Dancing at the Corner of the Dead:
Remembering and Forgetting in Post-conflict Ayacucho,
Peru

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Abstract

Since the 1980s there has been a steady increase in the investigation of dance as a site of identity-construction and as a source of non-verbal knowledge. Nevertheless, very little research considers dance as a site of collective memory. This thesis responds to the oversight and argues that dance is a significant site of collective memory-making, especially in the Andes where dance remains central to social, cultural and political life. This thesis examines the embodied expression of dance as collective remembering and forgetting in the Peruvian department of Ayacucho, in the central-southern Andes.

While the state, human rights groups and various NGOs continue to struggle over the memorialisation of the recent political violence (1980–2000), debating what should be remembered and how, the people of Ayacucho dance to remember and to forget. Ayacuchanos are now salvaging dances and fiestas that were lost or forgotten during the years of conflict. Although the dances of Ayacucho do not retain overt references to the twenty years of internal conflict, the violence is the backdrop which informs the need to dance.

This thesis examines the corporeal expressions of dance to reveal how dance is used to communicate and to remind Ayacuchanos of a pre-violent past and thus, to forget the recent violence. It uses embodied research techniques to reveal the dance as a deep embodiment of the broader concerns of the people of Ayacucho. It argues that dance plays a significant role in the collective memory-making practices of Ayacuchanos as they search for a history that makes sense of what happened.
Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award to the candidate of any other degree or diploma. To the best of my knowledge it contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

This text has been proof-read and copy-edited by Mary-Jo O’Rourke, accredited Editor with the Institute of Professional Editors, 28 March 2014. The editing detected and corrected errors and inconsistencies in the text including accepted spelling, punctuation, grammar and usage and ensured accuracy and completeness of references. It did not change the substantive content of the thesis.

Michaela Callaghan
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**Glossary of Terms**

*abuelito/a* – Spanish for ‘grandfather/grandmother’ (*abuelo/a*), using diminutive

*acequia* – water canals

*aku* – rest break during *faena*

*alegría* – joy

*allqo* – ‘dog’ in Quechua, this term was used to describe the dancers for the Yarqa Aspiy,

*apus* – Andean mountain deities

*atipunakuy* – Quechua for ‘encounter’; a sense of competition is implicit

*ayni* – the root for ‘measured reciprocity’ in both Quechua and Aymara. *Aynis* assist the *mayordomos* by taking on some of the costs and responsibilities involved in mounting a fiesta

*brujo* – Spanish for ‘witch’

*campo* – the countryside

*caña* – sugar cane alcohol

*cargo* – responsibility or position (charge) during a fiesta

*ceja de selva* – high-altitude jungle region

*chacra* – small field

*chacchar* – a type of chewing in which the leaves are held in the side of the mouth, somewhat akin to chewing tobacco

*chicha* – traditional Andean alcohol made from corn and various seeds

*chicote* – whip

*chuco* – small woollen hat (beanie) often worn under a felt hat

*chuncho* – specialist dancers who emulate dancers from the *selva* region

*comparsa* – a group of dancers and/or musicians

*concurso* – a competitive event, generally involving the arts

*costumbres* – customs, this term was used regularly by Ayacuchanos to describe their fiestas, dances and rituals

*danzante* – dancer
_elenco_ – dance group

_encomenderos_ – a Spaniard ‘entrusted’ with the protection of a group of indigenous people; he was owed the right of tribute in exchange for the protection and religious instruction he provided

_encomiendas_ – land, labour and tribute rights granted to Spanish colonisers by the Spanish Crown

_extranjeros_ – outsiders or foreigners

_faena_ – a system of corvée labour – a type of tax obligation that is organised by the polity

_faenantes_ – faena participants

_fiestas patronales_ – fiestas celebrating patron saints of a town, community or neighbourhood

_fustán_ – large overskirt, normally made of bold block colours

_guión_ – “to guide”, also the name for the small metal flag carried during the Yarqa Aspiy

_hacendados_ – land owners of large tracts of land

_huaca (wak'a)_ – Andean divinity and/or a sacred place; often believed to be an ancestor embodied within the landscape surrounding a community

_huamanis_ – Andean deities

_huayno_ – a pre-Hispanic dance popular across the Andes

_huertakuy_ – a dance practised in the _huerta_ (‘small orchard’), which celebrates planting and fertility and the fruits of the earth

_kapuy_ – Quechua verb, ‘to have’

_killis_ – offerings used to adorn churches and fiesta spaces, they are generally long ropes hung with an assortment of sweet breads, fruits, balloons and streamers

_kuraka_ – indigenous leader or lord (also _curaca_)

_lliklla_ – cloth worn by women to cover the shoulders

_manta_ – cloth used to carry children and goods

_mayordomo_ – fiesta sponsor

_mestizo_ - (also _misti_) Spanish for ‘mixed’; it is a historically complex and contingent term that was introduced during the early colonial period to refer to individuals with mixed Spanish and indigenous heritage
morochucos – horsemen from Cangallo
naqaq – another word for pishtaco
pachacuti – a time of ruin, pestilence, war, loss and great destruction; it is often translated as an inversion of world order
pagu – a type of payment or offering to deities, usually in the form of coca leaves and caña
pampa – highland region in the Andes
pasacalle – parade through the streets
pishtaco – fat-sucking monster
pozo – well or reservoir
puccha picante – typical potato dish from Ayacucho
pukllay – ‘to play’ in Quechua, it is also a carnival game
puna – highland plateau region
qamilli – ‘errant witch’, also another name for the dancers during the Yarqa Aspiy
qarqachas – creatures that are human by day which are transformed into llamas at night as a divine punishment for incest
reducciones – a system of forced resettlement designed to disperse and move indigenous communities into Spanish-style towns
rescatar – ‘to rescue’ or ‘to salvage’
retablos – boxes filled with ceramic figurines depicting significant events, such as religious celebrations and agrarian fiestas
sasachakuy tiempo – Quechua expression for the years of violence which translates as the ‘difficult years’ or the ‘difficult times’
selva – tropical jungle region
senderistas – members of Sendero Luminoso
señorial – aristocratic
sinchis – special countersubversive force of the police, based in Huamanga	
taki (taqui) – Quechua for dance, song, sung dances

taquiongos – practitioners of Taki Onqoy
tuta puriqkuna – Quechua expression meaning ‘night walkers’ used to refer to senderistas who are known to travel and attack at night

varayuq – traditional community leaders in the Andes

yacu ñawi – eye of the water

zapateo – dance style involving hitting and slapping the ground with the feet, akin to tap-dance
Acronyms and Abbreviations

AFASEP  Asociación Nacional de Familiares de Secuestros, Detenidos y Desaparecidos del Perú (Association for the Families of the Kidnapped, Detained and Disappeared)

APRODEH  Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos (Association of Human Rights)

CAC  Civil Autodefence Committees (Comités de Autodefensa)

CEHRA  Centro de Estudios Históricos Regionales de Ayacucho (Centre for Historical Regional Studies of Ayacucho)

CMCA  Comité Multisectorial del Carnaval Ayacuchano (Multisectorial Committee for Carnival Festivities)

COMISEDH  Comisión de Derechos Humanos (Commission of Human Rights)

CVR  Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (TRC – Truth and Reconciliation Commission)

EPAF  Equipo Peruano de Antropología Forense (Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team)

FEDACWA  Federación Departamental de la Cultura Andina Wari Ayllukuna

INC  Instituto Nacional de Cultura (National Institute Of Culture)

PCP-SL  Partido Comunista del Perú – Sendero Luminoso (Communist Party of Peru – Shining Path)

PUCP  Pontifica Universidad Católica del Perú (Pontifical Catholic University of Peru)

SER  Servicios Educativos Rurales (Rural Education Services)

TRC  Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR – Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación)

UNSCH  Universidad de San Cristóbal de Huamanga (University of San Cristóbal of Huamanga)
Introduction. The Dance of Memory and Forgetting

Field notes: Fiesta de las Cruzes, Luricocha, Sunday 3 May 2009

It is 6am on Sunday morning and the sun has not yet dawned over the arid Andes Mountains, visible from the window. I make a strong coffee and one for Gabriel Quispe, my neighbour and landlord, as I know it is going to be a big day. As we make our way through the already bustling streets of Huamanga, the air is so cold that every breath is visible. We are on our way to Huanta and from there to Luricocha for the Fiesta de las Cruzes (Fiesta of the Crosses).

The kombi is so crowded there is no space to move and yet the driver won’t leave until another passenger or two squeeze in. So we wait. Meanwhile, Gabriel explains the history of the fiesta as he knows it. Apparently the origin of this fiesta pre-dates the arrival of the Spanish and although today the ceremony is dedicated to the Catholic crosses, which are carried into town from the surrounding hills, Gabriel explains that the ritual was originally in dedication to the constellation of the Southern Cross.

1 All the participants whom I mention by name have given permission for their details to be used in this thesis. The majority of people I interviewed or spoke with were pleased to be mentioned by name. I have used pseudonyms for those individuals who did not wish to be identified, mentioned in the footnotes.
The lush green scenery along the way from Huanta to Luricocha is captivating and in stark contrast to the cactus-covered mountain vistas that surround Huamanga. We arrive at a little house outside Luricocha where three very small children come to the door and lead us through the house to the courtyard. “Buenos días, buenos días,” a number of people smile and greet us as we arrive. An elderly Quechua woman greets me warmly with a kiss and an embrace. She offers us a cup of chicha – the flavour is quite pleasing, but the alcohol is strong.\(^2\)

A number of men dressed in the traditional brown tunics and white bandanas of the ceja de selva (jungle region of Huanta) are gathered under a small shelter. They are the dancers for the fiesta, known as chunchos. A deep silence falls over the group assembled in front of a large blue cross draped in beautiful materials. A healing is taking place for a young man in his twenties who has suffered a head injury. He sits on a small wooden chair while an older man prays over him, wiping his head and hands with white flowers which have been soaked in liquid.

The chunchos move to form a circle in the open space and begin to dance around a pile of bows and arrows. Their dance is torpid and hypnotic. They dance as if in slow motion, their movements are elastic and languid. There are no sharp staccato actions. The men move in a type of walk, bending at the knees and leaning forwards, backwards and sideways from the torso as they move around in a circle. Occasionally, they turn and travel around in the opposite direction. As they dance they play bamboo flutes of different sizes, known as sampoñas. Occasionally, the dancers pause and drink chicha from a white bucket at the centre of their circle. In these moments the hypnotic spell of the dance dissolves as the chunchos talk and joke together.

During another pause the men take up the arrows, adorning them with fruits which have been offered in honour of the cross.

The man in the centre, dressed in jeans and a jumper and carrying a whip, is this year’s mayordomo (sponsor) of the cross of Huatuscalle. He speaks to the dancers, directing and correcting them. An older Quechua woman joins the circle and all the men gather around, listening intently as she speaks to them. In Quechua she tells them to be strong, to dance well, with honour and god’s blessing. When she finishes they dance one more time. The small box containing a plaster sculpture of the face of the Señor de Huatuscalle is placed in position to watch them as they dance.

The mayordomo chooses a young man to carry the cross as everyone prepares to make their way to the plaza, where they will join with the other crosses of the district. In front of the house the chunchos dance again. Suddenly the chunchos begin to run and the lone man chosen to carry the heavy cross also runs. Men and women of all ages and small children all run at full speed behind the cross down the road until, without warning, the procession stops. Each time the procession stops along the way, the chunchos dance. Thus, in stages, they make their way towards the plaza.

Once in the plaza, hundreds of people then accompany the crosses into the church. The chunchos however do not enter. A young friend of the chunchos

\(^2\) Chicha is a traditional Andean alcohol made from corn or seeds.
explains that although the chunchos accompany the cross, blessing it with their dancing, they never enter the church. “It is a form of protest against the oppression of the Spanish and the Catholic Church.”

Outside, in the forecourt of the church four different groups of chunchos continue to dance, surrounded by large crowds.

Photograph 3: Adding to the killis; offerings of fruit and bread in front of the cross

Photograph 4: The mayordomo speaks to the dancers as they prepare to leave

Photograph 5: Carrying the cross of Huatuscalle out to the street where the journey to the plaza will begin
Since the arrival of the Spanish and long before that, Andean dance has been used as prayer, as an offering, as a means of recounting and transforming historical events, transforming the energy of place, elevating personal and collective status – socially and politically – and demonstrating physical strength and prowess. Anthropologists and historians of the Andes recognise that dance, dance/dramas, music and fiestas constitute significant spaces of contestation through which regional identity is both contested and defended.\(^4\) As anthropologist Zoila Mendoza argues, in postcolonial countries such as

those in Africa and Latin America, dance was and remains a significant means “through which people contested, domesticated and reworked signs of domination in their society”.\(^5\) Andean dance and fiesta are inextricably linked with identity, spirituality, cultural heritage and cultural resistance. Dance also constitutes a repository, a dynamic archive which holds and tells the collective narrative of a cultural time and space.

All of these elements were apparent in the dance of the *chunchos* during the Fiesta of the Crosses in Luricocha. The role of the *chunchos* is danced by Quechua-speaking Andean men; however, they embody the dance and traditions of indigenous populations from the *selva* (jungle). Luricocha is a region with historical links to the *selva* that date to Peruvian Independence and which are evident in the clothing and adornments worn by the *chunchos*. The embodied expression of the dance reveals the historical connection through the languid movements which replicate the dances of the indigenous populations of the *selva*. The dance, which is deeply spiritual, also constitutes a physical offering and a form of prayer. A history of domination and racial prejudice, so prevalent in Peru, is also evident during the Fiesta de las Cruces through the ritual whipping of the *chunchos* by the *mayordomo*, who assumes the role originally held by *hacendados* (large landowners). For the *chunchos* and other participants the dance constitutes a form of cultural resistance. The dancers transform the past and reclaim power by reworking the historical exclusion of the indigenous population from the church as a contemporary protest against imperialism.

Dance involves more than simply knowing steps; it is entwined with social knowledge and power.\(^6\) In cultures where the written word has not played a central role in the construction and transmission of knowledge, dance constitutes another way of knowing


and is a rich resource for understanding a society. This is particularly so when the dance is examined as a deeper embodiment of the broader struggles and concerns of a people.

This thesis considers dance as a means of remembering and forgetting in the Andean department of Ayacucho following twenty years of brutal internal conflict from 1980 to 2000. The violence began on 17 May 1980 when a group of masked youths burned ballot boxes and voting lists in the town plaza of Chuschi in the department of Ayacucho. They were senderistas, members of the Communist Party of Peru – Shining Path (Partido Comunista del Perú – Sendero Luminoso: PCP-SL), who chose the eve of the first presidential elections in seventeen years to carry out this symbolic act of violence, marking the “Beginning of the Armed Struggle” (Inicio de la Lucha Armada). The incident gave rise to two decades of conflict between SL and counterinsurgency forces. It was to become the most protracted and brutal struggle in the history of the Peruvian republic and ultimately led to the deaths and disappearances of 69,280 people. Many more were forced to leave their homes, leading to an estimated 600,000 internally displaced people.

In 2000, the interim government headed by President Valentín Paniagua (2000-2001) convened the Peruvian Truth Commission in a bid to shed light on what seemed unimaginable and to recall those forgotten. The following year, President Alejandro Toledo added the term ‘reconciliation’ to the mandate of the commission, forming the Truth and Reconciliation Commission – TRC (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación

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8 The period of conflict between 1980-2000 is referred to in the literature as the political armed conflict, internal armed conflict, the years of violence and the “dirty war”. Ayacuchanos refer to this time in Spanish as la violencia (the violence) and el terrorismo (the terrorism). This period will be contextualised and discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

9 The vast body of literature which examines the internal conflict refers to the PCP-SL variously as Shining Path, Sendero Luminoso, Sendero and SL, while members of the group are referred to as senderistas. Ayacuchanos I met often referred to senderistas as terroristas (terrorists). I use the terms ‘Sendero’ and ‘SL’ to refer to the party and senderistas to refer to members of the party.


13 An interim government became necessary when former President Fujimori was caught embezzling and fled to Japan. In the following elections Alejandro Toledo was voted into office.
– CVR). In 2003, after more than two years of investigations the TRC released its 8,000 page Final Report (Informe Final). The report revealed that those most affected by the violence and human rights abuses were predominantly from the rural population of the central Andes – comprised of the departments of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurímac – with 79% of those affected coming from rural areas, 75% of whom spoke Quechua or other indigenous languages.14

In the department of Ayacucho, dance, music and fiesta remain central to social, cultural, economic and political life, as was evident during the Fiesta de las Cruces. The recent history of Ayacucho is also entwined in the fiesta through stories of senderistas and political resistance. In Luricocha, senderistas attempted to put an end to the Fiesta de las Cruces by blowing up the cross of Pachapunya, the largest and most sacred of all the crosses. Carlos, an older man and friend of Gabriel, explained that during the years of political violence “the senderistas destroyed the cross.”15 However, as Carlos clarified, the actions of SL had an unintended effect. Rather than causing the people of Luricocha to give up on their traditions and beliefs, the violent act only fortified their faith and commitment to the fiesta. Carlos explained that not only did the people of Luricocha clandestinely replace the original cross, many people collected pieces of the destroyed cross, carrying the shards to their homes, where the pieces of rubble now constitute treasured relics.16

During the two decades of violence, SL prohibited or altered countless rituals, fiestas and dances. Rural inhabitants, fearful of attack, also chose to abandon some traditions, while other rituals and dances were forgotten as a result of forced migration.17 Inhabitants in the capital city of Ayacucho also had to restrict their fiestas due to the curfew put in place under the state of emergency declared in 1981. As a result of years of violence, threats and restrictions many Ayacuchanos I spoke with feel they have been robbed of their cultural heritage and identity. There is now a conscious effort to salvage

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15 Carlos, in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Luricocha, 3 May 2013. The majority of the interviewees quoted verbatim in this thesis were recorded. In a small number of cases I wrote responses in detailed field notes. Those who were not recorded electronically are noted as being ‘in conversation’. All the individuals whom I quote gave consent to use their information in this research. All interviews were conducted in Spanish, except where specified, these were conducted in a combination of Spanish and Quechua.
16 Carlos, Luricocha, 3 May 2013.
17 This will be discussed further in the following chapter and throughout the thesis.
(rescatar) and remember (recordar) what was taken from them. In the words of Rubén Romani, a dance teacher from Huanta, there is now a move to salvage what “they [SL] tried to kill during the difficult times”.18

At the time of my field research (2009-2010), it seemed that dance was the only art in Ayacucho which did not contain any lasting overt expression of protest or record of the political violence.19 It appears that this is now changing as carnival comparsas from Ayacucho, performing in Lima in 2014, included representations of the conflict in their performances.20 However, during my field research only one person mentioned the possibility of including aspects of the “difficult years”. Rubén explained to me that he had wanted to create a dance for some time that would retell the experience of the violent years in Huanta. His vision was a dance that would “include representations of the people, senderistas and the military.”21 When I asked why he had not yet created the dance Rubén explained that he was scared and he did not want to have trouble with the police or the military.22

While no explicit record of the recent violence was present in the dances of Ayacucho, the conscious effort by Ayacuchanos – from all provinces – to salvage and remember dances and fiestas which were ‘lost’ or set aside during the conflict raises the question: what is it that Ayacuchanos hope to retrieve? As Pierre Nora has noted, a people’s search for memory is also a quest for their own history.23 The central argument of this thesis is that dance plays a significant role in the collective memory-making practices of Ayacuchanos as they search for a history that makes sense of what happened and/or which forgets the recent years of violence.

I argue that many Ayacuchanos dance to remember a distant past as a means of maintaining and/or recreating connections to the ancestors, to the land, to local identity

18 Rubén Romani, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Huanta, 3 June 2009. Sasachakuy tiempu (‘difficult times’ or ‘difficult years’) is the Quechua expression used by many Quechua speakers to describe the years of political conflict. Rubén used this term in Quechua and then translated it to Spanish. He also blamed the evangelical religions for trying to kill Ayacuchano culture.
19 Song lyrics that accompany the dance do however mention the conflict. For example the comparsa of Ayacuchano NGOs for Carnival Huamanguino in 2010 sang lyrics calling for reparations for the victims of the violence. Nevertheless, the embodied expression of the dance remained unchanged.
20 See examples of this change, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zed5dC82WcI; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghFv9n8QY-ec
21 Rubén Romani, Huanta, 3 June 2009.
22 Rubén Romani, Huanta, 3 June 2009.
and to reinstate moral values. As Ayacuchanos dance to remember a pre-violent past, the dance also becomes a significant means of forgetting the recent past. I contend that ‘the difficult years’ indeed form a significant backdrop that informs the need to dance. I investigate what the non-verbal language of dance can reveal about the broader social, cultural and political reality of Ayacuchanos during the twenty years of violence and in the present.

While there has been growing scholarly interest in embodied knowledge across various disciplines, the non-verbal world of dance is often still relegated to the inexplicable. The reasons for this are historical and socio-cultural in nature. My research aims to redress the imbalance in which dance is overlooked as a site of memory, and to examine this rich site of memory, making the invisible visible and the danced world felt.

**Dancing for a Lifetime: Embodied Memory**

My interest in dance as memory was sparked by my own personal experience with the medium of dance. I have spent my life dancing, training and working variously and continuously as a dancer, dance teacher and choreographer for more than 30 years. Consequently, I am acutely aware of embodied memory and of the importance of dance as a narrative mode, not only for the dancer but also for the spectator.

Through dance I have come to understand and know other cultures. Through learning the dances of the Ukraine, Russia, Italy, Poland and the former Yugoslavia – along with classical ballet and contemporary dance – as a young child, I became aware of the many different modes of storytelling that exist through the dance and the body. As I stamped my Cuban-shod heels or learned to move as if gliding – all movements unseen under voluminous costumes – or as I skipped and galloped shaking a tambourine during the Tarantella, or rebelliously learned the powerful Russian steps of the coffee grinder and the cobbler (normally danced by men), I began to recognise physically-ascribed cultural patterns of embodied culture. This awareness was not at first an intellectual understanding; it was an embodied awareness, a way of knowing that began in the body and gradually seeped through to my conscious awareness over time. Later, through West African and Latin American dances, I learned a groundedness of movement and

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24 During the years of conflict some Ayacuchano dances did record and/or protest aspects of the violence. To the best of my knowledge these dances no longer were performed in Ayacucho as of 2010.
discovered new cultural understandings of dances that honour nature elements such as the full moon or (re)tell the narrative of conquest.

I was just eleven years old when I had my first powerful experience of dance as embodied memory. I was performing a solo on the large stage of the National Theatre in Melbourne, Australia. The theatre was full as I danced my solo in the near dark of the black stage. The follow spot illuminated a small circle of colour and light which wrapped around me; I was dancing well. As I danced towards the downstage right corner, I knew that I had to perform an arabesque and then run a semi-circle to the opposite upstage corner. Beyond that combination my mind went blank. There was nothingness. As the nothingness and the panic engulfed me, I searched desperately for the next sequence, but nothing came to me. Gradually, I realised that my body was still moving. I was still dancing; even though it seemed my mind had stopped, my body continued to dance, not the dance that a seasoned performer might improvise in a similar situation, but rather the exact choreographed dance I had practised so many times. My physical muscular memory took over and my bodily intelligence carried me through the dance that it knew so well.

Since that moment on stage, I have learned to rely on embodied memory. As a teacher, I have often encouraged students to trust in the embodied memory in which the muscles remember movements, movement combinations and emotions. It was this seminal moment and many years of working with the embodied memory of my own body as well as those of other dancers, combined with my academic training in Latin American history, that guided my research and my research questions for this project.

I arrived in Peru to begin my fieldwork in January 2009.25 This was the same year that former Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori was on trial for embezzlement and gross human rights abuses committed during his presidency (1990–2000). After a very public trial, Fujimori was ultimately convicted of human rights violations on 7 April 2009. He received the maximum penalty allowed under Peruvian law and is currently serving a twenty-five year jail term.26 It was also the year that his daughter, Keiko Fujimori, formed the political party Fuerza 2011, in preparation for the 2011 presidential

25 I also travelled to Peru in 2008 to interview and speak with artists, dancers and academics, in order to ascertain the best place to carry out the extended period of fieldwork.
Fujimori’s trial and Keiko’s presidential candidacy sparked passionate protests, memorial activities and rallies in Lima as human rights groups, university students, scholars and activists worked to raise public consciousness about the atrocities committed under the Fujimori regime. Nevertheless, Keiko received a great deal of popular support. This was because many Peruvians credit Fujimori with bringing an end to the violence and terrorism with the capture of SL leader Abimael Guzmán in 1992. They looked to Keiko to continue her father’s legacy.

Photograph 7: Cartoon of the trial of ex-President Alberto Fujimori on display at the Memory Tunnel in Lima in 2009. The captions read: Fujimori – “I encountered the country in a state of collapse! I saved it! I pacified it! I led it personally! Me, me and me!” Interviewer – “So you authorised the group at Colina?” Fujimori – “I know nothing about it. I didn’t know anything. I didn’t have the slightest idea.”

Keiko received 48.5 % of the votes in the 2011 presidential elections, losing by a narrow margin to Ollanta Humala with 51.5% in what has been described as Peru’s most polarised elections.
Many Ayacuchanos I spoke with were grateful for Fujimori’s hard-line approach to SL and credited him with building much-needed roads and schools and with providing daily needs for their children such as backpacks and shoes. While it may seem difficult to understand Fujimori’s appeal given his history of human rights abuse and corruption, his populist politics made a significant difference in the daily lives of many poorer Peruvians, particularly in Ayacuchano.28

When I arrived in Peru, I spent two months in Lima before moving to Ayacucho, where I was based in Huamanga for thirteen months. During this time, I attended and participated in numerous fiestas celebrated within the city and smaller rural towns and communities (a detailed account is provided in Appendix 1: Fieldwork Table). I took part in dances, fiestas and concursos as a dancer, fiesta goer and judge between March 2009 and April 2010 – from Huanta in the north to Sarhua in the south of the department.29 These experiences were invaluable in gaining a broader understanding of Ayacuchano dance and fiesta. As this thesis is primarily concerned with dance as a means of remembering and forgetting, it was also crucial to attend the many protests

28 María Vásquez, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 7 April 2009.
29 Those fiestas not mentioned here will likely become the topic of further research and publications.
and commemorations, such as those sparked by the events of 2009. The numerous memorial functions and anniversaries directly related to the continuing struggle for reparations, held in Lima and in Ayacucho, revealed the complexity of the memory struggle that Peruvians face, particularly in the department of Ayacucho.

**Scope, Region and Actors**

In postcolonial nations such as Peru where the indigenous peoples have been considered a ‘problem’ to be conquered, altered or incorporated, the history and memory of the pre-colonial era forms a significant referent for indigenous and non-indigenous people alike.\(^{30}\) Therefore, in the following chapters I examine historical periods and events as they relate to and are recalled by Ayacuchanos through dance and fiesta. While the events, dances and fiestas examined here took place during 2009–2010, it is necessary to examine the historical setting which forms the backdrop. So, how far back must we go to understand the complex nature of memory in the department of Ayacucho? To delimit a time frame when investigating memory is no easy task, as time remembered is often fluid and fragmented. Like a dancer, memory – be it collective or individual – leaps over recent periods to land in the ancient past connecting to significant historical events such as the revolutions for independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then, twirling rapidly forward towards the present, it forms a bridge over times forgotten, to land in the recent past and connecting to the future. As Diana Taylor so eloquently states, “Memory, like the heart, beats beyond our capacity to control it, a lifeline between past and future.”\(^{31}\)

The non-linear nature of time as it is remembered is further compounded when dealing with Andean rural communities, who often have a unique relationship with time, history-telling and memory. This is evidenced through the examination of Quechua and Aymara\(^ {32}\) (the two principle Andean languages), which conceptualise time in a particular way.\(^ {33}\) Linguists have shown that in these Andean languages the concept of time differs from contemporary ‘Western’ notions, in which time is ever marching forward in a linear direction. Space also plays a crucial role in their perception of time. While numerous languages and cultures conceptualise time spatially, movement in

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\(^{30}\) I discuss the ‘Indian problem’ in more detail later in this chapter.

\(^{31}\) Taylor, *The Archive*, 82.

\(^{32}\) Aymara is spoken in the Andes of Bolivia, southeast Peru and the north of Chile.

space generally occurs along a linear trajectory – forwards and backwards. In contrast, Andean languages conceive of time as circular, in which the past is looked forward to and the future is perceived as behind. Mary Strong argues that Quechua and Aymara notions of future and past are blended together, incorporating the old while integrating the new. This cyclic notion of time and space is intimately related to the seasons and, thus, to traditional agricultural practices. In the Andes, agricultural practices are interlinked with ritual and fiesta. Consequently, dance and fiesta are informed by the cyclic notions of time and space. Ritual and fiestas that mark and celebrate specific moments in the annual cycle are, in fact, very definite mnemonic practices.

During the conflict the inhabitants of Ayacucho suffered the full force of the violence and the highest number of fatalities, accounting for 42.4% of all victims. The vast number of fatalities and disappearances in rural areas went largely unnoticed by the majority of the Peruvian population. Kimberley Theidon has observed that this is because “the dead were people who – in the national imaginary – had counted for little during their lives and went largely unaccounted for in their deaths.” Even to this day many Peruvians have little idea of the magnitude of the casualties or their ongoing consequences. The TRC argues that this is due, first and foremost, to the extreme racial disparity that characterises Peruvian society, in which the indigenous population of Peru “is the most unprotected and marginalized in the country.” According to the TRC, the years of “violence opened a Pandora’s box, not only in rural areas, but in Peruvian society as a whole.”

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37 CVR: 1.1, 15.
39 CVR, General Conclusions, no. 87-88.
40 CVR, 8.2: 37.
The department of Ayacucho is located in the southern-central Andes of Peru. The majority of the population are Quechua-speaking campesinos, many of whom live in extreme poverty. It is one of Peru’s poorest departments, with 72.5% of the population

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41 Peru is divided into 24 regions which were known as departments (departamentos) until 2002, when they were officially renamed regions (regiones). I use the term ‘department’ as this term is still widely used in Peru and in the literature relating to Peru. The department of Ayacucho is divided into eleven provinces (provincias): Cangallo, Huamanga, Huanca Santos, Huanta, La Mar, Luncanas, Parinacochas, Paucar del Sar Sara, Sucre, Victor Fajardo and Vilcas Huamán. The department is further divided into 111 districts (distritos).

42 Quechua, also known as Quichua or Kichwa, is a pre-Columbian language that is still widely spoken throughout the Andes, in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Chile. It is also spoken in parts of Argentina and Colombia. For more information on the current state of the Quechua language in Ayacucho and Arequipa, Peru, see: Amy R. Firestone, “Quechua and Spanish in the Urban Andes: A Study on Language Dynamics and Identity Construction Among Peruvian Youth,” (PhD Diss., University of Illinois, 2012).

‘Campesino’ literally means ‘person from the country’ (campo). It translates to English as ‘peasant’. It is commonly used to describe people from rural Andean communities. This term is used frequently in the TRC report; however, it is also interchanged with indígena (indigenous) and Indio (Indian).
considered to be living in total poverty and 45.4% living in extreme poverty.\textsuperscript{43} Nestled in a cradle of mountains at 2,700 metres above sea level is the capital city of the same name. Aya-Kucho is derived from the combination of two Quechua words which translate as ‘corner of the dead’ (\textit{rincón de los muertos}). Given the recent history of the department and the city of Ayacucho, it is not surprising that the majority of the city’s residents refer to their city by the pre-independence name of Huamanga and to themselves as Huamanguinos. The use of this name also alludes to the \textit{señorial} (aristocratic) memory of the city when Huamanga was a \textit{mestizo} city.\textsuperscript{44} With respect to all Huamanguinos, I use the name Huamanga to refer to the city of Ayacucho from here on. The terms ‘Ayacucho’ and ‘Ayacuchano’ are used to refer to the department and its inhabitants.

