, David. 2002. *The Festive State: Race Ethnicity and Nationalism as Cultural Performance* . Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hagedorn, Katherine Johanna. 2001. "The Birth of the Conjunto Folklórico," *Divine utterances: the performance of Afro-Cuban Santería* . Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press: 136-72.

_____. 2001. *Divine utterances: the performance of Afro-Cuban Santería*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Hodkinson, Paul. 2004. "Translocal connections in the goth scene," , in Bennett, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson (eds.). *Music scenes: local, translocal and virtual*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Hellier-Tinoco, Ruth. 2011. *Embodying Mexico: tourism, nationalism & performance*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hutchinson, Sydney. 2007. *From quebradita to duranguense: dance in Mexican American youth culture*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

_____. 2009. "The Ballet Folklórico de México and the construction of the Mexican nation through dance" in Nájera-Ramírez, Olga, Norma Elia Cantú, and Brenda M. Romero, *Dancing across borders: danzas y bailes Mexicanos*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Instituto Nacional Indigenista. 1992. *El Huapango: Un relato de niños huastecos*. Mexico.

Jimenez, Arturo. 2004. "Proponen en encuentro la conformación de una red para promover su música: Apremian huapangueros a organizarse, Urge difundir en espacios públicos el son huasteco para que vuelva a la vida cotidiana, coinciden," in *La Jornada*, Domingo 8 de agosto de 2004.

López y Fuentes, Gregorio. 1935. *El Indio: una novela mexicana*. México: Ediciones Botas.

- Lortat-Jacob, Bernard. 1995. *Sardinian chronicles*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marcos, and Žiga Vodovnik. 2004. *Ya basta!: ten years of the Zapatista uprising*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- Marion, Jonathan S. 2010. "Circulation as Destination: Considerations from the Translocal Culture of Competitive Ballroom Dance," *Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement* Fall 2010
<http://jashm.press.illinois.edu/17.2/marion2.html> (6 Jun. 2012).
- McClary, Susan. 2007. "Cycles of repetition : chacona, ciaccona, chaconne, and the chaconne." In *Reading music: selected essays*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate Pub. .
- Mendoza Vicente, 1942. "Supervivencias de la Cultura Azteca en La Canción y el Baile de Xochipitzahua," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*. vol. 4, no. 4: 87-98.
- Mendoza, Zoila S. 2000. *Shaping society through dance: mestizo ritual performance in the Peruvian Andes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 _____ . 2008. *Creating our own: folklore, performance, and identity in Cuzco, Peru*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Moore, Robin. 1997. "Nationalizing Blackness," *Nationalizing Blackness: Afro-Cubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940*. University of Pittsburgh Press: 114-146.
- Moreno, Joseph. 2008. *The Matachines Dance of Bernalillo, New Mexico*, Master's Thesis, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, CO,
- Najira-Ramirez, Olga. 1997. *La Fiesta de las Tostones: Critical Encounters in Mexican Festival Performance*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Perez, Leonor Xochitl. 2002. "Transgressing the Taboo: A Chicana's Voice in the Mariachi World" in Cantú, Norma Elia, and Olga Nájera-Ramírez. 2002. *Chicana traditions: continuity and change*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Perez, Leonor Xochil and, Laura Sobrino. "A Look at the History of Women in Mariachi Music." *The History of Women in Mariachi*. Women Mariachi 2000. Web. 5 Mar. 2011. <<http://www.sobrino.net/mpc/womenmariachi/>>.
- Programa de Desarrollo de la Huasteca, and Museo Nacional de Culturas Populares (Mexico). 2008. *De aquí somos: la Huasteca*. [Mexico]: Programa de Desarrollo de la Huasteca.