The central actors of this thesis are the people of Ayacucho. This includes those individuals who attend fiestas and competitions as dancers, participants, \textit{mayordomos} (fiesta sponsors), judges, organisers and musicians. In Ayacucho and throughout the Andes, dance and fiesta are central to social and cultural life. Therefore individuals of all ages, from all walks of life, of different ethnic/racial backgrounds and from diverse socio-political settings all participate in fiesta in one form or another, often participating in the general social dancing that occurs in and around fiesta. During certain fiestas, specialised dancers are also engaged to perform specific ritual and social roles, such as the \textit{chunchos} in Luricocha. Both of these types of dance will be explored in this thesis.

One of the most profound and lasting consequences of the political violence in the department of Ayacucho was the displacement of large numbers of the rural population to the urban areas – mainly to Ica, Lima, Huancavelica and the city of Huamanga. Ayacuchanos celebrated their dances and fiestas in these new settings. However, I only examine the dance and fiesta of Ayacuchanos living and displaced within the department of Ayacucho.\textsuperscript{45} The examination of Andean dance and fiesta captures


\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Mestizo} (also misti) is Spanish for ‘mixed’. It is a historically complex and contingent term that was introduced during the early colonial period to refer to individuals of mixed Spanish and indigenous heritage.

\textsuperscript{45} Ayacuchano migrants to Lima created cultural clubs in the city as early as the 1960s. These clubs provided networks for support and links to home through dance, music and fiesta. For more on the dance and music of Ayacuchanos living in Lima see, Fabiola Escárzaga, Julio Abanto Llaque, Anderson Chamorro, “Migración, guerra interna e identidad andina en Perú,” \textit{Política y Cultura}, no. 18 (otoño, 2002): 278-298. Accessed January 25, 2013. http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=26701813; Also see,
diverse cross-sections of society as they engage together. This is reflective of quotidian
life in Ayacucho and the socio-ethnic/racial milieu that exists. This thesis, therefore,
crosses ethnic/racial divides as well as socio-economic, gender and age differences.

Research in Peru necessarily engages with the complex issues of race, ethnicity and
class. In 2006, 22.5% of the population identified themselves as Quechua, while 57.6%
of the population identified as being mestizo. The remaining percentage is made up of
Aymara and other indigenous groups mostly from the jungle, including the Shipibo and
Ashánika. Indigenous groups from the jungle are referred to in the statistical literature
as indigenous, while the inhabitants of the Andes who speak Quechua or Aymara are
not labelled indigenous; they are simply referred to as Quechua or Aymara.

The Quechua-speaking rural inhabitants of Ayacucho generally refer to themselves as
campesinos. Rural inhabitants who have migrated to the urban setting of Huamanga also
often refer to themselves as campesinos. While the term campesino literally translates as
‘peasant’, not all Andean campesinos are peasants or live a peasant lifestyle. It is a term
which is being reclaimed in Ayacucho and it alludes more to cultural and geographic
heritage than to race or ethnicity. Campesino was the auto-descriptor used by the people
I met and it is, therefore, the term I employ throughout this thesis. Campesinos from the
rural areas of Ayacucho play a central role in this study as do campesinos who have
migrated to the city. Urban dwellers whose families have lived in the city of Huamanga
for generations generally refer to themselves as Huamanguinos and also play a
significant role.

Dance in Ayacucho incorporates and engages with history, issues of identity
construction and political power; thus state authorities also make an appearance. While
the Peruvian national government is not a central focus of this study, it appears in a
number of guises. The narrowly instrumentalist use of dance in nationalist state-

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Joshua Tucker, “Mediating Sentiment and Shaping Publics: Recording Practice and the Articulation of
de Música Latinoamericana*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Autumn - Winter, 1988): 127-150; Teófilo Altamirano,
*Presencia andina en Lima metropolitana: Un estudio sobre migrantes y clubes de provincianos.* (Lima:
Pontifica Universidad Católica del Perú), 1984.

46 Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI), *Estado de la Población Peruana:

building projects – particularly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – has left an indelible imprint on all aspects of Peruvian culture and folklore. The way in which dance is performed and received, the spaces available for dance and the fetishisation of rural campesino dance as an artefact of living history continue to be promoted and institutionalised by the nation-state. Municipal government and national organisations such as the National Institute for Culture have significant impact on the expressions of dance and fiesta in Huamanga. Various dance groups and small cultural groups are also important players in this thesis.

The remainder of the introduction is divided into four sections. The first section provides a brief account of the historical marginalisation of Andean inhabitants since the conquest in order to contextualise the initial appeal of SL. The TRC identified the history of racism inherent in Peruvian society as one of the primary causes of the brutal treatment of Andean victims at the hands of both SL and the armed forces in the Andes. Thus I examine the formation of SL along with the political discourse it promoted and the response of the military. The need to remember and salvage dances and fiestas is largely a result of the prohibition/restriction of many Andean cultural practices. Therefore I include a discussion of SL attitudes towards Andean dance, music and rituals.

In the second section I discuss the contemporary memory struggle in Peru in order to contextualise dance among other memory practices. Although the political violence does not form the subject of any of the dances I witnessed in Ayacucho, the violence does inform the need to salvage and remember dances and fiestas that have been lost. This is followed by a discussion of the broader memory debate and the literature on remembering and forgetting.

So how does one study dance as a means of remembering and forgetting? The third section answers this question by first examining the meaning of dance in Ayacucho. I then provide a discussion of the development of dance scholarship and the complex issue of embodied memory. In order to understand Andean dance as memory, I turn to the field of Andean studies, paying particular attention to dance and fiesta. I then expound the research methods used in this thesis by situating this study in the context of the broader literature on dance and the methodology of the embodied. In the fourth section I describe the research methods used in gathering the data, which leads to a
discussion of the fieldwork and the complex issue of writing the dance. I conclude with an outline of each chapter.

Dancing in Context: History, Literature and Methodology

The rural inhabitants of the central Andes have been subjected to a history of oppression and marginalisation for centuries, dating back to the Spanish conquest. At times the Spanish presence provoked indigenous responses such as the Taki Onqoy movement, which will be discussed in Chapter 1. Under colonial rule, Indians and Spaniards belonged to separate corporate entities or nations – the Republic of Indians and the Republic of Spaniards – each with its own social structure of aristocracy and commoners. Both republics expected protection from the Spanish Crown. Fiona Wilson has pointed out that under colonialism the “structure of domination was not between individuals but between societies”. Under colonial rule Indians were compelled to pay tribute to the Spanish Crown. However, the children of European Indian unions, or mestizos, were exempt from the payment and from the forced labour system. The dual-nation system set up ethnic/racial divisions, the legacy of which continues to be felt in Peru.

In 1812, liberal constitutionalists attempted to eliminate the Indian tribute payable under colonial rule. However, this met with resistance from both colonialist loyalists who supported the Spanish dual nation system and from indigenous leaders who were concerned that such a move would lead to increased taxes and the reduction of legal rights. José de San Martín overturned the tribute during his term as Peru’s first post-independence president in 1821, declaring that all indigenous peoples should be citizens of the republic with equal legal rights and known as Peruvians. Simón Bolívar also moved to abolish tribute during his presidency in 1824. Nevertheless, despite the crucial

49 Wilson, “Indians and Mestizos,” 241. Although the republics were separate, in some regions Indian lords (curacas) entered into economically advantageous collaborations with Spanish elites. This allowed certain Indians to increase their economic and social position.
50 Under Incan rule the allyu (community) paid tribute to the curaca (Indian leader), who in turn paid tribute to the Inca. The Spanish colonisers adopted the tribute system, adjusting it in favour of the Spanish Crown. For more on the tribute system, see: Juan Ossio, Los Indios del Perú (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992), 159-178.
52 Larson, Trials of Making a Nation, 142.
role that indigenous peasants played in securing independence, the creole\textsuperscript{53} government ultimately reintroduced the tax in 1826, under the guise of \textit{contribución de indígena} (a form of head tax imposed on the indigenous population), to buoy the failing economy.\textsuperscript{54} Meanwhile, successful guerrilla leaders and members of the creole elite realised their revolutionary goals of achieving increased status, wealth and power.\textsuperscript{55} As Florencia Mallon argues, patriots who held political influence during the war often managed to convert their position to new levels of elevated status and fortune under the republic.\textsuperscript{56} In the central Andes, this created a new elite who took economic control of the region, often at the expense of the indigenous population and community lands.\textsuperscript{57} The reintroduction of the tax also had far reaching social implications which have long outlived the tax under which the indigenous population has been both marginalised and politically disenfranchised.\textsuperscript{58} The indigenous response to domination and deception was one which oscillated between “resignation and rebellion”.\textsuperscript{59}

The first half of the twentieth century was characterised by indigenous mobilisations and land invasions, as dispossessed Indians attempted to retrieve usurped lands.\textsuperscript{60} During the 1910s and 1920s, Andean political organisation centred around and incorporated indigenous people, particularly in the central and southern Andes. The growing politicisation of indigenous peoples, in turn, inspired intellectuals and \textit{indigenstas} of the period to greater activism.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{53} During the 1600s-1800s, the term creole was used to refer to individuals of Spanish heritage born in the Americas. In contemporary Peru, the word is now generally used to refer to people from the coast.

\textsuperscript{54} The economic situation following the Wars of Independence was dire. The mining industry, which was already in decline at the close of the eighteenth century, was in a state of total ruin by the end of the war, as was the agricultural sector.

\textsuperscript{55} Florencia E. Mallon, \textit{The Defense of Community in Peru’s Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860-1940} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 51. Successful guerrilla leaders took advantage of low property prices, buying large plots of land and properties which had been destroyed during the war.

\textsuperscript{56} Mallon, \textit{The Defense of Community}, 52.

\textsuperscript{57} Mallon, \textit{The Defense of Community}, 54.

\textsuperscript{58} Larson, \textit{Trials of Making a Nation}, 146.


\textsuperscript{61} The historical, political and social implications of \textit{indigenismo} are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.
Following the era of Latin American independence (1806–1825), many newly-formed nation-states set about constructing unique national cultural identities. *Indigenismo* was a movement led by non-‘Indian’ artists and intellectuals who worked to create a fusion of the ancient and the modern in a bid to forge a new and distinctly Latin American identity. Many Latin American governments mobilised the memory of a glorified Indian past as part of the new national identity. In Peru, *indigenistas* and the state looked to a romanticised Inca past, which they integrated with modernising European ideals. This only served to further marginalise the living Indian. Both the Peruvian provincial elite and the oligarchy considered the Indian to be a threat and a ‘problem’ that needed to be ‘solved’. *Indigenismo* was intended to be a means by which to incorporate indigenous people into a state-controlled model of a unified nation and thus, eliminate what had come to be known as the “Indian problem”. In Peru, *indigenismo* ultimately became a nationalising project which was institutionalised and integrated into government policies. A central precept of *indigenismo* was the notion that “culture could transform race.”

Socialist and founder of the Peruvian Communist Party, José Carlos Mariátegui, was a key Peruvian *indigenista* who looked beyond purely cultural solutions. In 1928 he argued that:

> The problem of the Indian is rooted in the land tenure system of our economy. Any attempt to solve it with administrative or police measures, through education or by a road building program, is superficial and secondary as long as the feudalism of the *gamonales* continues to exist.

While Mariátegui’s contention that solely economic strategies could incorporate Indians and solve the ‘Indian problem’ may be debatable, he recognised the central role of land ownership in the marginalisation of the indigenous and the fact that the feudal system left indigenous Peruvians (particularly in the Andes) politically disenfranchised.

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65 *Gamonales* were rural landlords who often used force to displace indigenous landholders.

From the 1920s to the 1960s, Peruvian provincial elites found they were losing power, becoming ever more politically isolated. Economic changes also meant that financial control of the nation was centralised in Lima in the hands of the oligarchy. As Carlos Iván Degregori has observed, it was during this period that many provincial elites and intellectuals adopted Marxist ideals which, much like the indigenistas before them, they combined with a reappraisal of Andean culture.67

During the 1940s and 1950s, scholars and intellectuals began pushing for major changes to the system of large landholdings known as latifundium.68 Enrique Mayer maintains that, “in the Andean region, where most of the serf and rural populations were also Indian, the abuse with which they were treated was seen [by intellectuals] as particularly egregious.”69 Landowners countered the push for change from a blatantly racist standpoint, arguing that ignorant Indians would not be able to make productive use of the land because they were primitive and in need of educating.70 By the middle of the twentieth century, Ayacuchano society was still deeply marked by the legacy of colonialism and the early republican era in which the hierarchy of race and class meant landowners, clerics from old families and merchants held power, leaving rural inhabitants disenfranchised and impoverished.71

Following a bloodless coup in 1968, the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado introduced sweeping reforms, targeting all facets of social, economic and political life in Peru.72 Although a military dictatorship, President Velasco’s government represented a left-wing shift and the series of reforms introduced during the late 1960s and early 1970s, constituted an “important watershed for the country.”73 Velasco introduced major agrarian reforms designed to break up and redistribute the large land holdings of the Andean haciendas and drastically modify the feudal system that had been in place since the period of

67 Degregori, Que difícil es ser Dios, 22.
68 The system of latifundios, large private landholdings, is known as latifundismo. It is a system of land ownership by local aristocracy, absentee landowners, or corporations (foreign or domestic).
70 Mayer, Ugly Stories, 9.
72 President Velasco’s land reforms were not the first agrarian reforms of the twentieth century.
73 Mayer, Ugly Stories, 3.
independence. The reforms had an enormous impact throughout the Andes. However, the extent of private landholdings and community lands varied greatly across the Andes and even within the department of Ayacucho. As a result campesino reactions to land reforms also varied. In the provinces where few haciendas had developed, campesinos experienced little benefit as a result of the land reforms. Rather, in Ayacucho, education was a greater concern for the many campesinos.

Velasco chose a powerfully symbolic day to announce the reforms. June 24 had previously been known as the Día de los Indios (Day of the Indians). It is also the winter solstice and the central day of the festival of Inti Raymi, an Andean ritual which celebrates the Inca sun god Inti. Velasco’s reforms were aimed at incorporating the indigenous population into the nation and quelling the numerous peasant uprisings which had become a common occurrence throughout the Peruvian Andes. Velasco declared that his government would “put a final end” to poverty. During his speech Velasco avoided racial and ethnic terminology, referring to indigenous labourers and rural workers as campesinos and declaring 24 June, henceforth, as the Día de los Campesinos (Day of the Peasant). Under the military regime, national institutions appropriated symbols of the Inca Empire along with indigenous dance, music, craft and clothing and “cultural life was nationalized”.

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74 In the southern Andes the hacienda system had been in a state of decline since the 1950s. The Velasco government was also responsible for major educational reforms and for the official recognition of the Quechua language and of cultural diversity along with the nationalisation of the mining industry. For further discussion of the reforms implemented by the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces and the impact on Andean inhabitants see, María Elena García, “Race Education and Citizenship: From indigenismo to interculturalidad,” in Making Indigenous Citizens: Identities, Education and Multicultural Development in Peru, ed. María Elena García (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2005), 63-86; José Matos Mar, Desborde Popular y Crisis del Estado: El Nuevo Rostro del Perú (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986): For a detailed account of the diverse history and social/political actors involved in the Peruvian agrarian reforms, see: Mayer, Ugly Stories.

75 In some regions the reforms were not popular, sparking massive campesino mobilisations from the neighbouring department of Apurimac in 1974. Campesinos fought to regain autonomy over lands which had been affected by the reforms. For more on the impact of General Velasco’s reforms, see: Mayer, Ugly Stories; Mallon, “Chronicle of a Path Foretold?” 84-117.


78 Mayer, Ugly Stories, 7.
The PCP-SL first emerged in the 1970s as a result of divisions and factional infighting within the Communist Party – Red Flag (Partido Comunista – Bandera Roja). The group of university professors from the recently reopened University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSch) then formed a small regional committee of the PCP-SL in Ayacucho. The chair of the committee was a professor of philosophy from a middle-class family in Arequipa named Abimael Guzmán. Originally from the coastal town of Mollendo, he moved to Ayacucho in 1962 to take up a position at the university. This small yet “charismatic” man would become the “supreme leader of Sendero Luminoso” with the epithet President Gonzalo. Sendero propaganda proclaimed Guzmán the “fourth sword of Marxism” after Marx, Lenin and Mao. The party creed known as “Gonzalo Thought” (pensamiento del Gonzalo) was heavily influenced by Maoist doctrine which Guzmán adapted to suit the Peruvian context, combining it with the socialist philosophy of José Mariátegui. However, this adaptation did not mean that the party respected local culture or traditions, particularly in the Andes. On the contrary, Guzmán considered Andean semi-feudal relations as one of three obstacles in the way of the revolution, along with bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism. Sendero believed it constituted the revolutionary vanguard, the goal being to overthrow the establishment and usher in a new communist utopia. Party leadership was comprised of university professors and intellectual elites, while the majority of the rank and file were youths from rural communities who attended the University of Huamanga, where they were exposed to Guzmán’s radical doctrine. The party used education to advance its agenda in rural areas, sending young graduates to teach in rural and

79 Kimberly Theidon, Entre Prójimos: el conflicto armado interno y la política de la reconciliación (Lima: IEP, 2004), 27.
80 The University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga was originally founded in 1677 and closed in 1885. It was reopened in 1959.
81 Guzmán was a member of Red Flag until 1970.
82 David Scott Palmer taught with Guzmán at UNSCH in the 1970s. In a conversation with this author, he described Guzmán as “charismatic” and “good at motivating” the students, Ayacucho, 5 August, 2008; Orin Starn observed that Guzmán was so convincing during his speeches that he earned the title Dr. Shampú, due to his capacity to “brainwash” observers; Starn, “Maoism in the Andes,” 404.
85 Guzmán was influenced, in part, by his experience in China in 1968.
86 Starn, “Maoism in the Andes,” 400.
87 Starn, “Maoism in the Andes,” 408.
provincial schools, taking the teachings of the party with them.\textsuperscript{90} Sendero initially campaigned on a promise of egalitarianism in which all Peruvians would be equal; this resonated with the marginalised sectors of Peruvian society, especially the rural poor and women.\textsuperscript{91}

Sendero’s strategy for securing power within communities was to offer much-needed education while working to intensify long-standing local tensions and conflicts. The \textit{senderistas} then placed themselves as teachers and self-appointed arbiters of all disputes, bringing law and enforcing order. They employed a strategy of “moralisation campaigns” in which they began by identifying and punishing petty criminals, thieves, adulterers and cattle rustlers.\textsuperscript{92} In some regions, Sendero was initially successful in gaining popular support precisely because it offered what the state did not: education and moralisation.\textsuperscript{93} Although \textit{senderistas} were able to gain the support of many communities, in other areas they met with resistance from the outset.\textsuperscript{94} The TRC reports that “the complexity of the armed conflict was such that within one zone, varied responses towards the PCP-SL arose from the people.”\textsuperscript{95} Over time SL meted out ever increasing punishments. Corrupt authorities (or those perceived as an obstacle), local elites and thieves were singled out and with time, public whippings became public executions.\textsuperscript{96}

For Sendero, violence became an aim in and of itself. Sendero was unlike other Latin American leftist movements that evolved in universities during the 1960s. As David

\textsuperscript{90} David Scott Palmer, \textit{Shining Path of Peru} (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1994), 1.
\textsuperscript{91} Carol Andreas, “Women at War,” \textit{NACLA Report on the Americas}, vol. 42, no. 4, (1990-1991): 21. Andreas’ study of women during the conflict revealed that Sendero attracted more females than males from its inception. Andreas attributes the appeal of SL to the fact that the legitimate Left was a male-dominated domain which “failed miserably” to appeal to the historically disenfranchised female majority. For a further discussion of women in SL, see: Robin Kirk, \textit{Grabado en piedra: las mujeres de Sendero} (Lima: IEP, 1993). Degregori also makes the point that women were attracted to SL because they were not appreciated by other political parties: Carlos Iván Degregori, “Cosechando tempestades: las rondas campesinas y la derrota de Sendero Luminoso en Ayacucho,” in \textit{Las rondas campesinas y la derrota de Sendero Luminoso}, eds Carlos Iván Degregori, José Coronel Aguirre, Ponciano Del Pino & Orin Starn, (Lima: IEP, 1996), 24. In an article in the aforementioned publication, Ponciano del Pino argues that women also played a very active role as \textit{ronderas} in the overthrow of SL.
\textsuperscript{93} Isbell, “Shining Path and Peasant Responses,” 61.
\textsuperscript{94} CVR, 1.1.5: 39.
\textsuperscript{95} CVR, 2.1: 15.
Scott Palmer has observed, Sendero was oriented towards a structure of change through violence, rather than the intellectual analysis which characterised other Marxist movements. 97 Degregori also notes that Sendero “rejected the primacy of politics in favour of the primacy of violence; violence is the essence of the revolution; war is its principle task.”98 Theidon reports that many campesinos explained, “senderistas killed people in ways we do not even butcher our animals.”99 The principle of violence led to barbaric and inhumane acts of cruelty which were intensified by the response of the counterinsurgency forces. 100

Many observers and scholars have pointed out that the Peruvian government initially responded to Sendero with indifference.101 Most agree this was largely due to the racism which pervades Peruvian society. The PCP-SL was not afforded much attention as it was merely a small regional party based in Ayacucho.102 Manrique has argued the delay to act was, in part, due to the political transition taking place from military dictatorship to democracy. He suggests that the armed forces had been “worn thin” as a result of twelve years of military rule (1968–1980).103 In addition, newly re-elected President Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1980–1985) had been deposed by the military during his first presidency in 1968, making him reluctant to seek their assistance.104 When the government did finally act, the response of the armed forces was harsh and indiscriminate, following the idea that ‘everyone is suspect’. On 12 October 1981, the Belaúnde government declared a state of emergency in five provinces of Ayacucho – Huamanga, Huanta, Cangallo, Victor Fajardo and La Mar. 105 With the arrival of the armed forces, the behaviour of SL changed markedly. Sendero tactics became more

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97 Palmer, Shining Path of Peru, 1.
105 CVR, General Conclusions.
coercive and *senderistas* began to kill those who were suspected of being against the cause or in alliance with the armed forces.\textsuperscript{106}

Rural inhabitants found themselves caught between the two opposing forces. Peruvian cultural construction supposes that all *serranos* (or people from the sierra) are inferior to *costeños* (people from the coast) because they are descended from Indians.\textsuperscript{107} The military forces initially posted in Ayacucho were taken from the marines, known to be “the most racist branch of the military” and whose members are largely made up of *costeños*.\textsuperscript{108} They viewed all dark-skinned campesinos as a threat, suspecting all campesinos of affiliation with SL. According to Degregori, the armed forces posted to protect and bring order to the region in fact transformed the department “into an Armageddon”.\textsuperscript{109} The marines were ultimately replaced in 1985 by the army, precisely because its ranks included many *serranos*.\textsuperscript{110} The TRC found that Sendero and the armed forces were jointly responsible for the enormous number of fatalities during the conflict, with Sendero Luminoso responsible for 54% of all the fatalities reported to the commissioners.\textsuperscript{111}

Ayacuchanos were not passive victims and by the end of 1989 most of the northern provinces of Ayacucho had established self-defence groups known as Civil Autodefence Committees (CACs) and later as rondas campesinas. CACs proliferated in the late 1980s as civilians attempted to protect themselves from the growing violence. In some instances the CACs were community initiatives while in others they were introduced by the military. The CACs were highly successful in the war against Sendero.\textsuperscript{112} Ironically, however, in some areas *ronderos* were responsible for the deaths, disappearances and serious human rights abuses of the very people they were elected to protect. It is difficult to make generalisations about how CACs operated in Ayacucho as each case and each community experience is distinct.

\textsuperscript{106} CVR, 1.1.5: 52.

\textsuperscript{107} De la Cadena, “From Race to Class,” 24.

\textsuperscript{108} Carlos Iván Degregori, “Harvesting Storms: Peasant Rondas and the Defeat of Sendero Luminoso in Ayacucho,” in *Shining and Other Paths*: 146.

\textsuperscript{109} Degregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 142.

\textsuperscript{110} Degregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 146.

\textsuperscript{111} CVR, General Conclusions.

\textsuperscript{112} CVR, 1.5: 446.
The civil unrest of the 1980s and 1990s is often referred to as the ‘dirty war’ (guerra sucia), due to the brutality of the violence and the fact that there was no clear enemy. As Ponciano del Pino points out, a good number of the CACS were headed by former senderistas. Thus, those who had once terrorised and violated a community became the supposed protectors and the defenders of its very safety. To examine this period in Peru necessarily unravels a web of connections, of implied guilt. As human beings we often need retribution for injustices, through finding the individuals responsible and bringing them to justice. This is not always an easy task, certainly not in the case of Peru, where there are so many ambiguities, crossovers and contradictions.

While the army developed closer links with the campesinos through CACs, by the late 1980s Sendero was losing ground. Although Sendero initially brought a sense of order and protection to many rural communities which had long been neglected by the state, Sendero’s actions began to clash with the traditional beliefs and basic needs of rural campesinos. Sendero insisted that the “people’s war” take priority. Sendero closed markets and annual fairs, prohibited traditional and religious festivals and even banned the very important celebration of Christmas in some areas. Campesinos were only allowed to grow enough crops to support the ranks of Sendero and their own subsistence; no surplus was to be grown for fiscal profit. As Del Pino has observed, Sendero’s repression of campesino traditions caused powerful cultural and ideological resistance among campesinos. In the face of declining support, Sendero employed indiscriminate retaliation in an effort to promote an image of strength. This led to a wave of desertions in the late 1980s. In a bid to stem the tide, Sendero resorted to killing family members who were left behind. If a deserter was captured by SL, they were publicly executed. On occasion, family members were compelled to carry out the execution.

Some observers initially reported that Sendero was instrumental in the continuation and even the reintroduction of Andean rituals and customs. For example, in 1992 Carol

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118 Del Pino, “Family, Culture,” 185.
Andreas observed that along with “putting an end to delinquency, prostitution, drug addiction and domestic violence”, Sendero encouraged “ancient rituals connected with the cycles of life [which] are observed by the entire community.”

This was not generally so. Rather, in keeping with the Maoist rhetoric of the party, SL disparaged traditional music and dance as backward. The cadres of Sendero Luminoso considered indigenous customs and practices an obstacle to modernisation. Sendero’s active prohibition of traditional ceremonies and festivals, which they considered to be “archaic superstition”, was not for purely ideological reasons.

As Poole and Rénique note, Sendero banned (wherever possible) fiestas and all occasions where drunkenness or satirical dances might give rise to criticism of the party.

Theidon maintains that “the war was experienced as a ‘cultural revolution’ – as an attack against cultural practices and the very meaning of what it is to live as human being in these [Ayacuchano] villages.”

Theidon’s findings are echoed by the words of Rubén Romání and many other Ayacuchanos I met.

Ayacuchano musician Abilio Soto Yupanqui (originally from Vinchos) explained to me that rural inhabitants feared celebrating fiestas as they felt more vulnerable to attack from the military and from senderistas, who were known to travel and attack at night – earning them the name *tuta puriqkuna* (‘night walkers’ in Quechua).

One night during carnival in Vinchos, I was with my family when a helicopter appeared. They landed and took three young men. They caught them and tied them up in ropes. Everybody else on the ground fled, shaking and crying. They said they were only going to question the young men, but later the military threw the men from the helicopter into an abyss.

As a result, in many rural and provincial areas, inhabitants of the central Andes restricted their ritual practices. This caused a sharp decline in ritual custom during the conflict. The ban was not uniform across the department of Ayacucho. Restrictions and prohibition of fiestas varied from town to town and from community to community.

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123 Abilio Soto Yupanqui interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 10 May, 2010; Theidon gives a detailed explanation of the symbolic meaning of *puiriqkuna* which translates as ‘people who walk’ in “Justice in Transition,” 443.
124 Abilio Soto Yupanqui, Ayacucho, 10 May, 2010.
In fact, as Antonio Quispe, a migrant from Lucanamarca and Bajada de Reyes dancer explained, in some towns Sendero members allowed and even encouraged the practice of fiestas patronales (celebrating the patron saint of a town) and carnival as a type of reward and as a means by which to maintain control within communities. Quispe explained that in some cases SL members understood the social and cultural importance of fiesta, as many members originally hailed from rural communities and had grown up with similar cultural practices. In certain instances Sendero members would take on the role of traditional community leaders during fiestas, known in Quechua as varayuq, leading the ceremonies and rituals. This was a powerful symbolic act which made the transition of power from the traditional community leaders to the new regime crystal clear. Jonathan Ritter argues that senderistas in the province of Victor Fajardo co-opted song contests to promote their cause. The songs and the contests functioned as an unwritten form of party propaganda, the echoes of which could be heard after the fighting had ceased. However, as Ritter notes, this response cannot be generalised or applied to all communities, as in the northern provinces the song was effectively silenced during the years of conflict. As Ritter has demonstrated, in Ayacucho song, like dance, is a powerful medium of memory and knowledge.

Memory in Practice: The Memory Struggle in Peru

Peruvian society has struggled with the legacy of the internal conflict. Opinion remains divided as to the most effective manner to address and reconcile what happened. The TRC exposed horrific crimes and human rights abuses that had previously been unknown or negated. Even though the TRC revealed that government forces were responsible for nearly half of all casualties, the subsequent governments of Alan García Peréz (1985–1990, 2006–2011) and Ollanta Humala (2011–present) have continued to deny responsibility and have been reluctant to prosecute military members accused of human rights abuses. Victims’ groups, NGOs and the academic community continue the struggle for the recognition of victim suffering, reparations and punitive justice. The exhumation of mass graves by forensic anthropologists has played an important role in

locating and identifying many of the dead and formerly disappeared.\textsuperscript{131} This has provided family members with information as to what happened and the political affiliation of the perpetrators. Perhaps, more importantly, the recovery of bodies has given family members the opportunity to bury their loved ones, as was the case in Putis in 2009 (photo. 9). However, many more mass graves still exist and family members of the disappeared continue to entreat authorities to act.\textsuperscript{132} According to José Pablo Baraybar, director of the Peruvian Forensic Anthropology Team (EPAF), less than one per cent of the 15,000 disappeared have been identified.\textsuperscript{133}

Since the release of the TRC report, Peru has been engaged in a difficult and ongoing struggle over how to remember and memorialise what happened in the recent past. In


\textsuperscript{132} In 2009, forensic anthropologists unearthed the remains of over 100 individuals who had been disappeared at Los Cabitos military base in Huamanga. Nearly all of the remains evidenced signs of torture. The trial investigating the horrors perpetrated at Los Cabitos, a centre for counterinsurgency activities during the early 1980s, began in May 2011; Jo-Marie Burt, “The Bones Tell the Story: The Search for Peru’s Missing,” \textit{Al Jazeera}, 30 March 2013. Accessed 5 April 2013, \url{http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/03/2013330141926998582.html}.

\textsuperscript{133} Burt, “The Bones Tell the Story.”
Peru, as in Argentina, Chile and Guatemala, there is a desire to remember so that the horror will never be repeated – ‘recordar, para que no se repita.’ However, the memories of different groups often clash and compete for the little space that exists for public memorialisation, creating what Cynthea Milton (borrowing from Steve Stern) has described as a type of “‘memory knot’ for the Peruvian nation”.134 This is exemplified by the controversial memorial, The Eye that Cries (El Ojo que Llora),135 located in Jesús María in Lima, completed in 2005. The memorial is made up of 32,000 stones inscribed with the names and birthdates of victims of the political violence.136 In 2006, the inter-American court ordered the Peruvian government to add 41 additional names to the monument.137 The court had been investigating the military raid on the Miguel Castro Castro Penitentiary in Lima carried out under the Fujimori administration on 6 May 1992. During the raid on the high security prison, 41 prisoners were killed. All had been convicted for involvement with Sendero Luminoso. The idea that Sendero militants could be memorialised alongside victims perceived as peaceful and depoliticised caused a public outcry, leading Peruvian officials and some victims’ groups to call for the demolition of the monument.138 As would become apparent, however, the names of senderistas had been present on the memorial since its creation, as the artist had always intended to commemorate all the victims of the violence.139 Diverse groups joined in defence of the monument, including human rights groups, campesinos from Ayacucho (many of whom had formerly been imprisoned, accused of being terrorists), and public figures such as Peruvian author, Mario Vargas Llosa.140

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136 Milton, “Public Spaces,” 156.
138 Hite, “The Eye that Cries,” 110.
139 Hite, “The Eye that Cries,” 110.
140 Hite, “The Eye that Cries,” 112.
The polemic surrounding The Eye that Cries demonstrates the complex nature of the memory debate in Peru. The fratricidal nature of the violence in Peru means that ex-
senderistas, Sendero sympathisers, as well as orphans and widows of the military, Sendero and/or Civil Autodefence Committees (CACs), along with victims of sexual violence (perpetrated by SL and/or government forces), and informers are now living side by side, creating a potentially volatile social mix. This has led Theidon to describe the years of internal conflict as a war “entre prójimos” – between intimates, family and neighbours. The question of who should be considered a victim continues to be contested. However, it is virtually impossible to make a distinction between perpetrator and victim following an internal conflict in which individuals changed allegiances and government forces were indiscriminate in response to the threat – real or perceived – of terrorism.

This complexity is further exemplified by the recently published Memorias de un Soldado Desconocido (Memories of an Unknown Soldier). In his autobiography, Lurgio Gavilán Sánchez recounts how, at only twelve years old, he became involved with Sendero Luminoso. Originally from a small Andean village, Lurgio was recruited to SL by his older brother. Following three years of active participation, he was captured by military forces – aided by CACs. Typically, an individual would be executed under such circumstances. However, Lurgio’s captor “Shogun” pardoned him, gave him a uniform and sent him to school, where he learned to read and write. Lurgio then spent seven years with the army based in Ayacucho fighting his former comrades, before later becoming a Franciscan novice. As a result of circumstances, luck, maturity and changing affiliations, Lurgio could be considered a victim, a perpetrator and a survivor.

Carolina, the leader of a victim’s group in Huanta in the department of Ayacucho, described to me the difficulty of remembering and reconciling that Ayacuchanos face daily – particularly in smaller Andean communities. She told of a young man named Juan who was traumatised by his experience during the conflict. Nevertheless, he had

141 Theidon, Entre Prójimos, 20.
142 Theidon, Entre Prójimos.
144 Pseudonym.
145 Pseudonym.
only recently been accepted into the support meetings run by the group. Juan was a former member of Sendero Luminoso. Like Lurgio, Juan joined Sendero when he was just a boy. He then became convinced that his parents were against the party’s cause. Consumed by his belief in the party’s mission, Juan pursued his parents and ultimately killed them both. Juan’s actions and affiliation with Sendero meant that he was considered a perpetrator and terrorist throughout his community. However, as Carolina explained, Juan was very young when he became involved with SL and therefore vulnerable to indoctrination. Carolina went on to explain that the suffering and overwhelming guilt that Juan now lives with means he too must be considered a victim of the conflict and afforded any victim support available.

In her work, Theidon questions how people “reconstruct moral order” and establish transitional justice in communities that have experienced protracted periods of violence. She asks the vexing question, “when war ends what do people do with the killers in their midst?” Given the fratricidal nature of the conflict in Peru, this question raises many complex issues. The road to reconciliation in Peru, as in many post-conflict countries, is long and difficult. Rebecca K. Root has observed that many Peruvians believe the notion of reconciliation is not appropriate to their situation, “as one does not reconcile with terrorists.” Nevertheless, as Carolina’s story shows, in some Ayacuchano communities people are finding ways to reconcile what happened.

When investigating history and memory, it is crucial to consider diverse ways of knowing and remembering. This is especially pertinent in Peru where the written and/or Spanish word has been used as a tool of domination and deception. As Greg Dening has noted, “We need a word [for memory] that includes memory but embraces all other ways of knowing a past.” I contend that dance constitutes another way of knowing; it incorporates embodied knowledge, ancient narratives, connection to land and

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146 Carolina (pseudonym) interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Huanta, 10 September, 2009. Juan was accepted to attend the meetings in 2008. Not all the members agreed with the decision to allow Juan to join the group.

147 For more on the challenges presented by ex-Senderistas living within Ayacuchano communities, see the documentary: Carlos Cárdenas, Hector Gálvez, Lucanamarca, JML Distribution, 2008.


150 Root, Transitional Justice in Peru, 8.

151 Degregori, Que difícil es ser Dios, 9-11.

relationship to the divine. It is equally important to utilise research techniques that reveal and embrace the diversity of knowledge.

In the context of post-conflict countries such as Peru, it is important to look beyond official memory practices and commemorations such as those which have been funded, sponsored, initiated or designed by outsiders and informed by a European or US model of commemoration. While these modes of commemoration are important and give voice to the many who feel silenced and abandoned, I argue that it is equally important to examine the daily cultural practices which function as a form of ‘organic memory-making’. These are memory practices which grow out of or are laid over existing cultural practices or those which have functioned as such for centuries. In the Peruvian Andes, dance and fiesta constitute organic memory practices and yet they have been largely overlooked as such and their importance as collective memory underestimated.

Such a dramatic social and political upheaval as the internal conflict of the 1980s and 1990s evokes a variety of cultural responses that reflect and challenge the processes of memorialisation and integration in the national context. In Peru, the arts form a central part of the memory discourse, raising public consciousness about the need to remember what happened so that it will never be repeated. Isbell calls these expressions “protest arts”. While in Ayacucho I attended numerous memorial events in which the arts played a central role, commemorating or depicting some aspect of the violence. A number of works urged people to remember those who had died, some commemorated those who had disappeared and whose remains had been recovered, others aimed to expose government brutality, while still others called for reparations for the victims.

Edilberto Jiménez is an Ayacuchano artist who now uses his art as a form of testimony and consciousness raising. Trained by his father in the traditional Ayacuchano art of retablos as a boy, Edilberto is also an anthropologist and worked for the TRC

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153 A great deal of literature has been generated examining memory acts which arise against the official national narratives or counter-memory. I do not propose that the dances of Ayacucho act as counter-memory, rather that they constitute organic memory making.


156 Retablos are wooden boxes filled with ceramic figurines depicting significant events, such as religious celebrations and agrarian fiestas.
collecting victim testimonies in the district of Chungui. His *retablos* graphically illustrate the brutality and the violence perpetrated in Chungui testimony (photo. 10). Visual representations of the testimonies are often accompanied by the words of victims. Edilberto’s skill affords him the ability to portray the horrors of political violence with stunning clarity which shocks the viewer, leaving no doubt as to what took place (photo. 11). During and since the conflict, Ayacuchano artists like Edilberto have used their art as an expression of historical memory, testimony and protest.

Photograph 10: Edilberto Jiménez opens one of his *retablos* which depicts a massacre of campesinos by *senderistas* in Chungui. The eyes that watch from the sky represent the belief that it was impossible to escape Sendero as they had a million eyes watching.

157 Ediberto Jiménez has also produced an illustrated book of testimonies, which is now in its second edition. *Chungui: violencia y trazos de memoria* (Lima: IEP, COMISEDH, DED, 2009).

158 Individuals identified in photos gave consent to be identified in this research project.
A number of researchers are now examining the arts as sites of memory-making and protest in relation to the years of political violence in Peru. Ethnomusicologist and guitarist, Jonathan Ritter, has examined the relationship between memory and music in his study of *pumpin* (a form of carnival) in the southern province of Victor Fajardo, Ayacucho. Ritter argues that *pumpin* songs are complex sites where local attitudes to politics and ideology are created, debated and transformed. Diana Taylor’s book *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* examines the work of Lima-based theatre group Yuyahckani. She argues that, “Embodied and performed acts generate, record and transmit knowledge.” Recently, Maria Eugenia Ulfe has produced a study of memory and *retablos*. Ulfe examines the consequences of the conflict, such as the forced internal displacement, through this unique art.

So how does dance fit into the broader schematic of memory work in Peru? While a small number of Ayacuchanos I spoke with recalled that some dances once contained overt protest of the violence during fiestas such as carnival, in 2009-2010 I found no

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record of protest or violence in the dances of Ayacucho. In the context of an ever present debate over memorialisation in which the memory discourse infiltrates political debate, media and the arts on a daily basis, it was surprising that dance was the one space in which there seemed to be no record of the recent violence. Yet, as will become apparent, dance is crucially involved in both remembering and forgetting. The prohibition/restriction or alteration of cultural practices during the years of violence has affected the way in which dance is used, performed and received in Ayacucho.

Dance as Memory: Remembering and Forgetting

By considering dance as a means of remembering and forgetting since the political violence of the 1980s and 1990s, this research contributes to the memory studies discourse in Peru. When I began this research project in 2008, there was very little scholarship that considered dance as memory. In 2005, Helena Wulff published a study of Irish dance that examines the construction of social memory and the way in which dance incorporates bodily expressions of values, identity and nationalism. In the past five years, there has been a growing interest in dance as memory. In 2013 Theresa Buckland, published “Dance and Cultural Memory: Interpreting Fin De Siècle Performances of ‘Olde England’” which examines dance as cultural memory. This thesis contributes to this emergent body of scholarship by examining Ayacuchano dance and fiesta as significant memory practices following the twenty years of violence. Both of the aforementioned studies consider dance as historical, social or cultural memory; my work differs in that it considers dance as a contemporary site of memory in a post-conflict society. My research also contributes to the field of Andean studies by providing in-depth analyses of four different expressions of fiestas and the dances involved from the department of Ayacucho. I consider the significance of the embodied expression of dance and provide detailed descriptions and analysis of the dances. The opinions of dancers, fiesta participants, organisers and judges – gleaned through recorded interviews and conversations – form an important part of my research on dance.


The embodied memory I experienced as a child (described in the introduction), and throughout my life since, is akin to what Marcel Mauss described as embodied knowledge.\textsuperscript{164} This type of bodily knowledge involves the training of the body in such a way that the movement combinations become inscribed in what is often referred to by dancers as the ‘muscular memory’. This is the type of embodied memory which is gained through the repetitive training of the body and muscles. However, the experience also engages with aspects of bodily intelligence and what Thomas Csordas calls “somatic modes of attention”\textsuperscript{165} These are the culturally informed ways in which we attend “to and with” our bodies “in surroundings that include the embodied presence of others” (in this case the audience and other dancers backstage).\textsuperscript{166} Csordas privileges the term ‘attention’ because it implies a “sensory engagement” with the body, as well as with the body as an object in a world of others.\textsuperscript{167} It is the understanding or knowing of one’s body from within sensorially, as well as from without – in relation to others.

The above is only one example of dance as memory. I argue that dance acts as memory in at least three different ways which I will examine throughout this thesis.

Dance is \textit{embodied memory}: As mentioned above, dance is both \textit{in} and \textit{of} the body. It engages with bodily intelligence. Through the use of the body in motion in dance, aspects of history and identity are remembered and/or forgotten through a sensorial process – or memory – which engages all the senses in a process of synaesthesia. This involves sensorial memory, corporeal memory and kinaesthetic memory. The past and present are transformed through the dancing of place and the inversion of power relations.

Dance is a \textit{dynamic space of memory}: In Ayacucho, the dance is a space in which past events, places, ancestors and nature elements are remembered. Just as in some cultures we visit the grave of our ancestors or a memorial of past events, in Ayacucho the dance is a memorial space. Dance as a dynamic space of memory involves the ‘choreography

\textsuperscript{166} Csordas, “Somatic Modes of Attention,”138.
\textsuperscript{167} Csordas, “Somatic Modes of Attention,”138.
of place\textsuperscript{168} where the embodied memories of a particular place are danced into being as a means of recalling and reconnecting to that place. The dance actively and dynamically recalls the cultural memories of a particular community and time through the use of a combination of symbols within the larger social framework of a specific fiesta or competition. The memories are stored in the body and recalled through the dance. Individual dance steps represent specific events, flora, fauna, divinities or historical figures and ancestors, while specific choreographic patterns and styles and the use of traditional costumes combine to assist in remembering the collective narrative of a time and space.

Dance functions as a \textit{site of memory}: Dance is also used in Ayacucho as a conscious memory-making act with a future project at its centre: to transform historical prejudices through the act of dancing and through the political and social negotiations which take place around it. The dance is used to express a unique cultural identity. The cultural practice of dance thus becomes a dynamic site where politics and identity are contested.\textsuperscript{169}

These analytical categories of dance as memory are separated here for clarity. However, they are interconnected. One does not exist in isolation from the others. Rather, there is a constant interplay, or dance, between them in which one steps forward to take the lead while the others fill the background. As Jane Desmond argues, all dance “exists in a complex network of relationships to other dances and other non-dance ways of using the body.”\textsuperscript{170}

The dance and fiesta of Ayacucho also constitute important means of forgetting the recent years of violence. Thus it is necessary to consider the complex relationship between remembering and forgetting. If, for a moment, we consider collective memory as a coin, then forgetting is the flip side of that coin. One does not exist without the other; they are ever entwined in a dichotomous relationship. Like night and day, we cannot know one without the other. We must forget in order to remember and ‘lose’, obscure or repress memories so as to forget. Scholars of history, anthropology and the

\textsuperscript{168} I recognise that this term has been used within the discipline of architecture to describe the way in which people move through a constructed space or building. However, I do not use the term in this way. I use it to refer to the way dancers dance their place of origin into being utilising embodied memory.


humanities have long been interested in memory as a collective phenomenon. While there has been a boom in memory studies since the 1980s, forgetting has not received as much scholarly attention as the debates and theories surrounding memory. However, most memory scholars recognise that forgetting is a fundamental aspect of memory. Remembering and forgetting together form a process by which we make sense of our experience and knowledge in relation to the past, the present and the future. Paul Connerton questions why it is that collective memory has become “ubiquitous” in recent years. He concludes that while the events and repercussions of the Holocaust have been influential, it is rather that the culture of modernity has a particular issue with forgetting because certain types of “structural forgetting” are unique to modernity. Connerton looks to the “art of memory” to provide insight into the form of forgetting that he argues is “characteristic of modernity.” The art of memory involves the training of one’s memory in which mental images are linked with places and stored there for retrieval at a later date. Connerton observes there are two essential aspects to the art of memory. One is a “stable system of places” while the other is the implicit relationship between the body and remembering; these “acts of memory are envisaged as taking place on a human scale.”

Connerton argues that forgetting is related to, or caused by, a separation from locality. The massive scale of modern cities and the fast pace of transport, communication and progress mean that the “human-scale-ness of life” is forgotten and the transformation of life-spaces brought by modernity weakens a sense of common meaning. The rapid pace of forced migration caused by the internal conflict in Peru combined with the de-humanising impact of the violence in Ayacucho has led to the type of separation

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174 Modernity is the capitalised global market which eliminates the feudal system and the psychological effects of freedom created by the erosion of fixed hierarchies. Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 1-2.
175 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 5.
176 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 5.
177 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 5.
Connerton discusses. I argue that it is the human scale of things that is remembered through the dances of Ayacucho, as people recall and reinstate dances and fiestas that have been forgotten.

Jens Brockmeier characterises much of the literature on remembering and forgetting as a theatrical drama in which remembering plays the heroic lead, basking in the spotlight, garnering all the attention.\textsuperscript{178} Meanwhile forgetting is cast in the role of the villain, skulking in the shadows. This casting comes as a result of historical perceptions in which memory and remembering have been perceived as positive, as a skill. In contrast, forgetting has been conceived as negative, as a failure to hold on to something (knowledge or experience). Forgetting has also been associated with emptiness, absence and loss.\textsuperscript{179} Like Nora, Brockmeier argues that all memory is based on a process of selection which involves both remembering and forgetting. He terms the process of remembering and forgetting involving the selection of certain elements and the ordering and reordering of the past “mnemonic selection”.\textsuperscript{180}

The collective remembering of the past is informed by a hierarchy of relevance in which certain elements are privileged above others. This hierarchy of selection – be it conscious or unconscious – is governed by present concerns, agendas and politics.\textsuperscript{181} As dancers and community members, fiesta sponsors and cultural institutions choose which aspects to include, reclaim or leave out of a performance, they recollect elements of the past which are most relevant in and to the present. Anne Rigney (informed by the work of Aleida Assmann) describes this mode of collective memory as “working memory”, which is “the result of all the selective acts of recollection that are actually performed in a society, and that together provide a common frame of reference for its members.”\textsuperscript{182}

Close examination of the dances and the surrounding rituals and negotiations reveals underlying social and moral values important to Ayacuchanos which make up collective memory in Ayacucho.

Connerton has identified seven types of forgetting, two of which are particularly relevant for understanding the dance of Ayacucho as a process of remembering and

\textsuperscript{178} Brockmeier, “Remembering and Forgetting,” 15.
\textsuperscript{179} Brockmeier, “Remembering and Forgetting,” 16.
\textsuperscript{180} Brockmeier, “Remembering and Forgetting,” 22.
\textsuperscript{182} Rigney, “Plenitude, Scarcity and Cultural Memory,” 17.
forgetting. The first form of forgetting identified by Connerton is “prescriptive forgetting,” which involves state intervention with the aim of preventing ongoing acts of vengeance.\textsuperscript{183} This type of forgetting is often perceived as necessary during periods of political transition following internal conflicts such as civil wars. Over the past three decades, prescriptive forgetting has been prevalent in Peru, following heinous human rights abuses during the terms of three democratically elected presidents – Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1980–1985), Alan Garcia (1985–1990) and Alberto Fujimori (1990–1992).\textsuperscript{184} All three have attempted to relinquish and deny any responsibility for what happened. In the process, they have employed prescriptive forgetting to deny responsibility and avoid prosecution.\textsuperscript{185} While Fujimori was tried and convicted in 2009, Garcia (second term 2006–2011) has also been accused of abuses currently still under investigation. While this form of forgetting has been pervasive in Peru, I do not examine it in depth in this thesis as it is not central to the study of dance as memory.

The second form of forgetting Connerton identifies is “that which is constitutive of the formation of a new identity.”\textsuperscript{186} This concept of forgetting is pertinent to the study of dance as memory, particularly in the Andes, where dance has historically been an important space of identity construction and contestation.\textsuperscript{187} A sense of identity is formed (in part) by collective patterns of behaviour as found in cultural practices. Connerton explains that these give “rise to stereotypes of right action; and socially shared dispositions” which are often connected to narratives stored as collective memory.\textsuperscript{188} This second type of forgetting occurs when there is a bid to create a new shared identity while the use of older narratives such as those told through dance – which are considered impractical to the new – are suspended or forgotten. This occurred in many Ayacuchano communities under the control of Sendero Luminoso. As Sendero attempted to form a new modernised identity, it discouraged and discarded rituals, events and narratives that the party deemed unworkable or a hindrance to the new

\textsuperscript{184} In response to a political deadlock in 1992, Fujimori, supported by the military, conducted an \textit{autogolpe} (self-coup); this lead to a more authoritarian rule during the remainder of his term, until he fled the country in 2000.
\textsuperscript{185} Milton, “Public Spaces,” 143-68.
\textsuperscript{186} Connerton, \textit{The Spirit of Mourning}, 37.
\textsuperscript{188} Connerton, \textit{The Spirit of Mourning}, 37.
identity. While the knowledge set aside during such periods may be perceived as lost, Connerton argues that this is not necessarily so. He explains that the type of loss that occurs in this situation is not so much due to an inability to retain as to the discarding of those elements which are not convenient or useful in the construction of a new identity.

The modernising ideology of Sendero was ultimately rejected by the majority of Ayacuchanos (and Peruvians in general). As Ayacuchanos now attempt to rebuild a new and shared identity, they are salvaging and remembering the fiestas and dances that were forgotten or adapted during the years of conflict. Andean fiesta and dance are embedded within a structure of social values and moral codes in which values such as reciprocity and respect are central. Through reinstating these cultural practices, Ayacuchanos are also attempting to reinstate many of the collective values contained within. This desire was expressed by numerous Ayacuchanos who explained during conversations with me that fiestas recall the time of the ancestors, of the grandparents, and a “time when we respected one another.” I explore this form of forgetting further in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4.

The type of forgetting which is constitutive of forming a new identity links with Connerton’s third form of forgetting, “repressive erasure”. This can be a coercive act brought about by totalitarian regimes, the denial of historical rupture or may be used to bring about a break in history. Over the past 30 years, this form of forgetting has been employed by various actors in Peru. Sendero employed repressive erasure when it forced communities to abandon or change their rituals, fiestas, dances, songs and markets in its bid to create a new national identity. Both Sendero and the armed forces engaged in extremely violent forms of repressive erasure by murdering and disappearing thousands of people. The armed forces were known to bury victims in concealed mass graves or burn bodies beyond recognition, in a forced forgetting of human beings. Nevertheless, as Connerton argues, the obligation to forget only functions to strengthen memory.

189 Connerton, The Spirit of Mourning, 37.
190 Connerton, The Spirit of Mourning, 37.
191 Alberto Sánchez, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Quinua, 30 August, 2009.
192 Connerton, The Spirit of Mourning, 41.
193 Connerton, The Spirit of Mourning, 41.
In Peru, the desire to remember what has been erased illustrates Connerton’s point. People continue to search for family members and loved ones who have been killed or disappeared. The lost are remembered through exhibitions, photos, clothes of victims and artworks in museums such as the ANFASEP museum in Huamanga (La Asociación Nacional de Familiares de Secuestrados, Detenidos y Desaparecidos del Perú – the National Association of Families of the Kidnapped, Detained and Disappeared of Peru). Public monuments, exemplified by The Eye that Cries, memorialise the names and birthdates of victims. The Scarf of Hope (La Chalina de Esperanza), embroidered with the names, photos and clothing of victims, knitted by women who lost family members during the conflict, is another conscious bid to remember following the years of coercive erasure. In Ayacucho, the desire to remember what was lost has also led to the salvaging of fiestas and dances that are closely linked to ancestors, place, cultural heritage and identity.

Interpreting the Dance: Meaning and Research

Dance is polysemous, incorporating multiple meanings and symbols, making it a rich site for the research of collective memory. In order to examine ‘the dance’ of a particular culture it is important to understand what the concept of dance means to those within that culture: to those dancing; to those creating the dance; to those watching the dance and to those judging the dance. While I concede that many aspects of human movement involve an element of ‘dance’, in the context of this study such broad applications of the word ‘dance’ would only lead to confusion. Therefore, when I refer to ‘the dance’ of a given region or fiesta I refer to a combination of structured movements set to music which are known and recognised as dance by the community that is dancing.

Containing the dance of Ayacucho is a complex task, as the notion of what exactly comprises dance is in a constant process of change. Taqui, the Quechua word for dance, has been used over the centuries to refer variously to dance, dance in

194 The use of textiles in the creation of the Scarf of Hope is particularly symbolic and poignant. In Andean communities, the identification of the colour and weave of scraps of clothing was an important means by which the remains of individuals exhumed from mass graves were identified.

195 Wulf, “Memories in Motion,” 52.

196 Quechua sounds are represented in a number of different ways when written using the Spanish alphabet. Thus the same word can have a number of different spellings. Taqui is also written taki. The ‘w’ sound is also represented as ‘hu’.
combination with song, dance/dramas, music and all aspects of fiesta. Modernisation, the recent political violence, rural – urban migration and political policies have all led to major changes in the way dance is employed, performed and perceived in contemporary Peru. Andean dance is not an independent entity that stands alone as a separate cultural practice. The movement of the dance is intertwined with the movement of the music, exemplified by the *chunchos* (described in the opening of this chapter), who are musicians as well as dancers. The dance is also entwined with rituals as well as with the preparation and consumption of food and drink associated with fiesta. Therefore, this thesis considers fiesta as the lens through which to view dance as a means of remembering and forgetting.

In Andean dance, the dancer and the spectator are not as clearly defined or separated as they are in other forms of dance. During many contemporary dance situations, particularly in the globalised world in which dance has been largely commodified, the dance and the dancers are often set apart from the audience. The dance is generally performed on a stage, raised up, cut off and set away from the audience. The audience is expected to sit still and quiet, watching until the dance is completed, at which time it may embody an appreciation of the dance through voice and applause. There is little or no space for interaction between the dance and the audience.

However, as dance scholar Susan Foster argues, “any notion of choreography contains, embodied within it, a kinethis, a designated way of experiencing physicality and movement that, in turn, summons other bodies into a specific way of feeling towards it.” The Andean dance experience (even during competitions) is a highly embodied experience in which the dance witnessed is also felt by the spectator. The spectator also becomes a participant. During Ayacuchano fiestas, dancing takes place in the streets, often as a type of parade (*pasacalle*) moving through many streets. Spectators are drawn out of houses and shops by the music and dance. It is not unusual for spectators to join in the dance even when specialised dancers have been employed. It is this embodied witnessing of the dance which makes it such a significant site of collective memory.

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The dancers and the spectators both experience the dance, embodying what Deidre Sklar has called a “felt knowledge” of the dance.\(^\text{199}\)

The analysis of dance is fundamental to understanding the central research question posed in this thesis. Thus the work of dance researchers and dance anthropologists plays a significant role in understanding dance as memory. I have drawn on the rich body of literature generated by dance anthropologists over the past 30 years. The focus of this research is dance as memory; I do not, therefore, attend to the memory of trauma inscribed in and on the body. Although this is a very important area of study, particularly in the case of Peru, it is beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, this thesis contributes to the field of embodied memory as it relates to and is embodied through dance.

Dance has intrigued travellers, chroniclers, historians, folklorists and others for hundreds of years. However, much of the early writing on dance was principally concerned with descriptions and/or the comparison of different dance styles. Very little research considered the significance of dance as a site of identity construction or its symbolic importance, much less as a form of knowledge.\(^\text{200}\) This is exemplified by W. D. Hambley’s book on tribal music and dance published in the 1920s.\(^\text{201}\) Hambley recognised that dance and music were worthy subjects of detailed investigation that would lead to greater understanding of “primitive man”.\(^\text{202}\) However, his examination of dances from all over the world, which combines vastly different dance practices from disparate socio-cultural settings under the homogenising rubric of “tribal dance,” undermines the cultural, social and historical significance of dance.\(^\text{203}\) Studies such as Hambley’s have been useful in bringing dance to the attention of scholars. Nevertheless, as prominent dance anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler argues, such studies meant we

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\(^\text{202}\) Hambley, *Tribal Dancing and Social Development*, 15.

\(^\text{203}\) Hambley’s study presents a diverse array of dances from very different regions of the world and with very distinct social functions, such as the welcoming dance of the Arrunta tribe in Australia, the blackmailing dances from New Guinea, the Nyam Nyam hunting dance of the Sudan and Shamanic dances from India and Siberia, to name just a few. Hambley uses historical records, such as letters and photos, along with descriptions of certain dances in a bid to evidence the importance of dance in social, religious and political life. However, the result is a comprehensive catalogue of dances from around the world which leaves the reader with the impression that all “primitive” dances are much the same.
were left with a record of numerous dances containing detailed descriptions that, in fact, revealed more about the spectator’s perspective than it did about the dancers or the cultural ethnographic context.204 Dance was not considered a legitimate area of research within academic scholarship until the late 1960s. Change was brought about by concurrent developments in the fields of anthropology, dance and history.

Dance anthropology developed as a separate field of study in the 1960s and 1970s. Kaeppler attributes the establishment of the field to Gertrude Prokosch Kurath.205 In 1960, Kurath published an ethnographic study of dance which defined the scope of dance ethnology and presented a new dance notation system (based on Labanotation).206 According to Kaeppler, Kurath is the “parent of dance ethnology”.207 However, Kaeppler argues that it was in fact anthropologist Franz Boas who first laid the groundwork for dance to be perceived in a multifaceted manner and in relation to its specific cultural context.208 This decried the all too common and homogenising assertion – that dance is a universal language – which preceded his work.209 At the same time, dancers including Merce Cunningham, Pina Bausch and Martha Graham were also researching and writing about the social, cultural and embodied importance of dance.210 By the 1980s, anthropologists were also beginning to pay more attention to the social and cultural significance of embodied practices including dance. This led some to recognise the need for new research techniques that involved the body. In the 1980s, James Clifford identified the need for research methods which would investigate the embodied practices of a people that incorporate the body of the researcher.211 However, ten years later dance remained a peripheral field of anthropology, prompting cultural

204 Kaeppler, “Method and Theory,” 173.
206 Gertrude Prokosch Kurath, “Panorama of Dance Ethnology,” Current Anthropology, vol.1, no. 3, (1960): 233-54. Labanotation was originally known as Kinetographie. The name ‘Labanotation’ was ascribed to the system that developed from Rudolph Laban’s original work by the American Dance Bureau in the 1950s. This notation technique is discussed later in this chapter. Subsequent dance scholars such as Joannne Kealiinohomoku have adopted and developed aspects of Kurath’s work, including her notation techniques.
anthropologist Susan Reed to call for more movement and dance specialists within the
discipline of anthropology.\textsuperscript{212} This sentiment was reiterated by Jane Desmond who, in
1994, wrote that “Dance remains a greatly undervalued and undertheorised arena of
bodily discourse. Its practice and its scholarship are with rare exception, marginalised
within the academy.”\textsuperscript{213}

Though research into the anthropology of the body was gaining momentum during the
1990s, the study of bodies in movement through dance – and other activities –
continued to be a peripheral area of study.\textsuperscript{214} Desmond points out that even those works
which do examine the body do so through examining “representations of the body
and/or its discursive policing” rather than exploring the moving body in action.\textsuperscript{215} The
emphasis on representations of the body was due to an epistemological shift that
occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, which focused on reading the body. This meant
that the \textit{experience} of being \textit{in} the body was overlooked.\textsuperscript{216} As Csordas has argued, as a
result of the shift, representation no longer indicated experience. The move had lasting
ramifications, especially for dance scholarship, as it caused the embodied experience of
the dancer to be largely missed, causing dance to remain on the periphery of
scholarship. Desmond lays responsibility for the omission of dance with the
development of the academy, in which the mental is valorised over the physical. She
argues that “the academy’s aversion to the material body, and its fictive separation of
mental and physical production, has rendered humanities scholarship that investigates
the mute dancing body nearly invisible.”\textsuperscript{217}

The work of sociologists on the body has also been important in the formation of
questions and ideas relating to embodied memory. Bryan Turner’s work examines the
sociology of dance as part of a broader study of the body and society. He argues that the
invisibility of dance is due to its low status in the hierarchy of the arts. According to
Turner (informed by R. Shusterman) dance is less visible, or of less importance, in
scholarship because it does not hold the same cultural capital as other “visual culture,”

\textsuperscript{212} Reed, “The Politics and Poetics,” 504.
\textsuperscript{213} Desmond, “Embodying Difference,” 34.
\textsuperscript{214} Reed, “The Politics and Poetics,” 504.
\textsuperscript{215} Desmond, “Embodying Difference,” 34.
\textsuperscript{217} Desmond, “Embodying Difference,” 34.
such as the theatre of Shakespeare or Baroque painting.\textsuperscript{218} In addition, he argues that the art of dance is not so readily replicated by mechanical means as other art forms.\textsuperscript{219} Turner, like Desmond, also alludes to the legacy of scholarly thought, in which the mind is valued over the body, as ever present in the academic writing about dance and causal in the devaluation of dance in scholarship.\textsuperscript{220}

While dance may not have been fully appreciated, the study of the body and embodied practices gained momentum throughout the 1990s with a particular interest in the role of the senses. According to Deidre Sklar, “the ‘sensory turn’ of the 1990s” responds to the problem recognised by Clifford, by understanding the potential of sensory knowledge as both a focus for research and as possible methods for the researcher.\textsuperscript{221} Csordas’ work on embodiment was at the forefront of the sensory turn. He, like Turner, argues that “Embodiment as a paradigm or methodological orientation requires that the body be understood as the existential ground of culture – not as an object that is ‘good to think,’ but that is ‘necessary to be’”.\textsuperscript{222} Informed by the work of Merleau-Ponty and Pierre Bourdieu, Csordas explores “collective ideas about embodiment” and embodied knowledge which he calls “somatic modes of attention”\textsuperscript{223}

Csordas makes an important methodological distinction between the study of the body and embodiment.\textsuperscript{224} The anthropology of the body concentrates on the body as an object of study, focusing on theories and concepts of the existential body.\textsuperscript{225} Embodiment, on the other hand, considers the visceral experience of being in the body.\textsuperscript{226} By examining the significance of dance as memory and what it means to those dancing, I aim to privilege the ‘experience’ of being in the body. Csordas develops a cultural phenomenology through the constructs of somatic modes of attention and embodied imagery.\textsuperscript{227} He argues:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{218} Turner, \textit{The Body and Society}, 216.
\item \textsuperscript{219} Turner, \textit{The Body and Society}, 217.
\item \textsuperscript{220} Turner, \textit{The Body and Society}, 216.
\item \textsuperscript{221} Sklar, “‘All the Dances”, 17.
\item \textsuperscript{222} Csordas, “Somatic Modes of Attention,” 135.
\item \textsuperscript{223} Csordas, “Somatic Modes of Attention,” 135-156.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Csordas, “Embodiment and Cultural Phenomenology,” 145.
\item \textsuperscript{226} Csordas, “Embodiment and Cultural Phenomenology,” 145.
\item \textsuperscript{227} Csordas, “Embodiment and Cultural Phenomenology,” 154.
\end{itemize}
If embodiment is an existential condition in which the body is the subjective or intersubjective ground of experience, then studies under the rubric of embodiment are not ‘about’ the body per se. Instead they are about the culture and experience insofar as these can be understood from the standpoint of bodily being in the world.”