- Provost, Paul, and Alan R. Sandstrom. 1977. *Sacred guitar and violin music of the modern Aztecs*. New York: Folkways Records.
<http://www.aspresolver.com/aspresolver.asp?GLMU;71777>.
- Rice, Timothy. 1994. *May it Fill Your Soul*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Ríos Toledano, Miguel. 1895. "*Aires nacionales mexicanos*". Morelia: Imp. y Lit. en la Escuela Industrial Militar Porfirio Díaz.
- Robb, J. D. 1961. "The Matlachines Dance: A Ritual Folk Dance," *Western Folklore*, 20 (2): 89-101.
- Rodríguez López, María Teresa, and Pablo Valderrama Rouy. 2005. "The Gulf Coast Nahua." In Sandstrom, Alan R., and Enrique Hugo García Valencia. 2005. *Native peoples of the Gulf Coast of Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Saavedra, Rafael M. 1931. *El huapango : ensayo de costumbres huastecas*. México: Secretaría de Educación Pública Dirección.
- Romero, Brenda Mae. 1993. *The Matachines music and dance in San Juan Pueblo and Alcalde, New Mexico*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--University of California, Los Angeles, 1993.
- Sandstrom, Alan R. 1991. *Corn is our Blood: culture and ethnic identity in a contemporary Aztec Indian village*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sandstrom, Alan R., and Pamela Effrein Sandstrom. 1986. *Traditional papermaking and paper cult figures of Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press
- Schultz, Anna. 2002. "Hindu Nationalism, Music, and Embodiment in Marathi Rashtriya Kirtan," *Ethnomusicology* 46(2): 307-323.
- Schuyler, Philip Daniel. 1979. *A repertory of ideas: the music of the Rwais, Berber professional musicians from southwestern Morocco*. Thesis (Ph. D.)--University of Washington, 1979.
- Scruggs, T.M. 1998. "Cultural Capital, Appropriate Transformations and Transfer by Appropriation in Western Nicaragua: El Baile de la Marimba," *Latin American Music Review* 19 (1): 1-30.
- _____. 1999. "Let's enjoy as Nicaraguans': The use of music in the construction of a Nicaraguan national consciousness." *Ethnomusicology* 43 (2): 297-321.
- Seeger, Anthony. 1987. *Why Suyá sing: a musical anthropology of an Amazonian people*. Cambridge studies in ethnomusicology. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press.

Seitz, Barbara. 1991. "Songs, Identity and Women's Liberation in Nicaragua," *Latin American Music Review* 12(1): 21-60

Serrano Carreto, Enrique, CDI and PNUD. 2006. *Regiones Indígenas de México*. México : CDI (Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas): PNUD (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo).

Silverman, Carol. 1983 "The politics of Folklore in Bulgaria", *Anthropology Quarterly*. 56: 55-61.

Simonett, Helena. 1997 a. "Waving Hats and Stomping Boots: A Transborder Music-and-Dance Phenomenon in Los Angeles' Mexican Communities." *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology* 8:41-50.

_____.1997b. *Loud and Proud: The Social History and Cultural Power of Mexican Banda Music*, Ph. D Dissertation UCLA.

_____. 1999. "Strike Up the Tambora: A Social History of Sinaloa Band Music," *Latin American Music Review* 20 (1): 59-104.

_____. 2001. "Narcocorridos: An Emerging Micromusic of Nuevo L.A.," *Ethnomusicology* 45 (2): 315-337.

_____.2008. "Quest for the local : building musical ties between Mexico and the United States," in Corona, Ignacio, and Alejandro L. Madrid-González. eds. *Postnational musical identities: cultural production, distribution, and consumption in a globalized scenario*. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books

Soberino, Laura. 2007. "A look at the history of women in mariachi" in *NAFME Mariachi Newsletter (November 2007)*
<http://musiced.nafme.org/mariachi/newsletter-archive/november-2007-mariachi-newsletter/>

Stevenson, Claude. 2008. *Matachines!* New Mexico Department of Cultural Affairs; First Edition.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People*, London: Zed Press.

Sugarman, Jane. 1999. "Imagining the Homeland: Poetry, Songs and the Discourse of Albanian Nationalism," *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (3): 419-458.

Tellez, Jesus L. 1932. "El huapango en los casamientos." *Mexican Folkways* 7(4): 199-200.

Tucker, Sherrie. 2000. *Swing shift: "all-girl" bands of the 1940s*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Tuohy, Sue. 2001. "The Sonic Dimensions of Nationalism in Modern China: Musical

Representation and Transformation," *Ethnomusicology* 45 (1): 107-131.

Turino, Thomas. 2000. *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 2003. "Nationalism and Latin American Music "Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations," *Latin American Music Review* 24(2): 169-200.

_____. 2008. *Music as social life: the politics of participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Van Young, Eric. 1994. "Conclusion: The State as Vampire: Hegemonic Projects, Public Ritual, and Popular Culture in Mexico, 1600-1990".

Wade, Peter. 2000. *Music, race & nation: música tropical in Colombia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.