Csordas recognised that “multiple modes of embodiment” exist which are crucial in understanding culture. Although Csordas does not specifically address dance, I argue that dance constitutes a mode of embodiment which is critical to the understanding of Ayacuchano culture.

In his analysis of the anthropology of the body, in which he examines the work of various scholars, even Csordas fails to mention the rich body of literature produced by dance scholars, a common oversight in sociological studies of the body. Turner is one of the few who examines dance in relation to the sociology of the body. His work, combined with the work of Csordas, has informed my research and assisted me in developing a conceptual framework that allows embodied knowing of dance to be considered as memory.

**Andean Studies**

In order to examine the communal practice of dance as a form of collective embodied memory, it is also necessary to understand the historical, political and socio-cultural importance of dance and fiesta in the Andes. Since the arrival of the Spanish, scholars have recognised the centrality of fiesta, dance and music in Andean quotidian life. Early chroniclers such as Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala recorded the dance and fiestas of the indigenous population. However, many historians missed the importance of dance and fiesta as sites of history and knowledge. Studies by anthropologists and historians of the Andes have been crucial in gaining a deep appreciation of Andean dance and fiesta.

Most researchers in the Andes mention dance as part of a larger study of political or cultural history, kinship relations, or economic structure. In the 1970s and 1980s, Andean historians such as Steve Stern began to investigate and recognise the central role that dance and fiesta have always played in the socio-cultural, political and

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228 Csordas, “Embodiment and Cultural Phenomenology,” 143
economic relationships in the Andes. Only a small number of scholars have made dance a central focus of study. Deborah Poole’s research examines choreographic combinations and movements of Andean Catholic dance and she produced one of the earliest studies to provide a detailed analysis of Andean dance. Poole contextualises Andean Catholic dance historically, comparing Spanish colonial choreographies with contemporary Andean choreographies to reveal the ways in which individuals use the dance to rework personal identity, status and social hierarchy.

Anthropologist and dancer, Zoila Mendoza, examines the socio-historic significance of Andean dance. Mendoza provides critical insights into the use of dance in constructing identity. Her research examines how inhabitants of Cusco construct and reconstruct their racial/ethnic identity through dance. In addition, Mendoza demonstrates the ways in which participants reshape social status through the practice of dancing. The research of both Poole and Mendoza focuses on the department of Cusco. Nevertheless, their studies are two of the few that closely examine the symbolic significance of the movement of dance. The work of these two scholars provide insights into both the historic and contemporary uses of Andean dance in Peru as a space of identity construction.

Thomas Abercrombie is one of a small number of scholars who examine the significance of dance and fiesta as collective memory practices. His study of Andean fiesta as collective social memory combines extensive ethnographic research with historical analysis to reveal how highland Bolivians construct contemporary social memory and identity as well as historical identity through the constructive and transformative power of ritual. He emphasises “the power of the memory work carried out in singing and dancing.” Abercrombie argues that the nonverbal methods of communication and perception which have been and continue to be central in Andean communities constitute embodied forms of memory that have historically been consigned to the periphery in Andean scholarship. This is a result of the priority given to the written word by Spanish colonists, historians and chroniclers of the colonial period along with many historians and other researchers through to the twentieth

231 Steve J. Stern, Peru’s Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 51-79.
232 Mendoza, Shaping Society Through Dance.
233 Abercrombie, Pathways of Memory and Power, 14.
234 Abercrombie, Pathways of Memory and Power, 13.
century. Abercrombie suggests that historians, and on occasion anthropologists, have been extraordinarily arrogant in their interpretations of early or non-European historical memory and representations of the past.\textsuperscript{235} The legacy of this hubris has meant that the embodied practices of the Andes have been largely overlooked and often misunderstood. This is a significant oversight as the present socio-cultural reality of a society is given meaning through public representations of the past.\textsuperscript{236} I argue that in Ayacucho the transmission of knowledge through the nonverbal mode of dance constitutes a significant site of collective memory and history. Although the dances of Ayacucho are beyond the formal, written historical discourse, they are deeply entwined with cultural meaning and linked to national projects.\textsuperscript{237}

While there is continued scholarly interest in the socio-cultural significance of Andean dance, dance/drama, music and fiesta, very few studies during the late twentieth century examined the dance and fiesta of Ayacucho. The paucity of research is yet another repercussion of the years of internal conflict. Once a state of emergency was declared in Ayacucho in 1981, it became both difficult and dangerous – if not impossible – for outsiders to enter the region.\textsuperscript{238} International researchers or scholars from Lima who travelled to Huamanga during the years of violence were unable to leave the city limits, making it impossible to research any aspects of community life in rural areas. It is worth noting, however, that Ayacuchano scholars continued to study Andean fiesta and publish their findings in local publications and journals such as CEDIFA (Centro de Estudios y Difusión del Folklore y Arte Popular). These articles are important in contextualising the changes that have occurred to fiesta and dance in the years since the end of the conflict. In particular, the CEDIFA issue dedicated to carnival, \textit{Carnaval en Ayacucho}, published in 1986, provides an analysis of carnival (discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). In addition, articles that examine the Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua (examined in Chapter 2), by Manuel Mayorga Sánchez and María Cavero Carrasco provide important

\textsuperscript{235} Abercrombie, \textit{Pathways of Memory and Power}, 21.
\textsuperscript{236} Greg Dening, \textit{Performances}, 37-38.
\textsuperscript{237} Marita Sturken examines the complex relationship between cultural memory and the construction of the nation and national identity in: \textit{Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 3.
\textsuperscript{238} In 1990, Lucy Núñez, published an important study which examined the \textit{Danza de las Tijeras} (the Scissors Dance) that originates from the region of Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huancavelica. However, her research focused on urban expressions and adaptions of the dance in Lima; Lucy Núñez, \textit{Los Dansaq} (Lima: Museo Nacional de la Cultura Peruana, 1990).
historical context. While most articles offer a description of fiesta, very few authors provide an in-depth discussion of the social or cultural significance of the dances involved or include responses of fiesta goers, dancers or musicians. Chayraq is one of the very few larger studies that examines Ayacuchano fiesta during the period of violence. The work of singer and ethnomusicologist Chalena Vázquez and Ayacuchano anthropologist Abilio Vergarra, Chayraq provides a comprehensive study of carnival in Huamanga during the early 1980s. Although dance is mentioned and diagrams are provided, the authors do not consider the embodied significance of dance. Rather, their main focus is song composition.

Making an Entrance: The Researcher’s Body and Dancing in the Field

While this thesis includes the ethnography of dance in Ayacucho, it does not pretend to be a work of dance anthropology. As Theresa Buckland has observed and as the work of Poole, Mendoza and Abercrombie demonstrates, the division between dance history and dance ethnomusicology no longer holds as it once did. This thesis is an interdisciplinary project which combines historical reconstruction, first hand examination of the dances and fiestas presented, interviews and archival research. I conducted and recorded over fifty interviews and had many conversations with dancers, musicians, fiesta participants, mayordomos, scholars and event organisers, including municipal authorities and campesino federations (see Appendix 1: Fieldwork Table). At times these were ‘on the hop’ interviews, as I soon learned that in the Andes one has to take advantage (aprovecharse) of the situation; one never knows when, or if, one will next see a fiesta participant, musician, judge or organiser. This often meant conducting interviews whenever and wherever possible. Very often it was these informal interviews and chance meetings that proved to be the most fruitful.

Hundreds of people can be involved in any given fiesta, so specialised and leading dancers, dance captains, comparsa leaders, elenco directors, event organisers and judges became the main focus of my interviews. In Ayacucho, the role of specialised dancers

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240 Few of these publications have been digitised and are often difficult to obtain as only a few exist, some are in the archives of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura and others in the hands of the contributing authors.


such as the *chunchos* and dancers for the Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua, are performed exclusively by men. Gender relations in the Andes are complex and historically contingent and while I do not analyse this complex issue in depth in this thesis I do recognise however, that gender structures present in dance and fiesta in Ayacucho impacted my research. Andean gender roles are often largely unequal and women regularly have less political, economic and ritual power or presence than men. This means that the findings presented here privilege the experience of men as the majority of interlocutors in the following pages are men.

I combined these methods with visits to numerous museums and sites of memory as well as interviews with directors from a number of NGOs, many of whom are still involved in the reconciliation process and the fight for reparations (in Lima and Ayacucho); some of these people also participated in the work of the TRC and provided a deep understanding of the complexity of the memory debate in Peru. I carried out archival research in the archives of the Defensoria del Pueblo (Defence of the People) and APRODEH (Pro Human Rights Association), where I accessed back copies of *El Diario* – the now defunct newspaper that openly supported Sendero. The cultural pages of this newspaper have been particularly useful in establishing SL attitudes towards Andean culture and dance. I also carried out research at SER (Educational Services Peru). I attended round tables in Lima and Huamanga and conducted interviews at La Paz y Esperanza (Peace and Hope) in Huamanga. In the archives of the INC (National Institute of Culture – Ayacucho) and the Church of San Francisco, Ayacucho, I was able to access newspaper articles relating to dance and fiesta which date from the early twentieth century. These have been valuable in establishing structural and social changes to fiesta and dance, along with changing opinions towards indigenous Andeans. This research also draws on participation in all aspects of the dance – as a performer, fiesta participant, chorographer and judge. My research and methods have been influenced by over three decades of experience and training as a dancer, dance teacher and choreographer. As part of my performance studies, I trained in sense memory techniques used in method acting. During my training I learned to consciously engage my sensory memory to recall emotions and places. Thus I draw on proprioceptive understandings and techniques of embodiment that I have acquired through years of training and experience working as a dancer, performer, dance teacher and choreographer.
I found that fieldwork for dance scholarship necessitates methods that involve both the physical and the cerebral intelligence of the researcher. To succeed at this type of embodied research method, researchers must be willing to train their own bodily intelligence just as they have developed their intellectual capacities. The researcher must also be willing to take the embodied risk of participating. Sklar, along with anthropologist Sally Anne Ness, argues that professional dancers are trained in this type of body awareness. The dancer’s proprioceptive awareness is honed through years of training and practice, affording her/him the capacity to deeply apprehend her/his own movements. The dancer has developed a conscious awareness of his/her own body through movement in space, as well as a deep sensing of the movements from within the body, of muscles flexing, tendons stretching, spine extending and space being created in the body. As Alarcón Dávila observes, this awareness does not constitute a theoretical deliberation on the part of the dancer; rather, it involves a kinaesthetic awareness and conscious experience of the body. Sklar notes (informed by Ness), “for the dancer the aim is ‘at-one-ness’ with the doing.”

Clifford and Csordas identified the need for new and embodied methods on the part of the researcher, something dancers and dance researchers such as Kaeppler had long been aware of. Sklar has taken up their challenge and suggested new methods for the research of the embodied. She suggests that the researcher apprehend the dance through her own body by drawing on her proprioceptive skills. Buckland argues that fieldwork consisting of concentrated participant observation is central to the anthropological study of dance. Clifford’s understanding of participant observation is the model I follow. He argues that “participant observation obliges its practitioners to experience, at a bodily as well as an intellectual level, the vicissitudes of translation.” The challenge of dance research is to move fluidly between the intellectual and the embodied and then

243 Sklar, “All the Dances,” 17.
245 Sklar, “All the Dances,” 17.
247 Sklar, “All the Dances,” 17.
249 Clifford, The Predicament of Culture, 23.
to translate the knowledge transmitted through the movement into the word. Perhaps, the greater challenge is to be able to perceive the intellect and the body as an integrated whole, in Sklar’s words, “If we can shift gracefully between multiple modes of attention, both somatic and textual, we will be in a position to answer Clifford’s question, “How does one feel one’s way into the ethnographic situation?”

Every dancer understands the importance of making an entrance. An entrance can set the tone for the entire experience. The entrance has a lasting impact and is that which is remembered. This is equally so for the researcher entering the foreign field. Ness equates the experience of the researcher in a foreign ethnographic field to the dancer approaching a new or foreign choreographic experience. Just as a dancer learns through embodied participation and integration, so too, the ethnographer must learn through participation with the assistance of others.

Equally important is how one moves through the field – both figuratively and literally. As a fair-skinned, green-eyed, red-haired female, I am (and was) acutely aware of my otherness and all that this implies in the Andes and in Peru in general. There is a certain privilege which is afforded to all fair-skinned people in the Peruvian Andes – which is a legacy of colonialism and centuries of racism. On the other hand, this difference can also create certain expectations or suspicions. I was fortunate enough to meet a number of very generous Ayacuchanos who smoothed the path for me many times.

The collective nature of Andean fiesta means that one must also be part of a community or in some way related to a member of the community to be truly included in the celebrations. As a foreigner and a researcher, I was often afforded privileged treatment. However, as is always the case in the Andes, it was through my personal relations and connectedness that I was able to participate on a deeper level, attending parties and meals at the mayordomo’s house or simply dancing and drinking with community members as they shared intimate stories of relationship troubles, daily experiences or fears evoked by the years of violence. These are the private and more intimate aspects of fiesta which take place in and around the public events. As Rachell Corr points out,

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250 Sklar, “All the Dances,” 17.
251 Ness, Body, Movement and Culture, 12.
these moments are as significant as the larger spectacles because “they involve obligatory socializing and reciprocal exchange.”

Two people have been particularly influential in facilitating my research. The first is Gabriel Quispe a 59-year-old retired teacher from Huamanga, also a songwriter and self-confessed lover of Ayacuchano culture and folklore. Gabriel introduced me to many musicians, dancers, artists, fiesta organisers, mayordomos, dance teachers, municipal authorities and more. He travelled with me to rural fiestas, staying with me for days at a time and finding a floor to sleep on when there was no place to stay. He also helped me with Quechua and translated on occasion.

The second important person is Ricardo Huamán, a student from the Universidad de San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSCH). Ricardo also travelled with me to fiestas and eased my way by staying with me as we danced late into the night – or early morning. He introduced me to numerous young scholars from Ayacucho. Without the guidance and support of these two and many other Ayacuchanos, this research would not have been possible. While it may have been possible to attend some of the same fiestas, it is unlikely that the depth of knowledge and understanding I achieved would have been reached if they had not been willing to accompany me as I danced through the night or as I travelled to distant communities to carry out interviews, or without the very important personal connections they facilitated.

The importance of how one enters the field cannot be overestimated. While the department of Ayacucho is geographically remote from the capital of Lima, it is not untouched by researchers. In fact, Ayacuchanos are accustomed to outsiders arriving to study them, their history, culture and practices. It is precisely due to its remoteness and consequent perceived authenticity that Ayacucho has attracted folklorists, indigenistas, anthropologists and historians over the years. Certain towns, such as Sarhua, Puquio and Chuschi in the south of the department, have long been centres for the research of traditional practices and what is sometimes referred to as the living history of the Quechua people. Following the years of political violence, researchers and NGO

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253 Pseudonym.

254 José María Arguedas has written extensively on the social and cultural aspects of Ayacucho, particularly in the south of the department; José María Arguedas, Los ríos profundos (Barcelona: Letras de América, 1985); “Puquio una cultura en el proceso de cambio,” Revista del Museo Nacional, no. 25, (1956): 184-232; Indios, mestizos y señores (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1985).
workers arrived from Huamanga and Lima to carry out work for the TRC, taking testimonies and reporting on what had taken place.

As a result of all the research, Ayacuchanos – both rural and urban – are somewhat wary of outside researchers. They want to know what they will receive in return for their assistance. The burgeoning interest in memory studies in Peru since 2000 has led many of the Ayacuchanos I met to question when, or if, all the research and questioning will eventually lead to any real change in their lives. The fact that my research centred on dance and fiesta seemed to alleviate these concerns for many of the people I spoke with. Nevertheless, I tried where possible to give back to those who shared their dance, culture and stories with me. This involved many different actions – often very small, such as returning copies of the photos and film I had taken to the individuals I filmed. At other times, it involved participating as a dancer in performances and competitions, since some felt that having a foreign dancer participate in their comparsa (dance group) added to the status of the group. I considered these moments to be both an honour and a great opportunity for me.

I was first drawn to Andean culture precisely because dance is, and has always been, integral to quotidian life. Dance is a central aspect of social, cultural, political and economic life. As I was told many times, especially during carnival time, dance in the Andes is for everyone: “everyone participates”. As a dancer, I was keen to participate in the dance and the fiestas which I intended to research. It was this desire to learn and dance, participate and drink, laugh and sing with the people I met that made it possible for me to enter the field in an embodied manner.

My experience as a dancer and dance teacher opened many invisible doors for me in Ayacucho. This was particularly evident when attending fiestas, such as the Fiesta Patronal de La Virgin de Cocharcas in Pampa Cangallo, where I was arriving as a relative stranger (this is discussed in the following chapter). The dance became the point of connection, both figuratively and literally. As I danced the rhythmic stamping steps of the huayno into the icy cold hours of the early morning, a palpable warmth and respect began to emanate from my hosts and others in the circle. Dancing with them, slapping the earth in a flat-footed style tap dance, holding hands in a circle, stopping

255 While this may appear to be a small token of appreciation, it was greatly appreciated, especially by those older and poorer individuals who had no means of taking and printing photos of themselves or their families.
only when it was time to swig some beer from the common cup, I could feel that even though the night air was icy, the people I met had begun to warm to me. When the music changed to a carnival rhythm and the large crowd began to bounce and twirl in semicircular movements, I followed. Training as a dancer I learned how to follow and embody the dances of other peoples. This meant that I was able to catch the initially foreign moves and replicate them with relative ease. As I moved and danced with the other fiesta goers their bodies spoke to mine. I responded by bouncing with light movements. The dance had a light, elastic quality. The balls of my feet now became the focus, my knees and ankles became springy as I pulsed and bounced with the music creating buoyant movements. As the women around me twirled their hips, swinging and rotating in time, I too allowed my hips to swing. This adaptability and willingness to enter the dance was recognised by other fiesta goers. During the fiesta patronal in Pampa Cangallo, one of the men exclaimed with obvious surprise, “Look, the gringuita knows how to dance our dances.” As the night became morning, another exclaimed, “Look, she is still going.”

Dance is an embodied experience which involves and evokes emotional responses. As I danced, I began to feel lighter and brighter both bodily and emotionally. The felt experience of the dance combined with the brightness of the music elicited a joyous sensation. I would later be told that Andean carnival is renowned as a time of alegría or joy, which I had come to understand through the dance even though it was not carnival time. This is the gift of dance; the felt experience in the muscles and tendons of the body also leads to a sense of feeling that is often shared by and with others dancing the same dance.

Writing the Dance
Dening has observed, “we know that our most vital social and cultural skill is our ability to read – that is, not just to be literary, but to see, hear, touch, smell all the signs around us with political astuteness”.256 His words eloquently express precisely what I consciously attempted to do in every waking moment during my time in Peru. This was no easy task; in fact, it required constant self-awareness and reflection.

It is because I participated as a dancer and choreographer as well as a researcher that I write myself into this account of Ayacuchano dance. The choices I have made about

256 Dening, Performances, 33.
what to include or leave out influence the shape, the tone and the final dance that is this study. I am also aware that my role as a dancer and choreographer influenced what was made available to me. An exchange of ideas and movement styles took place in which I was influenced and through which I also left a mark. I learned many new dances and ways of moving and feeling through the dances and dancers of Ayacucho. I was asked to participate, to perform, to judge dance competitions and to assist in creating the choreography for a dance that had been forgotten over the years for a fiesta in 2010. This is discussed in Chapter 3.

Deidre Sklar is one of the most skilful and eloquent dancers/researchers/writers. Her book, articles and chapters demonstrate a masterful synthesis of the felt world of dance and movement and the textual world of the word and theory. She chooses her words as a choreographer would choose movements to create a sense of the rhythm, of time, space, weight, elasticity, gravity and bounce. Sklar asks the question which confronts all dance researchers at one point or another: how best to write the dance? She asks, as I have done since beginning this research, “how is the ineffable to be made available in words? How shall I draw out the effects of dancing?”257 Many dance researchers have grappled with the question of how best to write the dance. How does one convey the dynamic, moving, felt world of the dance through the written word on the two-dimensional page? Karen Barbour, a dancer and scholar, also writes “how can I best write the dance research I have undertaken?”258 The answer, according to Sklar, lies in the ability to apprehend the dynamics and vitality of the dance through embodied research methods. Through doing, feeling and sensing the dance, it is possible to apprehend the vitality which makes it possible to evoke the dance in words.259

Buckland has observed that “the ethnographer has responsibilities to both the people studied and to the scholarly community.”260 Sitting down to write all I had witnessed through the dance of Ayacucho, I wanted to honour all those who had shared their lives, stories and dances with me. I hoped to pull together the numerous threads of the rich tapestry that is Ayacuchano dance as memory. Once I was able to accept that my body

257 Sklar, “All the Dances,” 17.
259 Sklar, “All the Dances,” 17.
was indeed still in movement, albeit in a vastly different manner than I was accustomed to, the dance began to flow, facilitating new ways of conceptualising the research. The writing of two scholars, Sklar and Dening, aided this realisation.

Sklar is insightful when she argues that “thinking itself, including the way we access, organise, retrieve, and present information is as much a matter of somatic understandings as of semiotic ones.”\textsuperscript{261} This applies as much to the researcher’s self-awareness as to the research methods. This perception, combined with Dening’s understandings of ethnographers and translation, leads to a way of writing the dance that is both effective and affective. Dening writes:

\begin{quote}
The ‘ethnoggers’ real problem is a problem of translation of these silences. How do they do that? They must use their imaginations. Not their fantasies, their imaginations. Imagination is finding a word that someone will hear, a metaphor that someone will see.\textsuperscript{262}
\end{quote}

Dening refers here to the silences in conversation. However, this applies equally well when addressing the nonverbal world of dance. Dening suggests, “Imagination is knowing that we write with our whole body and all its emotions, not just our mind.”\textsuperscript{263}

To be able to write and translate the dance – imagination, and thus the body – are crucial. It was necessary to approach writing in the same way I approach choreography: as a creative process in which some elements are clear long before others. But also like a puzzle, the separate elements eventually link together to form a dance that conveys meaning and narrative.

Some dance scholars advocate the use of Labanotation in notating dance research. Labanotation (also Labananalysis) is a system of human movement notation developed by Rudolf Laban in 1928. Akin to music notation, it uses sets of symbols on a staff of three lines which run vertically and are read from bottom to top. While it can be a useful tool as it provides the literate with a means of recording and reading movement dynamics, it has some serious limitations.\textsuperscript{264} Although it can be an aid for some dancers and choreographers – literate in Labanotation – in replicating movement sequences, the

\textsuperscript{261} Deidre Sklar, “Qualities of Memory: Two Dances of the Tortugas Fiesta, New Mexico,” in Dancing from the Past to the Present: Nation, Culture, Identities, ed. Theresa Buckland (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 97.
\textsuperscript{264} Sklar, “Qualities of Memory,” 103.
The majority of dancers and many choreographers are not versed in the technique. Unlike musical notation, it is not a universal method of recording movement. Therefore, many dancers and dance scholars choose not to use Labanotation as it excludes the nonliterate from the dance. “As the choreographer Merce Cunningham (1985) pointed out, music and dance share time in common, but dance occurs in time and space, and no satisfactory dance notation exists to capture fully a dance performance.”

In the Andes, choreography and dance relate to the space in which they are being performed and for migrants the space and place which they recall. For the reasons observed, Labanotation is not an adequate research tool for this project. Nevertheless, some means of recording and remembering the dances I experienced was necessary. I, like many dancers and choreographers, have developed my own methods for retaining the dance, most of which depend on my own muscular memory of the dance combined with somatic modes of attention. During the research for this thesis, I relied heavily on my bodily intelligence, which I have developed over more than 30 years of training and experience to allow me to feel my way into a shared experience of the dance and to viscerally recall the dance long after I returned from the field. In line with Clifford and Sklar, I entered the ethnographic field in an embodied way by dancing and experiencing most of the dances I present in this thesis. The fiestas examined here took place in the capital of Huamanga and in the towns – and surrounding areas – of Luricocha, Pampa Cangallo and Quinua between 2009 and 2010. I combined this with visual observations noted in extensive field notes that include descriptions and my own personal notations of the dances along with visual recordings through the medium of photographs and film.

The separation of body and mind historically prevalent in the development of Western scholarship, in which the mind is valued over the body, is something that many dance scholars recognise as a barrier which needs to be overcome. The division of body and mind is insidious and even the most physically able and conscious scholar can be faced with this dilemma. This is often the experience of the dance scholar, as she/he sits to write the moving ephemeral world of dance on paper, trained in the academy, constrained and contained by historical expectations and a desire to adhere to the rigour of the academy. However, as Sklar argues, “there is no other way to the somatic

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dimensions of meaning than through the researcher’s body, discerning, sampling, incorporating, then re-membering and re-creating in words.”

Sklar’s work demonstrates that it is this conflict or disconnect – once experienced, confronted and eventually reconciled by the researcher – that brings a richness of understanding to the final analysis. It is not enough to experience the embodied world of dance and understand it as a dancer, dance scholar or anthropologist even by following Clifford’s prompt and including the researcher’s body. The skill lies in translation, in the ability to combine the two worlds of the body in movement and the word in text, to translate the embodied onto the black-and-white page in such a way that it can be received, understood and felt.

I endeavour to make the moving vibrant world of dance come alive on the pages that follow. To this end, I include detailed field notes and descriptions of the dance along with photos of some of the dances and fiestas I examine here. I also begin each chapter, as I began the Introduction, with a scene-setting vignette. This is not done merely to add colour and interest. Rather, photos and images illustrate my descriptions of the dance, all of which I include to assist in the act of translation. I conclude here with an outline of the thesis, introducing the arguments and issues dealt with in each chapter.

**Chapter Outline**

Chapter 1: Dance and Fiesta: Connecting Dance, History Memory and Land, establishes the historical importance of Andean dance and fiesta in Peru and in Ayacucho. Central to the argument that dance is an important site of memory and a means to forget is the notion that dance was, and remains, significant to social, cultural and political life in the Andes and more specifically in Ayacucho. Beginning with an examination of the Taki Onqoy (often translated as ‘dance sickness’), a form of dance rebellion of the 1500s, I demonstrate how dance was used as prayer and as a means to connect to the ancestors and land. This is followed by a brief discussion of the *fiesta patronal* (patron saint fiesta) in the small town of Pampa Cangallo in an effort to establish the contemporary importance of fiesta in Ayacucho. As Pampacangallinos displaced by the violence return to celebrate regional identity, visit family members, resolve disputes over property and solve family issues, memories of the years of violence are evoked by the

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266 Sklar, “All the Dances,” 18.

267 Introduced by Europeans, along with Catholicism, the *fiesta patronal* celebrates the patron saint of a town and is one of the most significant fiestas in the Peruvian Andes.
very land to which they return. This chapter demonstrates the historical and the contemporary relationship that rural Ayacuchanos have with and to the land.

Chapter 2: Dancing to Forget, Dancing to Transform: the Yarqa Aspiy of Quinua, develops the argument that dance remains central in the life of Ayacuchanos by examining the fiesta of Yarqa Aspiy (Fiesta of Water) in Quinua in the province of Huamanga. The Yarqa Aspiy is a form of communal labour known as *faena* during which community members work together to clean canals and waterways. This fiesta incorporates social, cultural, political and ritual practices along with moral values that pre-date not only the years of violence, but also the arrival of Europeans. In the first part of this chapter I argue that the fiesta forms a temporal bridge which allows Quinuenos to forget the recent years of violence, creating a continuum with a more distant and at times romanticised past. Memories of unity are invoked during the *faena*, connecting to a past where moral values of reciprocity, respect and communal support existed and allowing Quinuenos to forget the recent violence. The second part of the chapter examines the central role of the dancers employed for the fiesta. The dancers, known as *doctores* (doctors), play a significant role in revealing community attitudes to authority and in transforming traditional power structures through the dance.

The first two chapters establish the significance of dance as collective memory in rural Ayacucho. With Chapter 3: Salvaging and Communicating Memory Through Dance During the Día de los Compadres, the dance moves from the rural setting to the city of Huamanga. This and the following two chapters examine dance in the urban setting of Huamanga, giving rise to several questions pertaining to the significance of dance and fiesta in an urban setting. Does dance continue to play a significant role in the urban environment? Does dance function as a site of memory and, if so, what is being remembered and why? The following chapters address these questions through the exploration of two fiestas historically celebrated in the city of Huamanga. Chapter 3 explores the fiesta Día de los Compadres (Day of the Godparents) which is closely linked to the celebrations of carnival and Semana Santa (holy week) – the largest fiesta celebrated in the city. In 2010, the *mayordomos* of Semana Santa decided to salvage the *fustanche*, a dance which had been forgotten, for the celebrations of Día de los

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268 The *faena* pre-dates the arrival of the Spanish. The *faena* system as it relates to the Yarqa Aspiy will be examined in Chapter 2. For more on the history of communal labour systems in the Andes, including *faena* and *minka*, see: Gavin Smith, *Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
Compadres with the express intention of remembering and reinstating what had been lost. This chapter examines the theoretical concept of embodied memory to reveal how the corporeal expressions of movement, combined with choreographic combinations and costume, act to communicate and remind Ayacuchanos of the former historical glory of Huamanga. I argue that the embodied expression of the dance of the fustanche recalls a time of elegance and aristocracy when the city of Huamanga was a very different place – before the influx of thousands of displaced peoples.

Chapter 4: *Carnavales Rurales* and the Choreography of Place, explores the ways in which campesinos employ carnival dance as embodied memory in the urban setting. The social and cultural makeup of the city has changed dramatically over the past three decades due to the large numbers of displaced people who have moved to the city. Space and place play an important role in the examination of dance practices, both the space in which to dance and the place that is recollected through the dance. As Isbell observes in her analysis of Andean song, “One of the most important vehicles for constructing memories of the events is the invocation of geographic locations.”

Migrants, many of whom were forced to leave their homelands, dance place during Rural Carnival, invoking homeland locations. The first part of this chapter considers how campesinos dance to counter the forgetting that is caused by a separation from homeland, by exploring the ways in which dancers recollect and reconnect to land and ancestors through dancing place in what I call the ‘choreography of place’. In 2010, the space available to dance and express cultural heritage was challenged and campesinos were forced to negotiate with municipal authorities. The second part examines the negotiations that occurred over space, revealing many of the underlying tensions and historically embedded prejudices that continue to mar Ayacuchano society.

Andean dance is now highly influenced by the formalisation of dance competitions, which continue to grow in popularity, not only in Ayacucho and the Andes but throughout Peru. Although Andean dances are generally associated with a particular fiesta and local identity, the formalisation of dance competitions has led to a spatial and temporal separation of the dance from its associated fiesta, location of origin and dates of celebration. During *concursos* the dance is categorised and often performed in a large arena in competition with other dances and dancers from different departments. In the final chapter, Chapter 5: *Hatun Tupanakuy*: Competing for the Future, I examine dance

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269 Isbell, “Violence in Peru,” 286.
and fiesta as they are represented during dance competitions. I argue that concursos are important dynamic sites of memory through which campesinos consciously select certain elements of collective memory to promote a political cause. Chapter 5 is followed by the Conclusion in which I summarise the key findings of my research of dance as a means of memory and forgetting.

Nora has observed that memory has become a topic of great interest because there is very little memory left. In his discussion of memory versus history – which he argues are not synonymous – Nora contends, “That the remnants of experience still lived in the warmth of tradition, in the silence of custom, in the repetition of the ancestral, have been displaced under the pressure of a fundamentally historical sensibility.” In the case of Ayacucho, this is not entirely true and certainly not so for the dances of the department. In the following chapter I will demonstrate that through dance, Ayacuchanos live the “warmth of tradition” and feel their ancestral connections through the repetition of the dance. It is this visceral experience (in combination with other factors) that motivates Ayacuchanos to salvage and remember the dances of their homelands that are examined in this thesis.

270 Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7.
271 Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7.
Chapter 1. Dance and Fiesta: Connecting Dance, History, Memory and Land


The sky was deep black dotted with bright stars, the Milky Way above so bright it seemed like a river of silver flowing overhead. The normally open field in front of the town church now held a makeshift bullring with small rickety seating, two large stages set with microphones and enormous speakers. A number of trucks were parked in central positions selling beer at a phenomenal rate and numerous small food stalls encircled the festival space. The beer that flowed freely was cold and the night air was even colder. In front of the two stages hundreds of people joined together, dancing and drinking in celebration of the Fiesta de la Virgen de Cocharcas – the patron saint fiesta of Pampa Cangallo.

Hundreds of attendees danced the huayno, a pre-Hispanic dance popular across the Andes. It calls for skilful footwork in time with the music (zapateo). The entire crowd danced, their knees bent and softened to allow for the necessary flat-footed slapping-tapping movements of the dance. When dancing the huayno the ankles tighten as dancers beat out a rhythm with the heel, thigh muscles become taut while holding the ball of the foot off the ground until it is released to slap the earth, creating a syncopated rhythm to the music – taka tung, taka tung, takataka tung. During the huayno one foot typically maintains a steady base rhythm as the other beats out unique flourishes that each individual senses within the music as they dance. The upper body makes gentle swinging motions creating small semicircles that belie the effort and powerful staccato movements of the legs and feet below.

As fiesta goers pounded the earth with their feet, they held hands forming circles of family, friends and acquaintances. Circles of men and women, the very old and the very young, locals, and those who had returned especially to take part in the fiesta, filled the space between the stages. Each circle rotated as a whole clockwise and anticlockwise, while each individual maintained his/her own semicircular movement and unique zapateo.
In Peru, the *fiesta patronal* of any town or neighbourhood is a significant event. In Pampa Cangallo, as in many Andean towns, residents who have migrated to other parts of the country or internationally return specifically to participate in the fiesta. During the fiesta period family members reunite to celebrate, to reminisce and to discuss family issues such as land and inheritance.

In light of the overall argument of this thesis, that dance and fiesta form important memory practices in Ayacucho, this chapter examines the contemporary significance of fiesta and dance in Ayacucho. I draw on the patron saint fiesta in Pampa Cangallo in a bid to establish the current relevance of fiesta for Ayacuchanos. Contemporary cultural practices occur in connection and dialogue with the past and memory. Therefore, it is also necessary to contextualise fiesta and dance historically in order to better understand their present-day salience. In order to gain a deeper appreciation of the present significance of dance and fiesta as memory, it is also important to appreciate the deeper historical background that both informs and pervades the dance and fiesta and the long connection that Ayacuchanos have with the land. This is important in the broader context of this thesis because a connection to land informs both memory and dance. Three examples illustrate this point.

The first connection involves walking the land. I use the case study of the Fiesta of Cocharcas to investigate what happens when individuals who were forced to leave their homelands during the violence return for fiesta and walk their land. This chapter began with a scene-setting vignette in order to transport the reader to a specific time and place – 7 September 2009 – but more importantly to provide the reader with an insight into the experience of a night at the *fiesta patronal* in Pampa Cangallo. Dance and fiesta are dynamic practices which are ever shifting and changing. Each year they are adapted by creative and ambitious *mayordomos* hoping to make their mark. New elements are incorporated, while other features deemed less important are left out. Thus, it is

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1 For a detailed account of the importance of returning for *fiesta patronal* see the documentary film *Soy Andina* by Michael Teplitsky. This film follows the story of Nelida Silva, a Peruvian living in New York, who returns to the small Andean town of her birth, Llemallin, to take the position of *mayordoma*; Mitchell Teplitsky, *Soy Andina*, USA, Lucuma Films, 2007; Karsten Paerregaard also analyses the central role of patron saint fiestas in his discussion of the creation of urban and rural identities in “The Dark Side of the Moon: Conceptual and Methodological Problems in Studying Rural and Urban Worlds in Peru,” *American Anthropologist*, vol. 100, no. 2, (1998): 397-408.

2 Paerregaard, “The Dark Side of the Moon,” 400.

important to keep in mind that the fiesta described here is a moment in time and the specifics of the Fiesta of Cocharcas vary from year to year. While some elements of the fiesta may alter from year to year, certain structures, patterns and values are retained. Fiestas in the Andes, then, occur in a cycle of connection that links one fiesta to the next within a given year, from one year to the next, from one generation to the next and so on. As individuals return as a part of this cycle of connection and walk the land, they remember past fiestas, stories, friends and relatives (alive and those who have gone), as well as difficult memories. I discuss some of the contemporary associations between land and recent violence as they were elaborated on in a conversation with Ricardo Huamán and his family.

The second example I draw on to demonstrate the important connection to land and memory evoked during fiesta is the contemporary Danza de Tijeras (Scissors Dance) from Ayacucho. The specialist dancers (danzantes) are transformed through their connection to Andean nature deities known as huamanis who imbue the dancers with superhuman abilities. Many contemporary danzantes claim that the dance is directly descended from the Taki Onkoy. This belief has been largely promoted and influenced by the work of scholars and ethnographers from the 1960s to the present day.

Taylor eloquently states, “systems of embodied practice stemming from pre-Conquest days continue to make themselves felt through the Americas, particularly in popular performance modes such as fiesta.” In the third example I, therefore, examine the historical connection to land created through dance and dancing with a discussion of the Taki Onqoy movement which emerged in the region of Ayacucho in the 1500s. To be clear, I do not contend that Andean dance and fiesta are static or immutable, nor am I searching for links to a pre-Hispanic past to legitimise their ‘authenticity’. However, the dialogue and connection between memory and the pre-Columbian past continue to this day. This leads to a discussion of the complex relationship between scholars and Andeans.

**Returning for Fiesta: Pampa Cangallo in Context**

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4 This point has been stressed by scholars working on Andean dance and fiesta in relation to identity construction. In particular, Abercrombie stresses the need to be aware that fiestas shift and change; Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power*.

5 Taylor argues that the Western notion of ephemerality, in relation to performance, needs to be reconsidered in the specific context of Amerindian fiesta, ritual and performance.

In September 2009, the Fiesta of Cocharcas was celebrated over four days and nights. Celebrations included live bands that played through the night, dancing and the drinking of copious quantities of beer, a bullfight featuring bulls from the surrounding farms, traditional foods, morning mass, processions and one lone danzante de tijeras (scissors dancer). That year, Ricardo Huamán, originally from the small town of Incaraccay just outside Pampa Cangallo, returned from Huamanga, where he now lives, to participate in the celebrations of the Fiesta Patronal de la Virgen Cocharcas. Ricardo moved to Huamanga with his mother when he was a young boy to escape the growing violence in the province of Cangallo. As is typically the case during fiestas, many members of Ricardo’s family reunited to celebrate, to reminisce and to discuss important family issues. Ricardo’s grandparents travelled the long journey from Lima to be present at the fiesta and the inevitable family negotiations. For Ricardo’s family, one of the most important aims of coming together for this particular fiesta was to discuss the distribution of the family home and lands, which had been abandoned during the violent years.

Pampa Cangallo is a small town in the province of Cangallo, in the centre of the department of Ayacucho. The region is famous for campesinos with fair skin and blue eyes, and for great horsemen known as morochucos, recognisable by the brown poncho, white scarf and distinctive hat worn over a knitted hat known as a chuco. In 2007, Cangallo province had a population of 34,902. Pampa Cangallo and the surrounding villages are located at between 3,100 and 3,400 metres above sea level. The town of Pampa Cangallo is situated on a wide-open expanse exposed to cold winds and a merciless sun. There is a unique yet harsh beauty to this land. The Ayacuchano pampas, while beautiful, can also be melancholic places. Orin Starn has described the Ayacuchano landscape surrounding Huamanga as possessing a “painful beauty of dry

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7 The capital of the province is Cangallo. Pampa Cangallo is the capital of the district of Los Morochucos, which was officially declared a district on 12 April, 1957 (law 12826).

8 The word morochuco has come to denote the inhabitants of Cangallo. The original meaning of the word stems from the amalgamation of two Quechua words, moro which means ‘many colours’ and chuco meaning ‘woollen hat’. So morochuco literally means ‘woollen hat of many colours’. As I was told by Gabriel Quispe as we travelled through the region, the name was first applied by the Quechua inhabitants to the Spaniards who established themselves in the region after the Battle of Chupas, September 1542. To protect against the biting cold and the harsh winds, the Spanish wore white scarves, ponchos and donned multicoloured chucos under their sombreros. This is now the iconic image of the morochucos of Pampa Cangallo. For more on the history of the region, see: Memorias: pasado, presente y futuro del pueblo Quechua los Morochucos, Centro de Promoción del Desarrollo Comunal INTI, Ayacucho, 2010, 63.

mountains and a turquoise sky.”

The land is imbued with a certain sorrow, a melancholia which is, in part, a result of all the human suffering that has occurred there, which is both remembered and felt by Pampacangallinos as they walk the land. It is even detectable to outsiders as they pass through.

This region of Ayacucho has experienced an often turbulent history. As Isbell has observed, the southern Andes have “experienced centuries of rebellions and insurgencies.” Although not heavily involved in the rebellion of the 1780s led by Túpac Amaru II, Cangallinos plotted their own rebellion against the Spanish in 1812. However, their plans were thwarted by the local priest, who betrayed them, leading to their ultimate defeat. During the Wars of Independence in the early 1820s, the region of Ayacucho was divided; campesinos from Huanta in the north of the department supported the Royalists, while the morochucos from Cangallo fought with the rebel forces. The rebels were not easily suppressed, however, and the area was wracked by years of fighting. The morochucos were recognised by the Spanish as a “dangerous element for the future” due to their rebellious spirit and love of freedom.

The rebel Cangallinos were pursued for their resistance and punished for their insolence. On 3 December 1820, Royalist troops led by Brigadier Mariano Ricafort attacked the morochuco strongholds on the pampas of Chupascunca. The morochucos were not well armed and the ensuing massacre “was terrible”; the land was left “sewn with the cadavers of the brave and fallen Cangallinos.” On 17 December 1821, in

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15 Hernán Vega Palomino, Cangallo y sus Morochucos en la gesta emancipadora (Ayacucho: [s.n.], 1960), 18. The courage of the rebels was recognised and honoured in 1822 by General José de San Martín and Argentine authorities, who named a street in Buenos Aires, Cangallo; Memorias: pasado, presente y futuro, 102.
retaliation and a display of dominance, Royalist troops burned the town of Cangallo (the provincial capital) to the ground.\footnote{16}{This was the second time the Spanish had set fire to the capital.}

Degregori has observed that the response of the indigenous people to this domination and deception was one which oscillated between “resignation and rebellion”.\footnote{17}{Carlos Iván Degregori, \textit{Que difícil Ser Dios}, 9.} The twentieth century was a time of discontent which led to a wave of peasant uprisings in the Andes. Educational reforms introduced by President Velasco in 1969 were not well received in Ayacucho and led to further unrest. Ayacuchano campesinos considered the abolition of free education a severe blow as they were already impoverished and marginalised. During the rebellions of the twentieth century, marginalised Ayacuchanos sought to appropriate the “instruments of power” of the hegemony, the most important of these being education.\footnote{18}{Carlos Iván Degregori, \textit{Que difícil Ser Dios}, 12.} In 1969, students and campesinos from the towns of Huamanga and Huanta mounted fierce protests in response to the abolition of free education. Interviews with Aracelio Castillo and other campesino leaders involved in the 1969 uprisings (recorded by Degregori) show the extent to which Ayacuchano campesinos valued education. They believed the elite were denying them access to literacy as a means of maintaining a state of deceit. As one leader from Huamanga stated, “the military Junta have abolished free education because they know perfectly well that when the children of the workers and campesinos open their eyes, both the power and the wealth of the elite will be in danger.”\footnote{19}{Statement from the Frente de Defensa del Pueblo de Ayacucho, cited by Aracelio Castillo (1972), in Carlos Iván Degregori, \textit{Que difícil Ser Dios}, 12.}

Prior to the 1980s, there was very little state presence in rural areas of Ayacucho, especially in terms of education and health care. Like most of Ayacucho, Cangallo was poor and many towns lacked basic infrastructure such as electricity and running water. With very few roads, access in and out of the department was both difficult and time consuming.\footnote{20}{CVR, 1.1: 41.} This prevented rural Ayacuchanos from readily participating in the economic market centralised in Lima. In this setting of marginalisation most Cangallinos considered the education of their children to be the only viable escape from poverty and marginalisation.
In Cangallo, the PCP-SL encountered a population looking for change and a solution to the socio-economic situation. SL identified four “committee zones” and, according to the TRC, the region of Cangallo – Victor Fajardo, was recognised as the “fundamental zone”. It was here that the SL began preparations for the “Beginning of the Armed Struggle.” It would be wrong to assume that the area of Cangallo, Vilcashuamán and Victor Farjado were devoid of political activity prior to the arrival of the SL; quite the contrary, it was a highly politicised area. In fact, the SL “had to compete with other parties and political groups to gain control of the zone.”

The province of Cangallo is now infamous as the birthplace of Sendero Luminoso. Here members of SL carried out the first symbolic act of political violence on the eve of national elections in May 1980. On 12 October 1981 the government of Fernando Belaúnde Terry (president 1963 – 1968 and 1980 – 1985) declared a state of emergency in Cangallo and four other provinces of Ayacucho. A curfew was put in place and, almost immediately, the police and the military began to abuse the new powers which the state of emergency afforded them. The response of the counterinsurgency forces functioned as fuel to the fire and the campesinos found themselves caught between the two opposing forces.

The population of Cangallo reduced dramatically as a result of the armed conflict, from 71,144 inhabitants in 1961 to 33,833 in 1993. This was due to the deaths and disappearances of thousands of inhabitants perpetrated by both Sendero Luminoso and the government forces, combined with the massive migration of people like Ricardo and his family who fled in search of refuge from the violence. Evidence of this rapid decline is still apparent today as one walks the land, which is littered with the ruins of abandoned houses. Some of the chacras (small fields) are being worked once again by those who have returned to the area. However, instead of living in the house adjacent to the chacras, many landowners, like Ricardo’s uncle Frederico, choose to live in towns and travel to and from their lands. As a result, to this day many homes in the fields

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21 CVR, 2.1: 15.
22 CVR, 2.1: 15.
23 The current province of Vilcashuamán formed part of Cangallo until 1984.
24 CVR, 2.1: 16.
25 The other four provinces were Huamanga, Huanta, Victor Fajardo and La Mar.
26 CVR, 1.1: 16.
27 Pseudonym.
surrounding Pampa Cangallo stand empty and the adobe crumbles back to the earth from which it was made. For Pampacangallinos, walking the land of Pampa Cangallo evokes the silent memories of what occurred there.

Walking the Land: Memory and Landscape

For many Ayacuchano campesinos, the land is alive; it is a living being known in Quechua as *Pachamama* (‘mother earth’). Those who live and work with the land have an intimate relationship with it. In Quechua the verb *kapuy* ‘to have’ literally means ‘to be with’ so in Quechua, then, one does not have land, one is with the land. Rural inhabitants enter into a reciprocal relationship with the land. Many rural campesinos still maintain a strong sense of relationship to and with the land. They make ritual offerings such as coca leaves and alcohol, in return for healthy crops and fertile animals.\(^{28}\)

Kathleen Wilson has examined the importance of landscapes in “shaping health.”\(^{29}\) She rightly stresses the importance of cultural specificity and ethnic/cultural awareness when investigating the meaning of land and place. She writes that “the land does not

\(^{28}\) Reciprocity will be discussed at more length in the following chapter.

just represent a physical space but, rather, represents the interconnected physical, symbolic, spiritual and social aspects of First Nations.”

This also applies to rural Ayacuchanos and Pampacangallinos. In the Peruvian Andes, the land has long been recognised as a living being, inhabited by living spirits such as the mountain deities known as *apus* and *huamanis* (and the *huacas* discussed below). These spirits are alive and active and they interact with humans on a daily basis. As Nuñez observes in her analysis of the Scissors Dance, “In the sierra, there exists a relationship between the ‘land’ or the ‘*huamanis*’, which is mediated by collective communal labour, among other elements, that constitute daily life.” Fiesta forms one such collective event that plays a central role in mediating this relationship.

The *huamanis* are both respected and feared by the people who live with them. For travellers through the Andes, the *huamanis* have the power to grant safe passage or to hinder the journey, making progress difficult and dangerous. Many urban dwellers also know and respect their power. Gabriel Quispe, a retired teacher from Huamanga, told me of his first experience of the *apus*, which led him to respect their influence. He recalled a day in his youth when he and a companion were climbing a mountain to visit some friends. As they set out, the sky was clear and the sun was shining. Then, suddenly, without warning, heavy clouds rolled in and they were shrouded in mist. They could go no further. Defeated by the mountain, they turned back, when they encountered a local campesino who explained that to have a clear and safe journey, they must first make a *pagu* (Quechua for ‘payment’ or ‘offering’) to the mountain. They did so, the mist lifted and they were able to continue on their way. As a result of this experience, Gabriel is now a firm believer in the power of the *huamanis*.

Given the relationship that many Ayacuchanos have to and with the land, it is not surprising that the land of Ayacucho evokes memories of the past, as well as many fears among those who live or lived there. According to Wilson, “the land simultaneously contributes to physical, emotional and spiritual health in a variety of ways.” Social and spiritual elements of land are also important to Andeans. I often heard of cases where

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30 Wilson, “Therapeutic Landscapes,” 83.
32 Gabriel Quispe in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Cangallo, 17 August, 2009.
33 Wilson, “Therapeutic Landscapes,” 88.
34 Wilson is one of a group of researchers known as health geographers who are applying a body of theory introduced by William Gesler which investigates “understandings of interconnections between, place,
individuals became mortally ill simply as a result of sitting on the earth without first gaining the permission of the *apu*. I experienced such a moment outside Pampa Cangallo. After walking for hours with Ricardo, we arrived at the top of a mountain; when I attempted to sit on the ground, to rest and gaze at the expansive view, Ricardo exclaimed “no, no, don’t”. At first I was not sure what he was referring to, but he warned me, “sitting on the mountain will make you sick.” He explained that this would doubtless allow the mountain spirits to “drain the life energy” out of me. Ricardo had first-hand experience of such an illness as a young boy. He explained that try as they might, medical doctors could not cure him. It was only once his mother had made a *pagu* of alcohol and coca leaves to the *apu* he had offended that he was cured.

Ricardo is a university graduate and has lived the majority of his life in the city, yet he still feels a strong connection to the land and a healthy respect for the *apus*.

These are not the stories of benevolent nature spirits often equated with the romanticised memory of the Inca past and utilised to promote the new wave of ‘mystic’ or ‘spiritual’ tourism to Peru. Ayacuchanos regularly relay stories in which the land is the cause of physical harm and illness. The relationship between humans and nature regularly leads to physical harm. Is this at all due to the fact that so many people have lost their lives and their loved ones to often unidentified enemies that emerged from the dark? In the dark of the night these fears are compounded, taking on a greater potency. Stories of malevolent entities that inhabit the Andean night, such as *pishtacos* (fat-sucking monsters) floating witch heads and *qarqachas*, are common. The ancient myths, many of which date back to the arrival of the Spanish, have evolved and developed over time and have been adapted to explain contemporary phenomena and meet with the current experiences and social changes taking place. Ricardo’s grandfather shared an experience involving a *qarqacha* as he walked the land.

Returning for fiesta often involves walking the land to visit family. On the second day of the fiesta, Ricardo, his mother, his grandparents and I made our way to visit Ricardo’s uncle Federico, who lives in a small town one hour’s walk from Pampa.

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35 Ricardo Huamán in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Pampa Cangallo, 9 September, 2009.
36 Ricardo Huamán, 9 September, 2009.
37 Ricardo Huamán, 9 September, 2009.
Cangallo. It was a pleasant day for walking, with the normally harsh sun softened by a filter of clouds. We walked through fields of dried maize stalks and across dirt roads and struggled over mounds of ploughed earth hardened by the sun. As we crossed one of the dirt roads onto a field of dried corn stalks, Ricardo’s grandfather (abuelito) began to tell a story in Quechua. As he arrived at a particular spot, he became quite animated and I wanted to know what he was saying, so Ricardo interpreted:

It was here, right here on this spot, that I encountered the qarqacha. I was a much younger man then. I was walking with some other men late at night when we heard a loud growling noise. The land began to shudder and there was a strange smell. I was terrified. I knew at that moment a qarqacha must be nearby.

Qarqachas are creatures that are human by day, but transform into llamas at night as a divine punishment for committing incest. Ricardo explained that in order to redeem their humanity and restore their souls, qarqachas must kill seven people and take their souls.\(^{38}\) I began to understand the mix of fear and pride in the old man’s countenance as he explained that he and his companions had fought and captured the qarqacha and taken it back to his village. He stated, “We knew it was really a qarqacha because in the morning there was a naked man tied up where we had tied the llama the night before.” As I listened to Ricardo’s abuelito I suddenly felt a sense of relief that we were travelling during daylight hours.

\(^{38}\) Ricardo Huamán in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Pampa Cangallo, 7 September, 2009.
Many creatures are believed to inhabit the dark such as the *qarqacha* described by Ricardo’s *abuelito*. Quechua speakers refer to the years of political violence or the *sasachakuy tiempo* (‘difficult years’). During this period memories, legends and myths were given new meaning. Members of Sendero Luminoso were known to travel and attack at night, earning them the name *tuta puriqkuna*, ‘night walkers’, in Quechua. During the years of violence the fear of the dark was compounded, as the dread of the *tuta puriqkuna* took hold.\(^{39}\) Counterinsurgency forces were also known to attack at night. This meant that the usual activities, such as walking from community to community in the cooler hours of the early morning or dancing and drinking late into the night during fiestas, had to be curtailed or completely abandoned.

The threat of being attacked during the night meant that many rural inhabitants of Cangallo (and other provinces of Ayacucho) were forced to leave their homes at night to sleep in less populated areas, sometimes in caves or makeshift dwellings. Bertha Ayala Callañaupa, a resident of Pampa Cangallo, was around ten years old during the height of the violence in 1982 and 1983. She recalls that:

> During this time, more often than not we didn’t sleep in the house. There was talk that Sendero were going to arrive and leave Pampa Cangallo in ashes; no people would be left, that is what they said. Tonight or tomorrow they will

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\(^{39}\) Ritter, “Siren Songs,”27; CVR, 1.1.5: 478.
come. Out of fear, we didn’t sleep in the house at night. We went out of the town.  

During the years of political violence, campesinos sought to make sense of the horror and the rupture in the social fabric of life. As Degregori has observed, in many instances campesinos explained the traumatic violence they experienced by “converting senderistas into demons and the armed forces (especially the generally fairer skinned marines from Lima posted in the Andes during 1983 – 1985) into foreign mercenaries or pishtacos.” The pishtaco is almost always identified as fair skinned with light eyes. It is a monster that attacks at night, taking its victims away to remove the human fat, selling it as a commodity to make candles or fuel machinery. The pishtaco has a long history in the Andes.

During the conflict some campesinos believed that pishtacos were selling human fat to pay off Peru’s escalating external debt, which spiralled out of control under the Fujimori regime. I heard of foreign aid workers being stoned by campesinos during the 1980s because they believed the strangers were pishtacos. While in Peru, I was often called a pishtaca because they are associated with the lighter skinned ‘other’. Fortunately for me, this was generally done with good humour and only occasionally veiling a sense of suspicion. Theidon and other researchers have also commented on this experience. The legend of the pishtaco continues to hold sway in the Peruvian Andes. In 2010, national newspapers reported the return of pishatacos in response to the unexplained disappearance of a number of campesinos in the Andean department of Huaraz. This time stories circulated that the fat was being sold to international cosmetic companies. Although the legend has been reworked many times, pishatacos are nearly always conceived as foreign entities who exploit rural campesinos. The violence and disappearances of the 1980s and 1990s fuelled the very real fear many Andeans have of pishtacos that inhabit the land.

During the four days of fiesta, Ricardo and his family spent time at fiesta celebrations, dancing and drinking through the night and visiting with family and friends during the
day. This often meant long walks across the land to visit family. On the third day of the fiesta, Ricardo and I walked to his home town of Inkaraccay before the evening festivities began. Just as his grandfather had been urged to tell his story of the *qarqacha* as he walked the land, so too Ricardo began to tell his story as we walked the land near his childhood home. He obviously knew the land well, even though he has not lived there since he was a boy.

After months of knowing one another and sharing many conversations which also included general discussions about the years of violence and the impact on the people of Ayacucho, Ricardo finally told me his personal story of the violence. It seemed that he was compelled to divulge his story as we walked the dirt roads from Pampa Cangallo to visit his home town. The memories that Ricardo recalled as we walked from Pampa Cangallo to Incaraccay were a mixture of personal experiences and stories he had heard. Each memory and story seemed to be evoked by the land we walked. A mountain or a crumbling house, a ravine or a valley acted as organic memorials that prompted Ricardo to speak. As we walked past abandoned homes and crumbling ruins, he explained that “many of the inhabitants of these houses were killed or disappeared during the violence” while others, like himself, were more fortunate and had moved to the cities to escape the violence.  

As we walked, Ricardo pointed to a mountain to the left and explained that the local people avoid this area as they “know what happened there” and that the bodies of the disappeared had been disposed of there. Ricardo explained that there are many mass graves in this region and that “everyone knows where they are, it is common knowledge.” As we continued walking, Ricardo told me that we were passing near a ravine where the bodies of the disappeared had regularly been disposed of. Given the recent excavations of mass graves in Putis (in the north of the department) and Santo Tomás de Pata (in the neighbouring department of Huancavelica), it seems remarkable that there have been no similar attempts to excavate in Cangallo – the birthplace of the conflict. Together we pondered the possible political reasons, the expense and the fact that there is little political economy in doing so, and then Ricardo explained the practicalities. As Ricardo pointed out, “the ravine is very deep. To excavate such a steep

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44 Ricardo Huamán in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Cangallo, 7 September, 2009.
45 Ricardo Huamán, Cangallo, 7 September, 2009.
ravine would be difficult and probably useless anyway as ‘someone’ set fire to the ravine”, burning all traces and making identification of any remains virtually impossible.\(^{46}\) The military base in Pampa Cangallo has been linked with numerous reports of human rights abuses and the forced disappearance of many people.\(^{47}\) There are various reports of unprovoked attacks and unjustified incarcerations associated with both the military base and the police force of this area. Ricardo used the term ‘someone’ because, although most Pampacangallinos suspect the armed forces of setting fire to the ravine, SL also used it to dispose of bodies.

As we walked closer to his family’s land, Ricardo revealed his personal story. Ricardo and his family were forced to leave Incaraccay eighteen years earlier when they discovered that his grandfather’s name had been placed on Sendero’s blacklist, posted in the central plaza. According to Ricardo, they had been working in the family’s fields some distance from the town and did not realise that SL cadres were holding a meeting. The family understood that all such meetings were compulsory; however, they had apparently missed the notification and their absence was interpreted by SL as a deliberate act of defiance. Late one night soon after, a number of senderistas knocked down the door of their home and threatened the family. Ricardo explained, with still apparent incredulity, that “somehow abuelito managed to talk his way out of the situation and we were left in peace for a while,” until once again their names were placed on the blacklist. This time his family took what they could carry and fled.\(^{48}\) Ricardo’s grandparents escaped to Lima while he and his mother made their way to Huamanga.

As we journeyed it seemed that Ricardo was urged by the land we walked over, by the mountains and ravines we passed, to recall what had happened to him and the stories of what had happened to those he knew and those who had disappeared. I had known Ricardo for many months and he rarely, if ever, spoke of his personal experience of ‘the difficult years’. But as he walked in the fields between Pampa Cangallo and Incaraccay, towards his family’s land, it was different; no prompting or questioning was necessary. I suggest that being there, walking his land, prompted him to recall and voice memories

\(^{46}\) Ricardo Huamán Cangallo, 7 September, 2009.


\(^{48}\) Ricardo Huamán interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Pampa Cangallo, 8 September, 2009.
of that time. The pain and terror leave traces in the land, an imprint and a residue which is detectable. It seems that one just knows when one is nearing such a place because, as Ricardo explained, one can sense them. The idea that one can feel these places and traces of terror did not seem at all strange. Rather, it seemed to make perfect ‘sense’ (both intellectually and somatically) as we walked the dramatic landscape.

In the province of Cangallo it takes very little to stir up memories of the violence. Although the memories are not immediately articulated, they are apparent in furtive looks, tense bodies and hushed tones. How is it possible for those who have lived through years of violence and terror to forget what has happened? It is in fact vital for the human psyche that the individual and the collective find a way to ‘forget’ pain and trauma, even if this ‘forgetting’ is only for a limited time.

The relationship that Pampacangallinos have to and with the land means that the land of Pampa Cangallo acts as a living memorial to the past and the dead, making forgetting difficult. However, certain events that occurred during the fiesta patronal may have stirred memories of the years of violence. The first of these events occurred on the night we arrived for the fiesta. It was after dark when our Kombi pulled in and we made our way to the small adobe house of Ricardo’s aunt and uncle where we were staying for the week. After a warming soup, some time chatting and catching up on family news, we made our way out into the cold night. It was dark and difficult to see until we reached the bright lights of the plaza. Ricardo, his girlfriend, his uncle and aunt, their three children and I walked together across the plaza towards the fiesta celebrations, on the hill at the entrance to town. Ricardo’s family chatted amiably as we walked back into the dark of the main road leading to the fiesta area. Then, suddenly I sensed something in the shadows. My heart began to pound and I felt a surge of adrenalin. Someone moved ever so slightly in the dark and I realised that I had nearly collided with a young man holding a large rifle. When I gasped, my companions also noticed the man. As our eyes adjusted to the dark we became aware that he was a soldier and that there were a number of soldiers lining the street in pairs en route to the fiesta. They all held rifles in front of their bodies. Instinctively, we moved closer to each other and away from the soldiers on either side of us. We walked on, passing the soldiers nervously. As we reached the fiesta area we began to relax a little, encouraged by the music, people and illumination of flood lights.
The presence of armed soldiers in the dark was very unsettling for everyone. Why were soldiers posted on the road to the fiesta and what had happened to warrant such a presence? Ricardo assured me that it was nothing and that Pampa Cangallo is completely safe nowadays. However, the military presence made his uncle and aunt very uneasy; they questioned what could have provoked such a strong military presence at this time. Ricardo’s uncle Juanjo explained that it is no longer common practice to have military personnel at fiestas in Pampa Cangallo: “Certainly, during the conflict that was the case, but not anymore.”

On the second day of the fiesta we gained some insight as to why there had been such a strong military presence. After walking for an hour (during which abuelito told of the qarqacha), we arrived at the house of Ricardo’s uncle Frederico, only to hear of another unsettling event. When we arrived the conversation flowed rapidly, in a mix of Spanish and Quechua. Ricardo’s uncle explained that “in the very early hours of that morning gun shots had been fired.” Then a group of fifteen or so young strangers were seen passing through the area. As there are no roads into the village, it is unusual for strangers to simply be wandering the region in the dark. Some residents went to investigate and found that the Peruvian flag, which flies from a lonely pole outside the village, had been shot down. The shots had severed the top of the pole and the flag lay on the ground. More disturbingly, though, a red flag had been tied in its place.

As the conversation continued, Ricardo’s mother became obviously concerned, as did his grandparents. His uncle Frederico, a pragmatic man, seemed to be the only one willing to openly voice everyone’s unspoken concerns. Was this an attempt by communists to start up trouble again? Were the senderistas back? What could this mean? Would the fighting and hiding start again? Reports of strangers wandering Pampa Cangallo with guns stirred memories of the past and fears that the violence may begin again. In the latter years of the armed conflict, senderistas sent to the province of Cangallo were university students from other regions. They were known to Pampacangallinos as extranjeros (foreigners/outsiders). Although Ricardo and I had planned to stay in the area after the fiesta to visit other neighbouring communities, after

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49 Pseudonym.
50 Juanjo in conversation with Michaela Callaghan and Ricardo Huamán, Pampa Cangallo, 6 September, 2009
51 Frederico in conversation with Michaela Callaghan and Ricardo Huamán, Pampa Cangallo, 7 September, 2009.
our experience on the first night of the fiesta and then with reports of armed strangers, gun shots and red flags, all of which evoke memories of the senderistas, Ricardo’s mother advised us against wandering the land. She feared that we would be mistaken by locals as part of the group that shot down the flag and that some form of harm would befall us. She reasoned with Ricardo, asking him to please leave and return again once things had settled down. It was clear that Ricardo’s mother had been worried that I might also be mistaken as a dangerous foreign entity, as a pishtaca.

Although the fighting has officially ceased, the residual fear still exists and with good reason. Senderistas continue to be active in Ayacucho, although they are less ideologically driven than they once were. Nowadays they are regularly referred to by Ayacuchanos as narco-terrorists due to their links with drugs. Sendero is particularly active in the Apurímac-Ene River Valley (VRAE) region in the province of Huanta.

**Scissors Dance**

The connection that Pampacangallinos have to and with the land and which was evidenced through experiences and conversations with Ricardo, his abuelo and his family, is also evident in and informs many of the dances that form an important part of Ayacuchano fiestas. During the fiesta patronal of Pampa Cangallo in 2009, a sole scissors dancer was the only specialised dancer to perform. Perhaps the most spectacular of all Peruvian dances, the Scissors Dance originates from Ayacucho and the neighbouring departments of Huancavelica and Apurimac. Since the latter part of the twentieth century, the Scissors Dance has gained worldwide recognition and dancers regularly perform in Lima and as far afield as the US and Germany. It is also the most deeply researched of all Ayacuchano dances due to its spectacular nature and mystical connections.

The Scissors Dance incorporates tests of bravery (pruebas de valor) in which dancers perform difficult acrobatics and/or pierce their skin with metal objects without causing bloodshed. Contemporary scissors dancers still make their way to mountain caves to pray and offer sacrifice before they dance. Individual scissors dancers are transformed through the embodiment of supernatural forces found in nature known as apus or huamanis. This has led many Peruvians to believe the dancers are in league with the devil or other dark forces. Pruebas are not merely a means of demonstrating superior
strength or courage. Physical trials during Andean dance are also a form of sacrifice, constituting an important aspect of prayer in dedication to the huamanis, a saint, or god.

As the lone scissors dancer performed in the plaza, he seemed more like a street performer than the traditional danzante as he performed alone under a blazing sun. Breaking away from the institution of the dance, he set up a large stereo playing the traditional harp music associated with the dance and attracted a large circle of people, fascinated as he danced and played the metal shears (from which the dance gets its name) in time with the music. He spent most of his time walking the circle and playing metallic rhythms. Then, when he began to dance on the sides and the tips of his Converse-clad toes, his skill as a dancer became apparent – though few of his movements reached the acrobatic level for which the danzantes are renowned. Contemporary practice of the Scissors Dance exemplifies the dynamic process of change that is constantly occurring through the dance in Ayacucho. It is an ongoing historical process of change, which gained greater momentum with the arrival of the Spanish. Globalised influences, such as Converse runners and break dance moves, now also form integral parts of the Scissors Dance costume and performance.

A great deal of debate surrounds the origins of the Scissors Dance. The transformation experienced by the dancers is facilitated by a unique relationship with Andean deities, present in both the Taki Onqoy of the 1500s (discussed later) and the Scissors Dance, and has led a number of researchers to connect the two genres. Scholars, including Lucy Nuñez Rebaza, Ranulfo Cavero Carrasco and Luis Millones, who study Taki Onqoy do so in relation to, or as part of, a broader discussion on the contemporary Danza de Tijeras. The Scissors Dance has since become an icon of a timeless Andean authenticity and an embodied connection to the pre-Hispanic past. Contemporary scissors dancers have been influenced by the scholarly contributions of historians and anthropologists and many now frame the dance in terms of cultural resistance and as a link to a pre-Hispanic past. The memory of the taquiongos (practioners of Taki Onqoy) and the millenarian connection are now recognised and claimed by both danzantes and event promoters. As Jason Bush has noted, the Scissors Dance is described in the media and
promotional materials as a “millenary tradition”, calling directly on a connection with Taki Onqoy.\textsuperscript{52}

**Taki Onqoy: History, Rebellion and Dancing Memory**

Historians and scholars of the early colonial period in what is now Peru and Bolivia generally recognise the Taki Onqoy as a significant rebellion that threatened the stability of the newly founded colony.\textsuperscript{53} For example, Michael Taussig has observed that the Taki Onqoy was “by far the largest Indian rebellion of the first two hundred years of colonial rule.”\textsuperscript{54} Sabine MacCormack describes it as “the first major revolt in the Andes.”\textsuperscript{55} While historical sources relating to the Taki Onqoy are limited, a number of studies have revealed the social and political import of the movement.\textsuperscript{56} The Taki Onqoy was not a military rebellion; rather, it could best be described as a religiously-based dance movement. The desire to return to a time and place free of Spanish influence was the central precept of the Taki Onqoy, which is described by the majority of scholars as a millenarian or messianic movement which arose in opposition to the Spanish conquest.\textsuperscript{57}

In 1564, following only 33 years of Christian influence, Luis de Olivera, a Spanish priest from Parinacochas (to the south of Huamanga), discovered evidence of an indigenous resistance movement.\textsuperscript{58} The arrival of the Spanish had created chaos, bringing disease and social disorder that Andeans recognised as a form of pachacuti,


\textsuperscript{53} Stern analyses the movement from various view points, offering both indigenous and colonial perspectives on the Taki Onqoy in *Perú’s Indian Peoples*, 51-79; also see Juan Ossio, *Los Indios del Perú* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992):183.


\textsuperscript{58} This is the first recorded incidence of the movement. However, as both Stern and Ossio have noted, it is likely the *taquiongos* were active before 1564. Stern writes that “the Taki Onqoy revival broke out around 1560”, *Perú’s Indian Peoples*, 51.
which is often translated as an “inversion” of the world order. 

Andeans believed the end of each cycle of time (or age) would be marked by a period of transition or *pachacuti*, which was typically a time of ruin, pestilence, war, loss and great destruction. For Andeans the *pachacuti* was evident in the colonial oppression of indigenous religion and practices, along with the harsh conditions imposed by the forced labour system in the mines and at the hands of *encomenderos*.

Soon after Olivera discovered the movement, he reported his findings to clerical authorities in Lima and Cusco, who considered the movement a very real threat to the stability of the colony, prompting an in-depth investigation. Consequently, an “anti-idolatry campaign” was established and headed by curate Cristóbal de Albornoz. Following more than two years of investigations 8,000 followers were condemned and punished for their involvement in the movement. These numbers include only those who were identified and caught. It is possible that many more devotees escaped punishment. The vast numbers involved in the Taki Onqoy are testament to the appeal and significance of the movement.

From the first moment of Spanish conquest in Cajamarca in 1532, the Spanish used religion as the central justification for conquest. Spanish theologians believed that the “army of the devil” was at work in the Andes. Thus the colonisers set out to convert indigenous inhabitants by erecting churches, prohibiting cultural practices considered profane and destroying symbols of indigenous religion. These acts led inhabitants of the central and southern Andes to rebel and reject the Christian god.

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59 *Pachacuti* may also be translated loosely as ‘world turned upside down’. Strong, *Art, Nature, and Religion*, 5. For further analysis of the concept, see; Ossio, *Los Indios del Perú*.

60 For more on the historical origins and uses of the term see, MacCormack, “Pachacuti: Miracles, Punishments.”

61 *An encomendero* was a Spaniard ‘entrusted’ with the protection of a group of indigenous people. He was owed the right of tribute in exchange for the protection and religious instruction he provided. *Encomiendas* – land, labour and tribute rights – were granted to Spanish colonisers by the Spanish Crown.

62 Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples*, 51.

63 Stern points out that Albornoz meted out punishment in accordance with the position of the offender; greater punishments were inflicted on leaders than on followers of the movement. Punishments included public humiliation, whipping and the cutting of hair. Albornoz was assisted in his mission by Felipe Juan Guamán Poma. Ossio writes that Guamán Poma “collaborated closely with the destroyer of idolatries, Cristóbal de Albornoz;” Ossio, *Los Indios del Perú*, 183. However, Strong observes that Guamán Poma’s role was minimal, stating that he “worked as a minor colonial employee during the time of the Taki Onqoy;” Strong, *Art, Nature, and Religion*, 170.

64 Núñez, *Los Dansaq*, 1.

65 In 1536, a military rebellion led by Manco Inka emerged in the southern Andes also with the aim of driving out the Spanish and returning to Inca rule. Following defeat in the Inca city of Cusco, the rebels
region of Ayacucho, the oppression of spiritual practices led to what Stern has described as a “moral crisis”. He argues that the Taki Onqoy was fundamentally a spiritual rebellion which stemmed from the moral crisis experienced in Huamanga and the surrounding areas, caused by Spanish oppression of autochthonous spiritual practices. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui also highlights the religious and millenarian significance of the Taki Onqoy, referring to the movement as a “religious phenomenon, a radical reaction against the imposition of Christianity and a call for a return to the pre-Inca cult of wak’as, or ancestor worship.”

To restore order, Andeans believed it was necessary to bring about another reversal in the form of a new pachacuti. To do so, they needed to offer prayers in the form of dance and submit to physical trials, including dance marathons and dance competitions, combined with fasting and sexual abstinence in dedication to the Andean deities known as huacas. Natural places deemed to be sacred, such as a mountain, cave or river, as well as the spirits of those places, along with constructed shrines and idols – often containing the physical remains of ancestors – all constitute huacas. The proponents of Taki Onqoy, taquiongos, acted as interpreters for the huacas. Their dance was an individual expression of a communication with the huacas which was used to remember the ancestors and recall a time prior to the pachacuti. Followers would dance for many hours in succession, dancing frenetically and tirelessly as the huacas entered their bodies, transforming them into taquiongos and mediators for the huacas. Occasionally, dancers were known to sicken and even die as a result of sustained dancing.

retreated to Vilcabamba where they continued to resist Spanish rule for three decades. In 1572, the leader, Tupac Amaru I, was captured and publicly beheaded. This act had a powerful impact on Andean inhabitants as it recalled the death of Atahualpa at Cajamarca 40 years earlier. It symbolised the strength of the Christian god and confirmed the ultimate inversion of the world brought by the Spanish. The two rebellions together are considered by most scholars as the first and most significant indigenous responses to Spanish colonialism. For a detailed description of the Vilcabamba resistance, see: Nathan Wachtel, “Rebeliones y milenarismo,” in Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino, ed. Juan Ossio, (Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973): 106, 112, 124.

Stern, Strong, Ossio and others highlight the centrality of the religious element of the Taki Onqoy.


bodies of the dancers thus became spaces of sacred connection and simultaneously spaces of anti-colonial resistance.

Andeans considered the taquiongos to be sacred interpreters between the divine world and the world of human beings. The taquiongos foretold the renewal of the huacas, who promised to overthrow the Christian god and bring about the return of the old order. The taquiongos did not desire a return to the time of the Incas, but rather looked forward to the return of a pre-Inca past, during which the local huacas reigned. The embodied expression of the dance was employed to correct the imbalance brought by the Spanish invaders and their new god, returning the world to a state of indigenous hegemony. Taki Onqoy became a battle between the gods in which the European god was pitted against the Andean deities.

As during present day fiestas in Ayacucho, the Taki Onqoy crossed all social, political and cultural barriers, with men, women and children all known to participate. The movement quickly established a large following, spreading rapidly south across the Andes towards La Paz in present-day Bolivia. It also began to bridge deep ethnic divides which existed long before the arrival of the Spanish. The movement created a unity that also crossed the newly emergent class divisions caused by indigenous leaders – kurakas, who were benefiting from collaboration with colonists. Lozada Pereira argues that devotees believed the huacas would create an “Andean paradise,” a world filled with good, free of illness and, most significantly, without the Spanish. The taquiongos promoted unity and condemned affiliation, adaption or appropriation of Hispanic beliefs and practices. They promoted a total rejection of all things Spanish, including the use of Spanish clothing or Spanish names as well as the use or the ingestion of animals introduced by the Spanish conquerors.

The taquiongos’ dance was not a separate practice, as is evident through the language used to describe it. The complex practice of Taki Onqoy has been translated in a number

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72 For further discussion of the emergent class divide within Andean culture, see: Stern, Peru’s Indian Peoples, 59.
73 Lozada Pereira, “Resistencia y agresión en la estética andina,” 30.
of different ways: “the disease of the song and the dance” (*la enfermedad del canto y del baile*), 75 “dance sickness”, 76 “the dance of disease”, 77 “the disease of the dance”. 78

The Quechua word for ‘dance,’ still used in Ayacucho today, is *taki* or *taqui*, a word communicating much more than either the English or Spanish translation; it refers to both dance and song. Historically, the concept of “sung-dances” often included ritual libation. “Sung-dances” were common throughout the Americas and include the Quechua *taqui*, as well as the *areitos* in Arawak and *mitote* in Nahuatl. 79

The translations above interpret *onqoy* as illness or disease (*enfermedad*). It may be a reference to the *pachacuti* and the sickness visited on the Andes by the *huacas* as a punishment for turning away from the old ways. Given that our sources are recorded by Spanish chroniclers, it may also be a reference to the perceived illness of the *taquiongos* as they danced. According to Olinda Celestino, Taki Onqoy incorporates another level of meaning that relates to the stars: “Dance sickness, song sickness, star sickness and refers socially to the disease and resurrection of the gods.” 80 Abercrombie suggests a celestial connection as the word *onqoy* alludes to the constellation of the Pleiades, which was a symbol of Andean storehouses. 81 Given that *taki* was the term used for both dance and song, Abercrombie concludes that Taki Onqoy “may have meant ‘song-dance of sickness,’ or ‘song-dance of the Pleiades’. ” 82

Abercrombie has examined Andean fiesta as a significant form of social memory in Bolivia. He suggests that through the Taki Onqoy “the deeds of gods and ancestors were recalled and their significance for the present and future made patent. Taki Onqoy was, then, a struggle over memory.” 83 He makes the insightful observation that *taquiongos* “danced and sang and strove to re-call the pre-Columbian past to living memory.” 84

The messianic tradition, evident in the Taki Onqoy movement, has been a feature of Andean movements and protests since the arrival of the Spanish through to the

77 Rivera Cusicanqui, “Pachakuti,” 3.
78 Mumford, “The Taki Onqoy,” 150.
twentieth century. The desire to remember and return to an idealised past, in which both indigenous people and practices are respected and valued, has been at the heart of numerous political protests and projects. In Peru, the “Inca became an organising idea or principle.” The same desire has informed cultural resistance and identity construction throughout Peruvian history. The memory of the pre-Columbian past, in particular the Inca Empire, is idealised and remembered as a time of prosperity, peace and social justice and has become a recurring theme. The tendency among Andeans, indigenistas and Andeanists to look to a pre-Hispanic past in order to create an improved future prompted Alberto Flores Galindo to develop the framework of “Andean utopia” in the late 1980s. The Andean utopia project was “an attempt to reverse dependency and fragmentation, to search for an alternative path in the encounter between memory and the imaginary: the rebuilding of the Inca society and the return of the Inca ruler.” As Flores Galindo explains, Andean utopia was not an impossible dream, it was the desire to return to the past.

The idea of the return of the Incas did not appear spontaneously in Andean culture, nor was it a mechanical reaction to colonial domination. Andean people previously reconstructed the past and transformed it into an alternative present. This was and is the distinctive feature of Andean utopia; the ideal city did not exist outside history or at the remote beginning of time. On the contrary, it was a real historical fact that had a name (Tahuantinsuyu); a ruling class (the Incas); and a capital (Cusco). Flores states, “The Taki Onqoy was a decisive moment in the construction of the Andean utopia.” The utopian tradition continues to be apparent in present-day expressions of dance and fiesta in Ayacucho. In 1964, Luis Millones published Un movimiento nativista del siglo XVI: El Taki Onqoy in the Peruvian Journal of Culture. Prior to 1964, the colonial chronicle by Cristóbal Molina was the main source for the historical analysis of the Taki Onqoy. Millones’ article, combined with the discovery of new sources, sparked renewed academic interest in the movement which was also due,
in part, to a new and growing scholarly curiosity with Andean culture during the 1960s, when historians and anthropologists began to consider the notion of indigenous resistance, both contemporary and historical, and began asking new questions and looking for evidence of authentic Andean identity which had survived into the twentieth century.  

At this same time Isbell examined the traditions and rituals of the people of Chuschi (the symbolic birthplace of SL). Her book, To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village, is based on fieldwork carried out in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This is a significant study which offers a window into Ayacuchano rural culture at a crucial historical juncture when President Juan Velasco Alvarado introduced agrarian and educational reforms. The reforms led to the greater politicisation of the rural peasantry and the seeds of the internal conflict began to be planted.

In 1985, at the height of the violence, Isbell reissued the book accompanied by a preface in which she candidly reflected on her limitations as an anthropologist. Isbell remarks that she was somewhat blinded by her romantic view of Andean culture and her inability to see “the historical processes that were occurring at the time.” While it is unlikely that anyone could have predicted the magnitude of what was to come, Isbell highlights the limitations of Andean ethnographies of the time. Isbell, among other Andeanists, now confesses there was a time in which the trademark of Andean ethnography was the search for the exotic “other.” M. J. Weismantel is another scholar who has reflected on the shortcomings of Andean studies. She argues the “other” was often determined by the presence of three factors; a perceived isolation, “Indian” cultural practices and a cosmovision of Native American origin. As Weistmantel puts it a “fascination with Indians … led us to a distorted portrayal of the complex lives of contemporary people, for many of whom indigenous culture is only a single aspect of a multifaceted identity.” Starn has been scathing in his criticism of ‘Andeanism.’ In his 1991 article, “Missing the Revolution: Anthropologists and the War in Peru”, Starn argues that Andeanism “dichotomizes between the Occidental, coastal, urban, and

93 Isbell, To Defend Ourselves,” notes xiii.
95 Weismantel, “Maize Beer,” 861.
mestizo and the non-Western, highland, rural, and indigenous; it then essentializes the highland side of the equation.”

Other scholars have continued the criticism of this period of Andean studies. According to Bush “Andean ethnohistorians developed a missionary zeal, searching colonial documents for traces of authentic pre-colonial Andean religion and culture and field ethnographers looked for resistance mentalities within contemporary Andean culture.”

Jaime Urrutia takes a more sympathetic view of the relationship between campesino communities and anthropologists, which he characterises as a “history of love (almost) eternal.”

Urrutia highlights the two-way relationship that exists between anthropologists and Andeans. He points out that ethnographic studies of Andean cultural practices have influenced and informed the way in which Andeans perceive and practise their own culture. This is a point I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 5.

Andean studies have since moved away from this form of essentialised Andeanism, although a tendency to essentialise Andean communities and highland culture still exists among some scholars, cultural institutions and even campesinos themselves (as in the case of the scissors dancers). The shift away from Andeanism was ironically brought about largely in response to the internal conflict unleashed in the early 1980s. In a bid to understand the complexities which led to the rise of Sendero and to demystify what Stern terms the “aura of enigma” which has surrounded the rise and popularity of Sendero Luminoso, researchers had to go beyond structuralist explanations of Andean peoples and communities.

As Starn writes, “no longer could the highlands so easily support interpretations where they appeared as a place of static cultures and discrete identities.”

It is important to learn from the errors of the past and to avoid committing similar mistakes. It is also important, however, to recognise that there are some distinctive features of rural Andean culture that do differ from non-Andean sensibilities, such as

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100 Starn, “Missing the Revolution,” 83.
the relationship to and with the land, the use of dance, fiesta and the construction of time. Although earlier ethnographies may have offered an oversimplified and inaccurate view, they did reveal aspects of Andean life that had been previously unappreciated. Isbell’s study, for example, illustrates the import of Andean dance and fiesta as sites of identity construction, particularly in the face of ever encroaching modernising forces which are presented as a threat to the Andean way of life.

I argue throughout this thesis that dance has long been a significant site of memory in Peru. Dance as memory is clearly evidenced by the Taki Onqoy, which is perhaps the first instance of dance as memory recorded by the Spanish colonialists. The relationship between Andeans and deities present in the land and between the dancer and the land are also present. Moreover, as numerous studies have shown, dance in pre-Hispanic society was also regularly used to contest and accommodate foreign beliefs, as well as acting as a mnemonic tool.101 Costumed and masked dances, then, formed a rich and important part of regional and Inca state ritual prior to the arrival of the Spanish.102 Mendoza suggests that the taquies garnered the attention of early chroniclers (more than other forms of dance/music/theatre) because they generally involved large public celebrations in honour of local deities, Incas and the ancestors (Photo. 16).103

Colonial attitudes to these practices varied. Authorities attempted to prohibit all large gatherings that recalled the Inca past precisely because they were such powerful mnemonic practices. This was especially true of the 1550s, when colonial authorities banned the public practice of Inca religious rituals:104 “In particular, they banned displays perceived as having an overt political content, such as processions of Inca royal mummies or local ancestor worship.”105

In 1569, amid the context of Andean discontent and colonial apprehension, Francisco Toledo was appointed the new viceroy of Peru (1569–1581) by Philip II of Spain. Toledo instigated major structural and economic reforms, introducing changes to the

101 Abercrombie, Pathways of Memory and Power; Mendoza, Shaping Society Through Dance; Gisela Cánepa Koch, Máscara, transformación e identidad en los Andes (Lima: PUCP Fondo Editorial, 1998); Poole, “Accommodation and Resistance.”

102 Mendoza, Shaping Society Through Dance; Poole, “Accommodation and Resistance”, Cánepa Koch, Máscara, transformación e identidad.

103 Mendoza, Shaping Society Through Dance, 27.

104 Poole, “Accommodation and Resistance,” 107.

105 Poole, “Accommodation and Resistance,” 107.
tribute system, property rights and labour levies. He also introduced new technologies which revitalised the silver industry for the Spanish Crown. The changes ultimately led to the complete transformation and reorganisation of Andean life.

Toledo introduced the reducción program, a system of forced resettlement designed to disperse and move indigenous communities into Spanish-style towns organised around a central plaza with a church as the focal point. While the consolidation of the indigenous population had always been the aim of the colonisers, it was not until the arrival of Toledo that the process was undertaken with force. At this time the more moderate Franciscans and Dominicans were replaced by Jesuits, who led renewed efforts to evangelise the Andean population. One of the principal aims of the reducción

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was to extirpate idolatries and open the way for the evangelical teachings of Catholic priests. *Reducciones* were planned to physically disconnect Indians from their spiritual influences, which included the burial places of their ancestors, the natural sites of spiritual connections and the sites of *huacas*. Abercrombie convincingly argues that spatial and temporal changes brought by the Spanish constituted a “technique of amnesia” designed to “distance indians from their past.” 109 The reshaping of indigenous life spaces was a deliberate attempt to reshape all aspects of Andean life and religious practice, which had “profound consequences for Andean social memory.” 110

Towns constructed at the site of existing hamlets were altered and renamed to fit with Spanish ideals of a civilised Christian township. Life in the newly formed towns was then governed by the Christian calendar – the days were marked by the observance of mass, the year marked by the life and passions of Christ. While missionaries found it fairly simple to convert indigenous Andeans, it was not so easy to persuade them of the importance of exclusivity.

In an environment of forced forgetting akin to Connerton’s “prescriptive forgetting,” Andeans adopted the new saints. However, they did not reject or forget the Andean deities. Abercrombie suggests the changes led to a shift in which the cult of the *huacas* was replaced by the cult of Christian saints. This shift “did not eliminate all Andean techniques of social memory; they only gave those techniques new content.” 111 Present day calendric rituals of the Andes are the result of “colonial cultural synthesis”. 112 Abercrombie, like Stern, argues that Andeans adopted and accommodated Catholic saints and practices, fusing them with their own beliefs. 113

With time, missionaries came to view dance as a means of evangelising and incorporating the indigenous population. Catholic devotional dance was a common feature of religious practice in medieval Europe. Thus, Spanish colonisers found dance acceptable in a context of the “glorification” of god. 114 Less coercive missionaries perceived dance and fiesta as effective tools of conversion. They believed once they

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110 Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power*, 223.
could control the content of the dance, the use of these practices would lead to greater numbers of conversions. Thus, Andeans and missionaries entered into a negotiation to determine permissible practices, in what Poole has described as a process of “dialogue and accommodation”.\textsuperscript{115} “Andeans began to understand and internalise colonial projects of civilisation and evangelisation, and also to appropriate what they had learned for their own ends.”\textsuperscript{116} One of the most effective means of evangelisation was the \textit{fiesta patronal}, introduced by the Spanish in honour of the patron saint of each town.

The \textit{fiesta patronal} is now celebrated all across Latin America. In the majority of rural towns and even urban neighbourhoods, it is the year’s most significant fiesta. It is celebrated over a number of days and nights, often taking years of preparation. As a result of its significance, the fiesta has been a central aspect of ethnographic research in Latin America since the early 1900s. There is now an enormous body of literature which examines the economic, social, cultural and political aspects of the fiesta from Mexico to Bolivia.

Paerregaard has investigated how individuals who have migrated to cities return each year to the small Andean town of Tapay, for the fiesta of Calendaria.\textsuperscript{117} He conceptualises the patron fiesta as a crucial bridge in the rural – urban link, which is now a common feature of Peruvian society. His work belies earlier understandings in which Peru was perceived as two separate worlds; rural and urban, coast and sierra. According to Paerregaard, the importance of home-land (“territory” in his words) for rural migrants is “not only an imagined place but a practised space.”\textsuperscript{118} The \textit{fiesta patronal} becomes a space that is practised and a site of memory. This was apparent in Pampa Cangallo as migrants returned to participate.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Centuries of war, violence and rebellion have been seeded in the earth of Pampa Cangallo, leaving traces on and in the land. As Katharina Schramm writes “the memory of violence is not only embedded in peoples’ bodies and minds but also inscribed into space in all kinds of settings: memorials, religious shrines, border zones or the natural

\textsuperscript{115} Poole, “Accommodation and Resistance,” 108; Mendoza, \textit{Shaping Society Through Dance}, 27.
\textsuperscript{116} Abercrombie, \textit{Pathways of Memory and Power}, 263.
\textsuperscript{117} Paerregaard, “The Dark Side of the Moon,” 397-408.
\textsuperscript{118} Paerregaard, “The Dark Side of the Moon,” 398.
environment.” Many, like Ricardo and his family, who were forced to leave during the years of violence, return to Pampa Cangallo for the fiesta patronal. Some, like Ricardo’s grandparents, travel from as far away as Lima. Every time they return, the land speaks to each and every one as they walk, of the past, of childhood, of past fiestas, of those who have disappeared and of lives that have been irrevocably changed.

When Ricardo and his family returned to their land for fiesta, the seemingly simple act of walking the land evoked many memories, memories of family and of triumph, but those that seemed most present were those of the years of violence. There is no need to place monuments to the fallen or to build museums here. The land functions as a living monument, a tacit reminder to all those who live here or pass through of what happened during the recent years of violence. These memories are pulled forward from the dark recesses of the memory, into the light as one walks over the land or past a mountain, near a crevasse or past the ruins of a crumbling home. Sometimes, the memories evoked by the land present as stories of qarqachas, pishtacos and naaqas (another term for pishtacos). At other times, they are stories of places of terror as recalled by Ricardo.

The notion that the land embodies more than a simple geographic location is truth for many Pampacangallinos and for Andeans in general. As Wilson states, it is important to “acknowledge that there are indigenous ways of knowing, which are valid and may contradict ‘Western’ perceptions of health and place.” The “contradiction” identified by Wilson should not lead us to omit or avoid analysing this important aspect of health, memory and identity construction. Rather, it could lead to new ways of conceptualising and approaching history and memory which includes a dynamic relationship to the land.

The dance of Ayacucho plays a central role in maintaining connection to land and thus in memory-making. Throughout the Andes, and particularly in Ayacucho, the role of dance and the dancer has historically been an important one, epitomised by the millenarian movement of the Taki Onqoy. Andean dance continues to be used as prayer, as an offering, as a means of recounting and transforming historical events, celebrating fertility, transforming the energy of a place, elevating personal and collective status (socially and politically), demonstrating physical strength and prowess, remembering

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120 Wilson, “Therapeutic Landscapes,” 85.
the ancestors and communicating with the gods.\textsuperscript{121} The following chapter examines the role of less well-known specialist dancers in the town of Quinua. I build on the argument that dance, memory and land are connected and I examine how dancers and dancing act to transform power structures through the medium of dance.

\textsuperscript{121} As Strong has observed, costumed dance and the associated music constituted a central form of prayer for Andeans; Strong, \textit{Art, Nature, and Religion}, 167. Poole also notes the political importance of costumed dance in local and Inca state rituals in pre-Hispanic Peru; Poole, “Accommodation and Resistance,” 107.
Chapter 2. Dancing to Forget, Dancing to Transform: The Yarqa Aspiy of Quinua

“Nosotros seguimos nuestros costumbres de antiguo principalmente…así es.”
(“We follow our ancient customs above all…that’s the way it is.”)

Field notes: Yarqa Aspiy, Quinua, 30 August 2009

On a bright and sunny Sunday morning in Huamanga, Ricardo and I board a kombi bound for Quinua to attend the Yarqa Aspiy, also known in Spanish as the Fiesta del Agua (the Fiesta of Water). Other passengers board along the way, each one equipped for the day’s work ahead with spades, shovels, buckets and picks. Our fellow travellers joke about me in Quechua, referring to me as the gringuita or the pishtaca, laughing heartily. Pishtaca is a reference to which I have become accustomed – although being referred to as a fat sucking monster is not my preferred description, it seems to be in good humour.

We disembark outside of town at the Pampa de Quinua, a wide open landscape dominated by the enormous marble obelisk constructed in 1974 in commemoration of the 1824 Battle of Ayacucho. We follow people carrying an eclectic array of tools as they disappear into the bush and slowly make their way along the path towards the river and irrigation canals. As an Australian so far from home, it is strange to walk this path surrounded by eucalypt trees. The pungent aroma of eucalyptus fills the air. The dry earth and intense heat of the sun are reminiscent of the Australian bush.

Ricardo and I wander along the path of the canal, stepping over and around mounds of earth and rubbish which have already been cleaned out of the irrigation canals. At this time of year the earth is dry and hard. The canals are filled with dirt and dust, a stark contrast to the gushing waters during the rainy season. Groups of people are working together to clean the canal. Some of the women stand in the deep canals, filling their polleras (large skirts) with dirt and debris, lifting it out on to the sides where the men shovel it away from the edge. It is taxing physical work and Ricardo and I feel a little uncomfortable as we make our way around the mounds of dirt. We wonder if perhaps we should lend a hand, but continue in our search for the mayordomo of this year’s Yarqa Aspiy. Just as we are tempted to turn back, one of the women working in the canal offers to help us. Her name is Felicia. She guides us along the path of the canal towards the mayordomo, chatting amiably.

Each year, the community members of Quinua come together for the Yarqa Aspiy, a rite which combines the practical work of cleaning and repairing the water canals (acequia)

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1 Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
with spiritual, economic, political and cultural practices.² It is celebrated throughout the Peruvian Andes. However, the form of festivities varies from one district to another and often from one community to the next. Elements common to the Yarqa Aspiy in all regions are: the presence of a *mayordomo* or sponsor, communal physical labour to clean and repair the irrigation canals, dancers and musicians engaged specifically for the event, communal meals (supplied by the *mayordomo*), along with ritual practices that honour water and fertility.

This chapter considers the Yarqa Aspiy of Quinua as a site of memory through which the years of violence are forgotten and the “human-scale-ness” of things is remembered.³ I argue that following years of violence and fear during the 1980s and 1990s, the Yarqa Aspiy plays an important role in remembering the strength and unity of community in Quinua which is both celebrated and reinforced during the event. The Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua functions to (re)create and maintain a continuum through time, allowing Quinuenos to remember the time of their grandfathers and a time when there was “more respect”.⁴ It allows for the creation of a positive social memory in which the values of reciprocity and respect are central. The Yarqa Aspiy is, thus, both a means of forgetting the conflict and social discord experienced during the recent years of political violence and a means of remembering the ancestors.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, dance has historically played a central role in social, cultural, economic, political and spiritual life in Ayacucho. The dance never stands alone, it is always integrated as a part of a larger event or celebration. This chapter therefore examines the rite of the Yarqa Aspiy as a lens through which to view the role of the specialist dancers engaged for the event and is divided into two sections. The first section examines the socio-cultural and economic importance of the Yarqa Aspiy in the department of Ayacucho and places it in historical context. The Andean philosophy of reciprocity lies at the very heart of the Yarqa Aspiy; I therefore examine the social structures of *faena* and *compadrazgo* in maintaining reciprocal relationships within community. I contend that as individuals work together towards a common goal, the Yarqa Aspiy becomes a means of remembering and reinforcing social values. It is a

⁴ Alberto Sánchez, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
time and place where community is remembered as cohesive, working together in a
unified way. This is in stark contrast with the violence between intimates that
Quinuenos experienced during the 1980s and 1990s. As Theidon has observed, rituals
such as those of the Yarqa Aspiy serve to “replace the memories of fratricidal violence
and a desire for revenge with other memories of the past that include coexistence”. 5

In the second section I provide a description and analysis of the Yarqa Aspiy of Quinua
in 2009, which is further separated into two parts. In the first part I examine how the
symbols, ritual activities and dancers of the Yarqa Aspiy remind Quinuenos of the
underlying social and moral order imbedded in the event. As Isbell observes, “The
process or ‘reminding’ of reinforcing certain values, concepts and beliefs is often
accomplished through the use of dominant symbols that reappear in different ritual
contexts.” 6 This process of reminding is akin to what Connerton calls “stereotypes of
right action” in which the social ideals valued by Quinuenos are remembered and
reinforced. 7 In part two I consider the central role of the dancers employed during the
Yarqa Aspiy and the complex, often contradictory nature of these characters. I argue
that through the use of humour, satire, masks and magic the dancers have a
transformative effect on the past and the present.

The Fiesta of Water: Context and History

Quinua is a picturesque town, of white washed adobe houses lining wide cobblestone
streets, situated at 3,396 metres above sea level, approximately 40 kilometres northeast
of the city of Huamanga. Quinua is also the name of the district (in Huamanga
province), which is renowned for its artisans who are known throughout Peru for their
unique ceramics and stone work. Tourism is not a major economic contributor in
Ayacucho, as it is in other parts of Peru such as Cusco or Nazca. However, of those
tourists (generally Peruvian) who do find their way to Ayacucho, most make their way
to Quinua. 8

Tourists are attracted to Quinua because it is situated in close proximity to two
historical sites of national significance. The first is the Ruinas de Wari (the Wari Ruins),

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5 Theidon, Intimate Enemies: Violence and Reconciliation in Peru, 276.
6 Isbell, To Defend Ourselves, 137-138.
7 Connerton, The Spirit of Mourning, 37.
8 Tourist numbers are slowly increasing as the area is now considered more stable and as the regional
government works to promote tourism in the region.
an archaeological site that covers 2,000 hectares which is believed to have been the capital city of the Wari Empire. The site and the Wari people feature prominently in the historical memory of the people who live in the province of Huamanga. As Gabriel Quispe, a resident of Huamanga city, proudly informed me (more than once), the Incas were never really able to dominate the Wari people. Cultural institutions and dance groups also use the Wari name and iconography in their titles. The memory of the Wari is used to evoke a heroic past in which the invading forces (Incas) were never fully able to conquer the local inhabitants. As Quinuenos engage in, speak of, and participate in the traditions of their ancestors, they link themselves to this indomitable spirit. They are strengthened by the memory of their ancestors who would not submit to the invading forces of the Incas.

The second historical site which draws visitors to the area is the Pampas de Quinua. An enormous marble obelisk dominates the wide open expanse of the pampas, visible long before one arrives in Quinua. The 44 metre-high obelisk memorialises the site of the Battle of Ayacucho in 1824 when Peruvian patriot forces defeated the Royalists in the deciding battle of the Wars of Independence. In the town a small museum commemorates the war and holds the stone on which the Spanish capitulated to the patriots. The site and the Battle of Ayacucho feature in the construction of both local and national memory. Re-enactments celebrating the triumph of patriot troops over the royalists are held regularly on the anniversary of the Battle, drawing crowds of thousands from all over Peru (photo.17). The site is also central in the construction of a united South American identity which recalls the ‘Bolivarian dream’. This was evident in 2004 when the presidents of six South American countries gathered at the site to commemorate the 180th anniversary of the battle.9

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Like Pampa Cangallo, Quinua has a long history of war. However, comparatively Quinua was not one of the hardest hit communities in terms of fatalities during the political violence of the 1980s and 1990s, if it is even possible to speak in such quantitative terms when dealing with human suffering. Sendero never attained the same level of support in Quinua as in Pampa Cangallo. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Quinua lived with the impending threat and fear of attacks from Sendero and retaliation from the armed forces. In 1981, following a number of SL attacks on police posts, a state of emergency was declared and curfews were imposed. On 15 August 1981, Sendero attacked the police post of Quinua and Sergeant Ramiro Florez Sulca became the first police fatality of the violence perpetrated by Sendero.

By the late 1980s, Civil Autodefence Committees (CACs) had been established throughout the northern provinces of Ayacucho. CACs, also known as rondas, were very often community initiatives to defend against attacks by senderistas; in others they were military initiatives. Through cooperative relationships with ronderos, the military

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10 CVR, 1.1: 69.
11 CVR, 1.2: 141-142.
forged new links with campesinos in Ayacucho who had come to fear and distrust the armed forces, especially the special forces of Sinchis. The military promoted these connections by supporting rondas with donations of weapons as well as tools and medicines. In Quinua, the military used banners bearing slogans such as “Ronderos y Fuerzas Armadas Juntos Construiremos un Perú de Paz” (Rondas and the Armed Forces Together We Will Build Peace). Del Pino has observed that the alliance between the armed forces and the ronderos ultimately stabilised the region of Ayacucho, liberating the area not only of senderistas but also of the overbearing police and military presence. Despite the crucial role that CACs played in bringing an end to the conflict, they were also known to turn on their own, using their newfound power to settle old scores.

In Quinua many people were killed and disappeared and it was rarely clear who the perpetrators were. While the majority of fatalities have been attributed to SL, the police and the armed forces, Quinuenos also attribute murders and disappearances to the rondas. The TRC reports that the ronderos of Quinua and nearby Occros “have the worst reputations” in the Ayacuchano context and that CAC leaders from Quinua have been accused of “at least twenty-six homicides.” In addition, the rondas from Quinua (and other areas) were responsible for the deaths of residents of Quinua in July 1991. The TRC reports that “without doubt, human rights violations represent the dark side of the counter-subversive rondas.” This is something that Quinuenos are aware of and many still hold resentment against former ronda leaders. William Mitchell has observed that during the 1990s many Quinuenos believed the rondas were in fact vigilante groups “acting not against Shining Path but against neighbours with whom they have land disputes.” As I often heard during hushed discussions or whispered reports in Quinua

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14 Slogan observed by Starn in Quinua in 1993; Starn, “Senderos inesperados,” 245.
17 CVR, 1.5: 454.
18 CVR, 1.1: 85.
19 CVR, 1.5: 455.
20 Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, 11.
and in open conversations in the bars of Huamanga, it is common knowledge that former CAC leader and ex-mayor of Quinua, Susano Mendoza Pareja, was responsible for numerous human rights violations. Despite the stories I heard, Mendoza continues to build a political career which he began as a CAC leader. Paul Hendrix interviewed Mendoza as part of a study investigating what has happened to CAC members since the end of the conflict in 2000. Hendrix describes Mendoza as a “success story” due to his political achievement as five time mayor of Quinua and his current position in the regional government of Ayacucho. 21 Hendrix does not include community reactions to Mendoza. Artisan, anthropologist and former mayor of Quinua, Luis García, 22 explained to me that “He is accused of genocide, this Susano, he killed many people. Because he was well-connected to the generals, nothing happened to him.” Luis added, “He is an enemy of the community but the majority of the people are still susanista because they fear him.” 23

As discussed in the previous chapter, Ayacuchanos employed the legend of pishtacos to help make sense of the horror and confusion they were experiencing during which friends, neighbours and family members became enemies and individuals elected to protect the community, such as Susano, became violators. 24 During the late 1980s, some Quinuenos attributed the disappeared, the dead and the dismembered to pishtacos. 25 According to Mitchell, many Quinuenos believed the president had “sold Ayacucho to the gringos (the pishtacos) in compensation for not paying the national debt.” 26 The fear ultimately led to the death of at least one man suspected of being a pishtaco. 27

This chapter began with an excerpt from my field notes to both set the scene and emphasise the importance of the natural environment which is the setting of the Yarqa Aspiy and which lies at the heart of the work and the celebrations involved. The notes also illustrate the residual fear that Quinuenos feel towards outsiders, evident in their use of the term pishtaca and gringa. The fact that I was ultimately accepted and

22 Pseudonym.
23 Raúl García (pseudonym), interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Quinua, 8 October, 2009.
25 Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, 12.
26 Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, 12.
27 Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, 12.
welcomed, being the only outsider on the kombi or at the Yarqa Aspiy, is testament to the generosity of the Quinuenos I met and the progress they have made in recent years. However, this has not been an easy process for many Quinuenos and the struggle for reparations and recognition continues. Social cohesion among Quinuenos is promoted through the use of humour in which the object of fear (the pishtaca/gringa or the military) is ridiculed and their power thus diminished. The rituals and values embedded in the fiesta of Yarqa Aspiy also promote cohesion through the memory of a unified past.

Historically, the physical labour of clearing the canals as part of the Yarqa Aspiy has been carried out in the form of communal labour known as faena. Faena activities are based on the principle of reciprocity, which has long been a central aspect of traditional Andean political and cultural economy. Social connections are created and reinforced through the giving of gifts or labour. Recipients of the gifts then incur an obligation to repay the favour at some point in the future. 28 Catherine Allen provides an insightful explanation of the “web of reciprocity” that connects and binds Andean individuals and collectives to one another. 29 She argues that “reciprocity is like a pump at the heart of Andean life.” 30 Allen suggests that reciprocity is about directing the flow of energy or life force, known in Quechua as sami and “the life force can be transmitted from one living thing to another.” 31 I argue that, following nearly two decades of violence between intimates, the rituals, celebrations and dance involved in the obligations of the Yarqa Aspiy play a significant role in re-establishing reciprocal relationships between Quinuenos and fostering the respect that is integral to the ceremony. It is for this reason that the faena continues in Quinua to this day.

Faena activities have also played an important economic role in Andean communities as large, often expensive projects are only made possible through communal labour. Faena activities typically engage family members, friends and parentesco groups (kinship groups which may include adopted relationships) to carry out large works

28 Abercrombie, Pathways of Memory, p.349.
30 Allen, Peasants on the Edge, 72.
31 Allen, Peasants on the Edge, 178.
where many hands are needed, such as the building of a house. In the case of larger state or church projects, such as cleaning the canals, entire communities gather and work together. *Faena* activities are also referred to as *minka* or *minga*. While they are similar, *faena* is a system of corvée labour – a type of tax obligation that is organised by the polity – whereas *minka* are “festive work groups” organised by individuals or families to carry out large projects. *Faena* (and *minka*) activities were once common throughout the Andes, not only in Peru. *Faena* have become less common during the twentieth century as traditional community leadership structures have been replaced by municipal authorities and many communities prefer to engage in wage labour and use modern machinery where possible to carry out heavy work.

Mitchell’s research spanned two decades and is useful in revealing some of the economic, social, political and religious changes that occurred in Quinua during the years of his study: 1966, 1973, 1974 and 1980. While Mitchell provides some details of the ritual elements of the Yarqa Aspiy, his main focus is on the economic nature of communal work and the often “exploitative character of reciprocity.” He suggests that Andean reciprocal relationships are not necessarily balanced or equal. He argues that by highlighting the social effect of reciprocal relations in the Andes, scholars obscure the economic and often exploitative nature inherent in these exchanges. Mitchell takes a materialist approach, investigating ecology and economy as a means of understanding change, rather than focusing on “symbols and meanings,” which he labels “idealistic.” He argues against many of the structuralists working in the Peruvian Andes at the time, suggesting that all aspects of Quinueno life, including religion, beliefs, social hierarchy and politics, reflect a material reality.

By emphasising the economic importance of reciprocal relations Mitchell misses or avoids a number of important issues. In his discussion of reciprocity Mitchell ignores

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35 Mitchell also includes research from 1983 and 1987. However, due to the travel restrictions in place at the time Mitchell was compelled to engage the help of field assistance in Quinua.
the relationship that Quinuenos have to or with the land they irrigate or to the water they allocate and celebrate. Although he mentions that during the Yarqa Aspiy “the workers are provided with drum and flute music, coca leaves, alcohol, and cigarettes”, he does not examine the socio-cultural significance of any of these elements. However, he does discuss the centrality of food and alcohol in creating reciprocal relations between community members. He also concedes that the control and celebration of irrigation are significant aspects of political and ritual life in Quinua.

Manuel Mayorga Sánchez has compared the Yarqa Aspiy celebrated in Alcamenca, Vilcanchos and Qarhuancana (Carhuanca) in the south of the department. He also examines the economic importance of the fiesta in maintaining the canals that provide water for agriculture and livestock. He concludes that the socio-economic advantages of the Yarqa Aspiy are “easily perceptible” and suggests that in addition to the obvious economic advantages, communal labour “contributes decisively to the consolidation (or renovation) of internal [social] cohesion.” The Quinuenos I spoke with in 2009 also stressed the importance of the Yara Aspiy in maintaining values, such as respect, that lead to social cohesion.

Maria Cavero Carrasco has also written a brief article comparing the Yarqa Aspiy of Quinua to that of Concepción in Cangallo. The article was published in 1986. However, Cavero does not mention the year she attended the Yarqa Aspiy. Cavero’s account differs from that of Mitchell as she highlights the socio-cultural aspects of the Yarqa Aspiy and the sacredness of water, evident in the “sacrifices and prayers” made on the banks of the rivers and canals. She observes the relationship between water and fertility. In line with Mitchell, she argues that all faena participants (faenantes) are fully aware of their obligation to participate and of the rights this affords them within the community.

As Allen observes, “Labour exchanges are only one manifestation of the general human responsibility to direct the flow of energy in a positive way.” Fiesta cargos, alliances

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43 Alcamenca and Vilashuaman are situated in the province of Victor Fajardo. Carhuanca is in Vilcas Huanan.
44 Manuel Mayorga Sanchez, “El Yarqa Aspiy o Fiesta Del Agua,” 94.
45 Allen, Peasants on the Edge, 73.
forged through marriages and the system of compadrazgo, all keep the flow of energy moving. The compadrazgo system is central to building social relationships throughout Peru and Latin America. It is usually associated with the Catholic rite of baptism (but not always) in which a child is given godparents (compadres). In Ayacucho and throughout Peru, parents aim to provide their children with wealthy or influential godparents who will be able to assist the child throughout his/her life. Compadres are expected to offer support, patronage and counsel when required, while godchildren reciprocate by responding to requests for labour or other assistance. In Quinua, godparent connections are established for various life events and it is possible to have more than one set of godparents. In effect, godparent ties are a form of adoptive or spiritual kinship with all the benefits and obligations that come with family.

During faena activities, the mayordomo – a type of sponsor – is responsible for providing communal meals, alcohol, coca, music and entertainment for those who contribute the physical labour required to carry out the works – known as faenantes. It is an enormous task to organise, prepare and transport a meal for hundreds of people; therefore the mayordomo for any fiesta or faena relies on the support of reciprocal relations of compadrazgo, calling on the support of family and friends, known as ayni (discussed in the following chapter). The mayordomo is supported in his role by the capitán (captain) and the regidores (aldermen), each with their own area of responsibility or cargo. Thus, the success of the faena and the prestige this affords the mayordomo are largely dependent on social connectedness and the maintenance of close relationships. Taking on the role of mayordomo during important fiestas affords individuals the chance to advance their standing, socially and politically, within the community. However, as Mitchell has observed, it is also an enormous economic commitment.

During the Yarqa Aspiy the mayordomo (known in some areas as capitán) is also responsible for the sacred, ritual requirements of the faena which guarantee not only the wellbeing of the project, but the fertility of the land through ensuring the goodwill of the huamanis. The principal of reciprocity also applies to relations between humans and

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48 Allen, Peasants on the Edge, 49.
deities. The benevolence of the *huamanis* is achieved through various forms of *pagu* that fulfil the human dimension of the reciprocal obligation that exists between humans and nature.

As we have seen, the *taquiongos* of the sixteenth century danced to ensure the goodwill of the *huacas*. For many Ayacuchanos (especially rural campesinos), mountains, rivers, llamas and fields are all imbued with a life force.\(^5\) During fiestas and *faenas*, such as the Yarqa Aspiy, participants offer gifts in various forms to the waters as a means of guaranteeing a ‘good year’ and to keep the flow of energy moving in a positive direction. The *huamanis* are then expected to repay these gifts with abundant rainfall, healthy crops, fertile land and animals, as well as ensuring human fecundity.\(^5\)

The *apus* and *huamanis* of the mountains are living beings and so too is the earth, known as *pachamama* (also *mamapacha*). During the long months of the dry season, usually from April to November, the land in the Andes becomes dry and parched. In this often harsh environment, it is water that nourishes all life. The waters which course through the rivers and canals are like the blood that circulates through the veins of the body.\(^5\) *Yucumama* (‘mother water’ in Quechua) is considered precious by rural Ayacuchanos as the source of all life and fertility.\(^5\) Strong argues that *yucumama* “is the life principle” and is associated with the ancestors and their place of origin.\(^5\)

José María Arguedas spent time in Puquio, in the south of the department, in 1952 and 1956, during which time he attended the Yarqa Aspiy. He examined different versions of the *Inkarri* myth as told in Puquio, in which the *huamanis* were central to daily life. In the version recalled by Don Viviano Wamancha, the importance of the *huamanis* and the relationship with water is clear:

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\(^{50}\) Allen, *Peasants on the Edge*, 178.

\(^{51}\) Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory*, 349; Stern mentions the early importance of the reciprocal relationships between humans and the natural world in Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples*, 17-18.


All the mountains have Wamani. In all the mountains there are the Wamani. The Wamani give pasture for our animals, and for us, his/her vein, is the Water.\textsuperscript{55}

Roger Bendezú also observed the Yarqa Aspiy of Puquio in 1980 and noted that it is primarily a fertility ceremony. Participants celebrate the reproduction of both nature and humans during the \textit{faena} activities.\textsuperscript{56} It is also a time when the ancestral life-ways and values are remembered:

The \textit{fiesta del agua} is an ancient ceremony which serves to reproduce the ancestral expression of love, of respect and identification of man with all that is nature, life, reproduction and the sequence of destiny.\textsuperscript{57}

Dancers play an integral role in the success of the Yarqa Aspiy in communities where it is still carried out as a \textit{faena}. Peruvian anthropologist Maria Eugenia Ulfe has provided an account of the Yarqa Aspiy of Andamarca in 1995, Alcamenca in 1997 and Sarhua in 1996, all in the south of the department of Ayacucho.\textsuperscript{58} In Andamarca and Alcamenca, the Yarqa Aspiy coincides with the \textit{fiesta patronal} of the district, and the rituals and ceremonies of both are combined, with celebrations lasting for several days. In all three instances, the “Yakupamama” (also ‘Mother Water’), as it is known in Alcamenca, was honoured, and dancers or dancing played a central role throughout the festivities.\textsuperscript{59} In Andamarca, a number of dancers were employed specifically for the Yarqa Aspiy. They included the \textit{negritos} – these dancers are common throughout Peru. \textsuperscript{60} The form of the dance and costume of \textit{negritos} varies depending on the region and they are often masked. The second group of dancers are the scissors dancers, who are also employed for the Yarqa Aspiy of Puquio in Lucanamarca.\textsuperscript{61} The dancers for the Yarqa Aspiy are mystical characters that both entertain and act as healers. As Ulfe has observed, “the steps of the dance lead to acts of magic which give way to acrobatic feats.”\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{55} Arguedas, “Puquio una Cultura en el proceso,” 193.
\textsuperscript{56} Róger Albino Bendezú, \textit{Puquio y la fiesta del Agua} (Lima: [s.n.] 1980).
\textsuperscript{57} Bendezú, \textit{Puquio y la fiesta del Agua}, 21.
\textsuperscript{58} Only the fiesta in Andamarca is called a Yarqa Aspiy; the other two are Fiesta de Agua. María Eugenia Ulfe, \textit{Danzando en Ayacucho: música y ritual del rincón de los muertos} (Lima: Instituto Riva Agüero, Pontifica Universidad Católica, 2004).
\textsuperscript{59} Ulfe, \textit{Danzando en Ayacucho}, 76. The festivities in Alcamenca began on August 8 and continued until the \textit{despedida} on August 25.
\textsuperscript{60} The dance of the \textit{negritos} is popular throughout Peru. Each region has a distinct dance form, attire and music.
\textsuperscript{61} Bendezú, \textit{Puquio y la fiesta del Agua}.
\textsuperscript{62} Ulfe, \textit{Danzando en Ayacucho}, 46.
While Ayacuchanos have experienced many changes to traditional community practices and structures – often as a result of the political violence – agriculture continues to be central to economic and cultural life in rural areas of Ayacucho. It remains crucial for all Andean communities to clean and clear the acequia each year before the often torrential rains of the wet season. In Quinua and throughout the central-southern sierra, the wet season is relatively short, generally lasting from December to March. This means that the capacity for irrigation is limited. During the long months of the dry season, the canals fill with dirt and debris. The annual labour associated with the Yarqa Aspiy is crucial not only for the irrigation of lands, but also to avoid flooding and dangerous mudslides.

In some areas of Ayacucho, such as Cangallo, the communal labour of the Yarqa Aspiy ceased completely during the years of internal conflict. In many of the communities surrounding Pampa Cangallo, the physical labour of clearing the canals is once again being conducted each year. However, in many areas it is no longer celebrated as faena. Rather, the work involved is now paid labour with none of the accompanying rituals and festivities (musicians, dancers, and food) which are generally a part of faena activities.

According to Frederico (Ricardo’s uncle from Cangallo), these changes come as a direct result of the impact of the political violence. Frederico explained that during the years of the state of emergency and where the armed forces held control, curfews were enforced and large gatherings were prohibited. This meant that fiesta celebrations were limited. While the Fiesta Patronal in Pampa Cangallo continues, the faena of the Yarqa Aspiy does not. This is due in part to the legacy of SL discourse, which was originally largely embraced in the area of Cangallo, where Andean traditions were considered to be anti-modern. Pampa Cangallo is in an area where poverty is a very real problem and where the desire to ‘modernise’ has historically been a driving force. Thus, paid work and a sense of progress are important to many residents. In some districts of Ayacucho, residents were fearful of attacks during fiestas as they felt they were more vulnerable. In other areas, whole communities were abandoned as people fled in search of safety, as Máximo Yurango from Santo Tomas de Pata explained.

Santo Tomas de Pata is a district of the neighbouring department of Huancavelica, which is located close to the Aycuchano border. As it is only a few hours’ drive from

63 Stern, Peru’s Indian Peoples, 3.
the city of Huamanga, many inhabitants have stronger links to Ayacucho than to Huancavelica. A 41-year-old resident from the community of Cotica (a hamlet of Santo Tomas de Pata), Máximo Yurango, explained that during the violence the community of Cotica was left completely deserted for at least five years after they were attacked. According to Máximo he, and others like him, were forced to live in the mountains for two years, running and hiding from the *senderistas*:

In 1988, strangers entered our pueblo dressed as the military, they confused us, they said they were the military, but they weren’t the military, they were Sendero Luminoso. They forced us to do exercises (*físicas*) on the ground at 6:30 at night. Every one of our loved ones was shot. I escaped from their hands. Otherwise they would have shot me too.

Residents are now slowly returning “little by little”, rebuilding their homes and re-establishing their lives. Part of the process of return has been to re-establish fiestas which were abandoned during the years of conflict. The first to be re-established was the Fiesta Patronal of the Virgen Purísima de Cotica, which Máximo clarified “we had abandoned due to fear”. In the last four years the fiesta of Yarqa Aspiy has also been reclaimed. I asked Máximo why his community had decided to salvage the fiesta of Yarqa Aspiy. His reply illustrates the deep connection that most campesinos feel to their land and nature:

- Our water is very important to us, our water is especially important.
- So your community decided to celebrate the fiesta of Yarqa Aspiy?
- Yes, a small fiesta with our *negritos* and to make it more joyous, with more enthusiasm for our water, because water gives us life.

Máximo told me that the social life of Santo Tomás de Pata and Cotica is not as it was before the violence, but that the Yarqa Aspiy is actually better than before as there were no dancers or music “but now with *negritos* and musicians we celebrate with more joy.” He added, “We copied the traditions of our neighbours.” The situation in Cotica demonstrates that the Yarqa Aspiy is much more than a purely economic endeavour.

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64 Máximo Yurango, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Santo Tomas de Pata, 28 November 2009.
65 Máximo Yurango, Santo Tomas de Pata, 28 November 2009.
66 Máximo Yurango, Santo Tomas de Pata, 28 November 2009.
67 Máximo Yurango, Santo Tomas de Pata, 28 November 2009.
68 Máximo Yurango, Santo Tomas de Pata, 28 November 2009.
The Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua: Remembering Respect and Symbols of Continuity

The Yarqa Aspiy is known as a ‘movable fiesta’ (fiesta movible); it has no set date, unlike the majority of fiestas linked to the Christian calendar. In the department of Ayacucho, the Yarqa Aspiy is typically celebrated between the months of August and November, before the onset of the rainy season. The Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua takes place over two days. The first day is carried out in the canals of the mountains. The second is known as the Qucha Lakay, or limpieza del pozo in Spanish, which translates as the ‘cleaning of the well.’ The pozo in Quinua is in fact a large cement-lined reservoir which provides water to the town (photo. 18).

The clearing of the waterways is overseen by the municipal authorities. One member of every household as well as those who own land in Quinua (even if they live in the city of Huamanga) are expected to take part in the faena for the Yarqa Aspiy or to send a friend or family member to work on their behalf. The work starts early in the morning.

Photograph 16: Day two of the Yarqa Aspiy, the Qucha Lakay, in Quinua

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Faenantes, equipped with an array of tools, form small work groups spread out along the canals that bring the water from the mountain to the town. Some of the deep canals close to the town are lined with cement and in many places removable cement slabs are used to cover the canal, reducing the amount of debris that falls in. Mitchell argues that the change to cement-lined canals has reduced the amount of work required to maintain them, which has in turn diminished the importance of the irrigation corvée. Certainly the amount of work has been reduced. Nevertheless, the social and ritual importance has not, as was apparent in 2009.

I travelled to Quinua often during my time in Ayacucho and attended a number of celebrations including the commemoration of the Battle of Ayacucho and a concurso of rural comparsas. In 2009, I attended the two days of work and celebrations of the Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua accompanied by Ricardo Huamán. Following the Yarqa Aspiy I returned on several occasions to carry out follow-up interviews with the dancers and participants. Unlike many of the other fiestas I participated in or attended in Ayacucho, I had no prior connection to the mayordomo or any of his close family or friends. I planned to make his acquaintance and ask for permission to observe or participate. However, finding the mayordomo was not initially as easy as I had first anticipated; it was fortunate that Felicia offered to guide us. The following is a description of the first day of the Yarqa Aspiy.

When Felicia led us around yet another bend in the path towards the mayordomo, the sounds of yelling and raucous laughter echoed through the tight valley. Then, quite abruptly, our new friend took her leave. She told us to follow the path of the canal and we would find the mayordomo. When we rounded the bend we immediately noticed the source of the commotion. Perched precariously on the edge of a sheer cliff face on the opposite side of the river were two men dressed in army fatigues. Their heads and faces were covered by uya-chukus (a knitted woollen mask made of sheep’s wool, which resembles a balaclava, also used during carnavales). In a strange completion of the ensemble, they wore white canvas runners. When they noticed us they began to call out loudly and wolfwhistle, making lewd remarks – mostly in Quechua – as we approached. Even without Ricardo’s reluctant translation I caught their drift, aided by tone and explicit body language. In that moment I became acutely aware that I was the only woman in the vicinity.

To the left, a group of men were gathered around a small grotto in the nearby cliff face. Sitting on the ground in front of the grotto was a young man dressed in a black leather jacket, white T-shirt, jeans and a black felt hat adorned with white wild flowers. He was Fernando Gonzales, the mayordomo of the 2009

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70 Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, 144.
Freddy, also known as Freddy, was a young unassuming man, quietly spoken with gentle eyes. He was accompanied by his brother, friends, invited guests (known as invitados) and two musicians: a flautist and a drummer. Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, a tall slim man dressed in a denim shirt and cap, was among the men. His role was to advise and support Freddy in all the ritual aspects of his role as mayordomo.

Freddy and his companions welcomed us and were more than happy to talk about the Yarqa Aspiy; they seemed pleased and proud that we would take an interest in their “costumbres”. They invited us to sit with them, offering us a drink of caña (cane alcohol) as they explained how the Yarqa Aspiy of Quinua is celebrated.

Photograph 17: Freddy chewing coca

Caña plays a central role in the reciprocal exchange between humans and supernatural forces. During the Yarqa Aspiy it is offered to the water spirits, huamanis and pachamama as pagu for good rains and abundant crops. It is also an important element

71 Alberto Sánchez stated that the correct expression to describe the Yarqa Aspiy is not fiesta. Rather, costumbre (‘custom’) was the appropriate description. I quote him in Spanish here as the word ‘custom’ in English has taken on somewhat derogatory connotations which were not present in the Spanish term as used by Quinuenos.
of exchange between humans and is offered by the *mayordomo* to the *faenantes* in exchange for their physical labour and to the musicians and dancers in exchange for their time and effort. *Caña* is one of the traditional gifts of reciprocity and is used in the lubrication of social relations. The use of alcohol, be it *caña, chicha de jora, chicha de siete semillas* (‘beer of seven seeds’) or commercial beer, is prevalent throughout Andean communities and has been central to ritual and fiesta since pre-Columbian times.  

Many scholars have observed the ritual importance of alcohol during Andean ceremonies. For example, in her analysis of the Yarqa Aspiy in Chuschi, Isbell notes that traditional community leaders gave offerings of both *chicha* and coca. Freddy offering us *caña* was an act of welcome and inclusion. As we drank the *caña*, Felipe and Fernando described what they considered to be the most important aspects of the Yarqa Aspiy. Felipe appeared to know all there was to know about the Yarqa Aspiy and did the majority of the talking. He began by explaining that:

> We are the ones who do the *faena* year in, year out. It is a traditional custom here in our district of Quinua. Fernando is the *mayordomo* of this cross, of this *acequia*, of this water. And we all participate, we *all* participate. Today is the cleaning of the *acequia*, tomorrow is the cleaning of the *pozo* that we have below and again we all participate. The *mayordomos* make their typical food (*plato típico*) and they serve all the participants in one place. The *mayordomos* do the *aku* where they give them [the *faenantes*] their *chicha* and coca and there they dance. This tradition goes back to the time of *nuestros abuelos* (our grandparents).

Felipe and Fernando often emphasised the fact that the Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua is a “traditional custom” which maintains the symbols, rituals and traditional social structures of the ancestors. Felipe also stressed that the entire community participates in the Yarqa Aspiy. Felipe’s statement was echoed by other Quinuenos I spoke to and seemed to reveal those aspects that many Quinuenos consider important in terms of the role of the Yarqa Aspiy in the construction of a collective identity and a positive

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74 Isbell, *To Defend Ourselves*, 143.
75 Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
memory. It is a time and space during which they all work together and remember the traditions of the ancestors.

In the centre of the grotto stood a small blue cross swathed in white cloth, resting on a *manta* or *lliklla* in Quechua (cloth used for carrying goods and children) which had been strewn with coca leaves and cigarettes (photo. 20). The little bearded face of the *Señor*
de Yarqa (Lord of Yarqa) peered out from the centre of the cross. The cross is a prevailing symbol present during nearly all fiestas in Ayacucho and throughout the Andes. While the cross can be linked to five centuries of Catholic influence, in the Andes it has multiple referents which go beyond Catholic doctrine. During the Yarqa Aspiy and other fertility rituals such as carnival, the cross holds important ritual significance as a symbol of fertility. Isbell observes that the cross is a symbol of death, a reminder of the ancestors and the huamanis; it also symbolises the Southern Cross. Participants I spoke with during the Yarqa Aspiy and also during rural carnival explained that the cross is important because it is a reminder of the sacredness of the ceremony. Throughout the various events of the ceremony Freddy personally carried the cross, which was always swathed reverently in the white cloth and covered by the brightly coloured manta. Freddy carried it hoisted on his shoulder, setting it down beside him at each point of rest or ritual.

In the grotto a small metal flag known as the guión lay alongside the cross. Together with the cross it forms an important part of the insignia of leadership and the cargo of the mayordomía during the Yarqa Aspiy. Guión comes from the root word guiar – ‘to guide.’ It may refer to a person who leads or teaches, a royal or military standard, a cross which precedes the prelate of a community as a personal insignia and a brief text which serves as a guide to a particular desired outcome. All these aspects of guiding find expression in the symbolic meaning of the guión of the Yarqa Aspiy.

The guión carried in 2009 has been carried by each mayordomo in Quinua since 1957. Freddy’s brother held the cargo of captain and carried the guión. Together they led the rituals and celebrations associated with the Yarqa Aspiy. It is a tangible symbol of leadership which also constitutes part of the silent text that guides the community towards a desired outcome. Those who carry the guión are viewed as the teachers and guides in the traditional costumbres of the ancestors. Together, the cross and the guión constitute important symbolic capital for those who participate in the Yarqa Aspiy. For

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76 Isbell, To Defend Ourselves, 138.
77 Isbell, To Defend Ourselves, 138.
78 Isbell, To Defend Ourselves, 138.
79 The significance of the cross as a sacred reminder was also observed by Isbell, To Defend Ourselves, 138.
Quinuenos – be they the *mayordomo, faenantes*, musicians or dancers – the cross and the *guión* create continuity with a past which is often recalled with nostalgia.

While many of the traditional symbols of fertility are still present during the Yarqa Aspiy of Quinua, it seems that participants do not always understand the original meaning or the meaning has changed. An example of this is the adornment of flowers – symbols of fertility and growth – worn in the hat of the *mayordomo* and his companions. Flowers are traditionally worn during rituals and fiestas associated with fertility. Gabriel Quispe explained that flowers are typically worn during fiestas to indicate the marital status of the wearer – white flowers indicate that one is single, while coloured flowers are worn by those who are married. Mitchell also observed that the participants wore “special flowers” in their hats during the Yarqa Aspiy in 1967. As mentioned previously, the Yarqa Aspiy was traditionally a time that also celebrated human fertility. During the celebrations *solteros* (single people) had the opportunity to look for a spouse or sexual partner. The flowers indicated to all present who was and who was not eligible. However, this meaning seems to have been forgotten or no longer holds importance, as Freddy, who was married, wore white flowers on the first day and coloured flowers on the second day, as did his brother. Nevertheless, it remains important that the *mayordomo* and his companions wear the flowers, no longer as a symbol of marital status but because, as Alberto Sánchez explained, “*es costumbre de nuestros abuelos*” (it is a custom of our grandparents).

What appears important to participants is to maintain the “customs of the ancestors,” which form a link to the past through symbols and embodied practices.

**Dancing the Ancestors**

Celebration is a key aspect of any *faena* and integral to the celebrations in Quinua are the dancers. While Freddy and Felipe explained the Yarqa Aspiy, the men on the cliff face continued calling out and making jokes. They tried to attract our attention by dancing and bouncing around dangerously close to the edge of the cliff. Their strategy was successful. As they became louder and moved closer to the edge, with one man

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81 Gabriel Quispe interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 21 March 2010.
83 Bendezú, *Puquio y la fiesta del Agua*; Isbell, *To Defend Ourselves*.
84 Alberto Sánchez, Quinua, 30 September 2009.
feigning a fall, we all looked up to watch them. Some of Freddy’s companions laughed at their antics. Others, although amused, seemed a little concerned the men on the cliff might fall. Felipe then explained who the men were and their role in the Yarqa Aspiy:

We have two doctores, as they are called. They are the bailarines (dancers), they carry out their cuadra (literally, their ‘work or art’; the term refers to their dance and humorous acts). They are up there because they are not allowed to approach.85

The small grotto, the space around it and the water deep below constitute a sacred space known as the yacu ñawi (eye of the water). Each year, while the faenantes are working in the canals, the mayordomo and his companions make their way to this place to be with the water spirits, to pray, to give thanks and to ask for an abundant year to come. Felipe explained that the zone of the yacu ñawi is a sacred space which the doctores are prohibited from entering on threat of physical punishment:

This is a zone which is somewhat intangible. If they come here they will receive the chicote (‘whip’), with its five points.86

Fernando said that the dancers are considered to be “malos.”87 Malo translates as ‘bad’ and/or ‘evil’; the doctores embody both aspects of meaning. While in character, the dancers are transformed, much like the scissors dancers (discussed in Chapter 1) who also dance during the Yarqa Aspiy in the south of the department. They are believed to embody supernatural forces linked with evil or dark forces.88 The doctores carry out mischievous acts which are commonly considered to be bad or roguish such as stealing, entering houses uninvited, making lewd jokes and generally bothering the faenantes. As Felipe explained:

They are the most mischievous, that is why they are up there telling their jokes, carrying out their antics, to the point where they nearly want to commit suicide, [Felipe laughs at his joke, referring to the staged fall of one of the doctores] no? To the point where they want to be trapeze artists.89

The sight of two masked men dressed in military uniform performing physical feats of daring on the edge of a high cliff face was incongruous, prompting Ricardo to comment,

85 Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
86 Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
87 Fernando Gonzales and Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
88 It is likely the notion that the supernatural forces are evil is a result of Christian beliefs and influences.
89 Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
more than once, that even though he was from Ayacucho he had never seen anything like it before.

While dancers are also employed for the Yarqa Aspiy in other regions of Ayacucho – where it is still celebrated as *faena* – the *doctores* are unique to the district of Quinua. The dancers are employed specifically for the Yarqa Aspiy and are essential for the success of the ceremony. Felipe explained that the dancers have been a part of the ceremony of the Yarqa Aspiy “since the time of our ancestors.”90 When asked why the dancers were important, he stated “because they bring joy to the participants, to the faenantes.”91 Another of Freddy’s companions, Alberto Sánchez, a 65-year-old resident of Quinua, added that the dancers’ *cargo* is to “entertain the people, to bring cheer” and to generally lighten the load of those who are working.92

Mitchell provides a brief account of the Yarqa Aspiy of 1967 in which he barely refers to the dancers as “costumed dance groups.”93 He includes a photo of one of the dancers, who appears very like the dancers I witnessed more than 40 years later in 2009, dressed in military uniform (of an earlier era), the *uya-chuku* and carrying a whip.94 Mitchell, like many other Andean ethnographers, only mentions the dancers in passing. He does not examine the role of the dancers closely, nor does he provide a detailed account of their actions, activities, dance or the way in which they are perceived by others. He does however, mention that “the participants ate, drank, and watched the antics of costumed dance groups.”95

Representations of the military in which they are ridiculed or satirised are common in Andean fiestas and rituals.96 In fact, satirical representations of figures of authority have featured in Andean dance and dance/dramas since the arrival of the Spanish. Poole observes that “Unlike occidental representational historiography, Andean dance is not interested in representing the ‘other’ or the past, simply to define, isolate, explain or

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90 Fernando Gonzales and Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
91 Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
92 Alberto Sánchez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
96 Poole, “Accommodation and Resistance,” 98-126; Cánepa Koch, *Máscara, transformación e identidad*, 44.
reify the other, but rather, to utilise it in an active and social present.”97 This is certainly true during the Yarqa Aspiy in which the figures of the doctores – dressed in contemporary military uniform – are regularly ridiculed. The dancers provide a communal form of social commentary in which the military authorities are openly malo and become the focus of ridicule.

The dancers for the Yarqa Aspiy are always men, who are engaged for the fiesta under the traditional Andean ethics of reciprocity. They are not given monetary remuneration; instead, the dancers receive gifts of coca leaves, cigarettes, alcohol and food in exchange for their time, effort and skill. Felipe explained that the dancers are selected for their sense of humour and ability to “make the people laugh”.98 The dancers for Yarqa Aspiy are chosen because they are accomplished comics and skilful dancers. The dancers in Quinua are expected to be able to dance numerous styles of dance from all over Peru, including, huayno, waltz, santiago, marcha and marinera norteña. Lázaro Martínez and Jesús Nolaszco were the dancers chosen for the 2009 Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua, yet they are not the only doctores, as Freddy proudly clarified:

There are other dancers, yes. But they are the best. They were chosen for the quality of their work, for the quality of their jokes. There are other dancers, yes, but they are the best and their dances are the best. 99

Lázaro is a 33-year-old artisan from Moya (a hamlet of Quinua). He works with his wife and children producing retablos for the markets in Quinua and Ayacucho. He learned the role of the doctor from Ambrosio Avendaño, one of the most renowned doctores of the area. Although according to Felipe, many doctores begin their training as children, Lázaro first danced as a doctor at the age of 21. Jesús is an older and more experienced dancer. His wife explained that while she and their three children live in Quinua all year round, he travels intermittently in search of seasonal labour.100 Since the

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98 Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 31 August, 2009.
99 Fernando Gutiérrez, Quinua, 31 August 2009.
100 Quinuenos have long relied on the migration of able-bodied men from a given household to supplement their agricultural production. It is far more common for men to migrate in search of work than for women. For more on seasonal migration in Quinua see, Mitchell, “Some Are More Equal Than Others,” 193.
1960s, the main focus of seasonal migration has been the eastern *selva* region, where migrants like Jesús find work picking fruit or coca.\(^{101}\)

The skills and humour of the *doctores* were mentioned by Freddy as they danced and teased their way down from the cliff face. After taking a moment in front of the grotto in prayer with his brother and Felipe as the musicians played, Freddy then hoisted the cross onto his shoulder and in procession we made our way back along the path of the *acequia*. The musicians led the way, playing without missing a beat as they stepped over piles of dirt and navigated the uneven terrain. As we walked, the shouts and whistles of the *doctores* followed us. They had come down from their cliff and were running mischievously around. Like ghosts, they appeared at the periphery, taunting and teasing. Approximately halfway back to the *pampas* where lunch would be served, the musicians and the *mayordomos* turned off the path and headed through the bush to a small clearing. As if by magic, the *doctores* were already in the clearing when we arrived.
Photograph 22: The musicians play as Freddy and Felipe pray

Photograph 23: Faenantes enter the clearing for the aku
The *doctores* called out to those who were still working, making jokes and yelling for them to come in. Gradually, those who had been working nearby joined us in the clearing for the *aku* (photo. 25). Most were laughing and jeering at the *doctores*. As each person arrived, they walked past Freddy who was sitting alongside the cross, which was once again resting on the *manta* spread with coca leaves and cigarettes (photo. 26). As each *faenante* passed, they collected a handful of coca leaves and/or a cigarette. Most then sat on the ground in the shade of the eucalypt trees and began to smoke or *chacchar* the coca leaves (a type of chewing in which the leaves are held in the side of the mouth, somewhat akin to chewing tobacco). The coca leaf and cigarettes surrounded the cross of the *Señor de Aspiy* at all times during the *faena*. The coca leaf has many symbolic meanings and ritual uses. In the department of Ayacucho, it is still used to divine the future and it is related to family and the ancestors.  

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it possible to live at high altitude as it aids in relieving the symptoms produced by mountain sickness.\textsuperscript{103}

The coca leaf and tobacco play a central role in ritual exchange throughout the Andes to this day.\textsuperscript{104} The offering of coca leaves and cigarettes by the \textit{mayordomo} to the workers forms part of the reciprocity integral to \textit{faena} activities. Coca is chewed by \textit{faenantes} during rest breaks known as \textit{aku}. Chewing coca leaves demonstrates cultural identity. Writing about the ceremonial use of coca in the department of Cusco in the Southern Andes, Allen argues that, “the act of chewing coca leaves is an unequivocal statement of cultural loyalties. Coca chewing identifies one as Runa (Quechua person).”\textsuperscript{105} In Ayacucho, this is also true. The use of coca during a ceremony is integral to cultural identity and for some, it also functions to add an element of authenticity (see Chapter 4).\textsuperscript{106} In the 1970s, Mayer noted that in the context of agrarian social exchange, “there is no reciprocal exchange in which the distribution of coca, a little \textit{aguardiente} [cane alcohol] and cigarettes is not present.”\textsuperscript{107} This was still the case during the majority of fiestas and celebrations I attended nearly 40 years later in 2009 and 2010.

According to Mayer, coca is an important “lubricant” of reciprocal relationships. Mayer suggests this is not merely due to the act of giving; rather, the very act of \textit{chacchando} (chewing) the coca plays a central role in facilitating this lubrication: “The ceremonial and often ritual act of \textit{chachapada} or \textit{halmay} creates a climate of fellowship (\textit{confraternidad}) and a sentiment of solidarity which are indispensable to achieve reciprocal exchanges.”\textsuperscript{108} Mayer wrote this in the late 1970s, when the sale of coca leaf was prohibited in Lima. The social element he observed remains true to this day, particularly during ritual contexts and fiesta. Coca is an aspect of ritual life which is

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} For more on the medical benefits of coca at altitude, see V. Casikar, et al. “Does Chewing Coca Leaves Influence Physiology at High Altitude?” \textit{Indian Journal of Clinical Biochemistry}, vol. 25, no. 3 (2010): 311-314.
\item \textsuperscript{104} Allen, \textit{The Hold Life Has}; Hinostroza García, “Breve Informe Sobre La Coca,” 153-170.
\item \textsuperscript{107} Mayer, “El uso social de la coca,” 855.
\item \textsuperscript{108} Mayer, “El uso social de la coca,” 855.
\end{itemize}
unique to the Andes and which numerous regimes (local and foreign) have attempted to eradicate from use over the past five centuries. While this struggle continues, none have yet succeeded. The chewing of coca evokes a sense of survival among many Ayacuchanos.

The Dance of the Doctores:

During the *aku* Ricardo and I sat with an elderly man, Alberto Abelardo, and his young grandson. Given the heavy work involved in clearing the canals, it is unusual for children to attend the Yarqa Aspiy. Alberto explained that he had to bring his grandson as there was no one who could watch him for the day. Alberto was obviously proud of his culture and his heritage, taking the opportunity to teach me Quechua while we sat. Although according to Mitchell, nearly all Quinuenos were Catholic in the 1960s, this is no longer the case; many like Alberto have since converted to evangelical Christianity. The religious shift has significantly affected fiestas in Ayacucho, as it is generally prohibited for followers to dance or drink, both of which are integral aspects of fiesta. Despite his religious conversion, Alberto stressed the importance of maintaining a connection with the ancestors through the Yarqa Aspiy:

> Even though the majority of us are evangelical, that doesn’t mean we think our *costumbres* should disappear. This [*costumbre*] should have a future and be like it was in the time of our grandparents. It isn’t only dancing and drinking.

When asked about the Yarqa Aspiy during the 1980s and 1990s, Alberto downplayed the impact of the violence, stating “nothing has changed as a result of the violence. As long as you didn’t cause trouble and you minded your own business they [Sendero and the army] left you alone.” He went on to explain to me that this “*costumbre* is the same as in the time of our grandparents”. He ruminated for a moment, then added that in earlier years there were many more dancers and musicians. “It was common during the 1950s and early 1960s to have twenty or thirty *doctores*.”

As we sat the *doctores* entertained the crowd by calling out jokes in Quechua; many of them were quite crude and Ricardo was loath to translate for fear of offending. Once

110 Alberto Abelardo, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Quinua, 30 August 2010.
111 Alberto Abelardo, Quinua, 30 August 2010.
112 Alberto Abelardo, Quinua, 30 August 2010.
113 Alberto Abelardo, Quinua, 30 August 2010.
most of the *faenantes* had arrived, Freddy signalled to the musicians, who began to play and one of the dancers (Jesús) stepped forward to dance for the *faenantes*. He carried a *chicote* which he held doubled over, resting it on his shoulder. His focus was always on the ground as he jumped, kicked and hopped, sweeping the earth and the fallen leaves with the movements of his feet. The dance was a combination of hops and skips reminiscent of a *marinera norteña*, a *mestizo* Peruvian dance from the north coast. When Jesús finished, Lázaro moved into the clearing and began to dance. He also carried the *chicote* and while his steps were similar to those of the first dancer, his movements were lighter as if gravity had a lesser hold on him. There was an airy quality to his dancing. He seemed to float above the earth as he brushed, caressed and swept the ground with his feet. Towards the end of the dance he ran towards me like a charging bull, with his whip doubled up and held in front of him like a giant phallus. The grand finale of his dance was to thrust it towards me. The crowd laughed loudly at this great joke. My presence, it seemed, added an interesting focus for the dancers’ humorous antics.
Photograph 25: Jesús begins to dance during the oku
Providing humour, very often in the form of sexual jokes, is a central part of the dancers’ performance. *Faenantes* expect to be entertained and sexual humour is an important part of the entertainment. Although Mitchell does not mention the dancers’ activities in detail, he does, note that the dancers he observed in 1967 were “dressed as soldiers and danced out sexual antics and jokes.”

When the *doctores* finished entertaining, the crowd wound their way back to the Pampa de Quinua like an enormous millipede with legs made from shovels picks and spades, to the vast openness of the *pampas*. People gathered in small groups of family and friends to wait for their meal. The women who had arrived with the truck dished up *puccha picante* (a famous potato dish of the region) from giant saucepans sitting on the back of the truck. There were hundreds of people weary from the day’s labour waiting to eat. The *doctores*, seemingly inexhaustible, perhaps fuelled by alcohol or a supernatural force, continued to jump and run, twirl and leap, laugh and tease as they served the meals to the *faenantes*. The *doctores* did the majority of the serving, teasing and embarrassing people as they served the food.

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When the food was finished the *mayordomo*, his companions, the musicians and the dancers made their way back to town, followed by the rest of the community (photo. 28). Most walked with a weary gait, arms hanging by their sides, shoulders heavy with the labour of the day, upper backs rounding towards the earth, feet dragging slowly across the ground. All except the *doctores*: their stamina was impressive as they continued to run, skip and taunt their way back. As they reached the cobbled roads of the town centre, lined with shops and artisans’ workshops, the *doctores* shifted into hyperdrive. They rushed towards any and nearly every open doorway, entering shops, homes and ceramics workshops. If the hapless resident or owner was too slow to shut the door or fend them off, the *doctores* rushed in to rob whatever they could get their hands on. Onlookers screamed and laughed; many yelled at the *doctores*, calling them “thieving dogs” and warning others down the street to beware that the “*allqos*” (‘dogs’ in Quechua) were coming.

**Dancers: Devils, Doctors, Dogs or Witches?**

The *docotores* are unique to the Yarqa Aspiy of the district of Quinua. However, I suggest they embody some of the magic and devilry present in the scissors dancers and the *taquiongos*. The dancers in Quinua are known variously by three terms: *doctores* (‘doctors’), *allqos* (‘dogs’) or *qamillis* (‘errant witch’). The term used to describe the dancers is dependent on who is speaking. The dancers only ever refer to themselves as *doctores*, as do the *mayordomo* and his companions, while the majority of the people working in the canals use the term *allqo*. No one was able to explain to me exactly why the dancers were referred to as *doctores*; it is likely the term has two meanings. First, it confers a level of prestige upon the dancers and thus by association also the *mayordomo*. In Ayacucho, people held in high regard are regularly endowed with various titles. For example, researchers are regularly called *ingenieros* (engineers). *Maestro* is used among friends, as is the shortened version of teacher, *profe*, to afford respect. The second meaning of the term likely refers to the magical, healing aspect of the role. The dancers for the Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua like the scissors dancers from other parts of Ayacucho, embody supernatural forces. While these forces may be considered demonic, they also have the ability to bring about transformation and a type of collective healing. This healing is not purely of the physical human body (typically equated with medical doctors); it includes spiritual, emotional and social transformation, as well as the healing of nature.
Qamilli is the traditional name used to describe dancers in Quinua. Qamilli translates as brujo errante or ‘errant witch.’ This makes reference to the mischief and trickery performed by the dancers which are central to the role, as well as referring to the supernatural element embodied by the dancers.\textsuperscript{115} The notion that demonic forces also have healing or transformative powers is prevalent in much of Andean culture. Arguedas observed this dual aspect of hexes and healing in his study of the layk’a, a type of brujo (witch). “The layk’a is a witch that can cast spells (maleficios). Sometimes it can also cure strange illnesses: madness (locura), hysteria, insomnia and fear (asusto).”\textsuperscript{116} According to Mitchell, Quinuenos seek the support of curanderos (healers) and witches to cure illness and to cause harm to an enemy, as a healer is very often also a witch.\textsuperscript{117} Like the scissors dancers, the doctores embody both witch and healer. The relationship between the dancer, the devil, the ancestors and the earth is described by Herminio Soto, a scissors dancer interviewed in 1976:

The huamanis and the earth are the universe where the abuelitos are, their things, their bones and our life are there. The devil is a charm (encanto), the music of the mountains is the power of the mountains.\textsuperscript{118}

In Quechua allqo is a derogatory term – as is the Spanish equivalent perro. It is an insult often used in relation to corrupt civic authorities, such as council members, mayors, police and the military.\textsuperscript{119} As Mariana (one of the faenantes) told me as we walked back in to the town on the first day, the dancers are known as allqos because “They are thieves. They are like dogs who will steal the food off your plate when are not looking.”\textsuperscript{120} It is this aspect of thieving, along with lewdness, that has earned the dancers the name allqo. Mariana added that, “the allqos are bad (malos), they cannot be trusted, they will steal whatever they can.”\textsuperscript{121} Most people over the age of fifty or sixty still refer to the dancers as qamilli, while younger generations generally refer to them as

\textsuperscript{115} Leoncio Gutiérrez, Leonidas Mantilla & Shara Huaman, Apurimaqpaq Runasimi Taqe: Diccionario de Quechua Apurimeño, Abancay: Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua filial Apurímac, 2007. Although this dictionary is specific to Apurímac, the Quechua spoken in Ayacucho is similar.
\textsuperscript{117} Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, 133.
\textsuperscript{118} Cited in Nuñez, Los Danzaq, 10.
\textsuperscript{119} Cynthia Milton also notes that the term has a racist dimension and was used by soldiers during the 1980s and 1990s to refer to campesinos in “Images of Truth: Art as a Medium for Recounting Peru’s Internal War,” Contracorriente, vol. 6, no. 2 (2009): 80-81.
\textsuperscript{120} Mariana, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Quinua, 31 August 2009.
\textsuperscript{121} Mariana, Quinua, 31 August, 2009.
doctores (if they are one of the mayordomo’s companions or guests) or allqos. Out of respect for the dancers, I refer to them as doctores.

Fernando and his companions maintain that the dancers have always been integral to the Yarqa Aspiy since time immemorial: “año en año” (“year in, year out”). They claim the doctores have always worn military dress, “desde siempre desde nuestros antipasados” (“always, since the time of our ancestors”). They also state that the fiesta has not changed since the time of the ancestors. Their insistence on apparent or perceived continuity and a connection to the past are of utmost importance. The majority of people I spoke with began by claiming there had been “no change” to the Yarqa Aspiy, often stating that “it has not changed at all.” As conversations continued, some shifts and changes were revealed.

Lá zaro advised me to speak with one of the two most highly respected doctores. This was Ambrosio Avendaño, a resident of Moya (a hamlet of Quinua) in his late sixties, who danced the role of qamilli during the 1960s and 1970s. I came across him working in his field with his nephew, Daniel Chávez (photo. 29). He wandered over, happy to speak with us once he realised my interest in Quinueno costumbres. The interview was conducted in a mix of Spanish and Quechua, which Ricardo translated, as Ambrosio was clearly more comfortable expressing himself in Quechua.

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122 Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
123 Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
Ambrosio explained how he became a dancer: “They [the *mayordomo* and *regidores*] saw me and as I was young they asked me to dance and I had to say yes to them.”

Daniel explained further:

> You have to be funny and you have to dance well to the music they [the musicians] play and dance the *huayno* and *cumbia*; according to this they choose you. They say they will pay for your day’s work, some pay well and others don’t. This is why he [Ambrosio] stopped seven or eight years ago, and because of his age, also his back is not good.”

Ambrosio stressed the unequal nature of reciprocal relations, which Mitchell also highlights in his study of Quinua. However, he also pointed out the importance of continuing the *Yarqa Aspiy*.

> They have to pay you a day’s wages, now they earn 15 soles and that is what they have to pay you. You lose a lot of time, when you could be doing other things. Yes we irrigate [our lands], for this and for the *costumbre* we continue. We do it so as not to forget the *costumbres*, we still continue with our *costumbres*.

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124 Ambrosio Avendaño, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Moya, Quinua, 31 August 2009.
125 Daniel Chávez, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Moya, Quinua, 31 August 2009.
126 Ambrosio Avendaño, Moya, Quinua, 31 August 2009.
In contrast to Freddy, Felipe, the dancers and Alberto, Ambrosio and Daniel were happy to openly discuss the ways in which the Yarqa Aspiy had changed. Both Ambrosio and Daniel identified the violence and the consequent religious conversion as the principal cause for the most significant changes; Daniel explained:

The people who have entered into the religion don’t even continue with our costumbres, they have already forgotten them. Before, when my grandfather was cargo in 1984, there were ten qamillis and they had dance competitions, as did the musicians. They awarded a prize to the musician who played the best and to the doctores who danced well. That is how it was before, but now with the religion it has all changed.\textsuperscript{127}

Daniel explained that people converted from Catholicism to evangelical Christianity as a result of the violence:

Why have we forgotten our customs? Because there were massacres, and after the massacres began, the [the people] changed religion.\textsuperscript{128}

Ambrosio agreed with Daniel stating, “Before there were numerous cargos, now no, because they are evangelistas.”\textsuperscript{129} Raúl García also referred to the impact of the evangelical religion on Quinua:

Before, the community of Quinua was more united because there was only one Catholic Church. Since the new political parties appeared and the new sects or churches, with all respect, the town has been divided. The fiestas have changed as a result of ronderismo.\textsuperscript{130}

Ambrosio explained that he was forced to burn all his uniforms of qamilli during the years of violence. The military were concerned that the senderistas might use the fiesta and military uniform as a way of infiltrating army ranks. What has been maintained and continues to be recalled is the importance of the Yarqa Aspiy in sustaining a unique local identity and the memory of the grandfathers. Felipe also conceded that some changes occurred during the 1980s and 1990s, stating that during the years of violence the dancers were often prohibited from wearing the military costume and at other times they had to apply for permits to be allowed to wear them.\textsuperscript{131} The willingness to recognise changes and to criticise some of the structures of the Yarqa Aspiy, apparent in Daniel and Ambrosio’s responses, is possibly due to the fact that they were not involved

\textsuperscript{127} Daniel Chávez, Moya, Quinua, 31 August 2009.
\textsuperscript{128} Daniel Chávez, Moya, Quinua, 31 August 2009.
\textsuperscript{129} Ambrosio Avendaño, Moya, Quinua, 31 August 2009.
\textsuperscript{130} Raúl García, Quinua, 8 October 2009.
\textsuperscript{131} Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.
in the faena in Quinua. They had participated in the faena in Moya a few days earlier. This gave them the freedom to speak openly as it was not their own faena they were speaking about.

In the English language, being a dancer implies that one performs the physical movements and character of a particular dance. Once the dance is finished, the dancer drops character until she/he dances again. This is not the case for the dancers in many Andean fiestas and rituals. The doctores take on their role and maintain it for the duration of the faena. The mask worn by the doctores is central in the maintenance of their character.

The scholarship on Andean masks tends to centre on the more elaborate and colourful masks made from leather, metal or papier-mâché. Many of these masks represent the ‘other’ with European features, which are commonly distorted and exaggerated, such as enormous pointed noses (often extended into phalluses), bulbous blue eyes, white skin with red cheeks, white wigs, beards and so forth. Others represent mythic beings such as naqas, devils, angels etc. The mask remains important in many contemporary Andean festivals. In some instances participants now use commercially produced rubber masks that one might buy at any costume shop (as worn by the dancers during the Bajada de Reyes in Cangallo and in Huamanga). The use of masks in Andean dance, dance/dramas and rituals has an important transformative effect on both the dancers and the participants. The mask is not merely used to hide the performers’ identity; rather, it plays a key ritual role in the transformation of the wearer. The mask makes it possible for an individual to assume a new and distinct identity.

The mask plays an important role in Andean cultural and ritual life and has done so since pre-Columbian times. Masks which date back as far as 500 B.C. demonstrate that the mask was used for centuries. Chroniclers of the early colonial period, such as Guamán Poma and later Bernabé Cobo, often referred to the use of masks in their reports and illustrations. Through the examination of early chronicles, images and archaeological findings, R.T. Zuidema reveals the historical importance of the mask in

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132 Poole, “Accommodation and Resistance,” 98-126.
133 See the Yarqa Aspiy of Chuschi in Isbell, To Defend Ourselves, and Bendezú, Puquito y la fiesta del Agua, 1980.
134 Cánepa Koch, Máscara, transformación e identidad, 26.
135 Cánepa Koch, Máscara, transformación e identidad, 27.
the Andes. Referring to early Spanish dictionaries of both Quechua and Ayamara, he shows how “masks represented forces of the night, from the Underworld, and from outside the border of a ‘civilized’ political unit, be this Cusco or any other village or town.”

Zuidema notes that the character represented by the masked was often a “fearful force from the outside.” He notes that one Quechua word for mask is ayacucho, meaning a type of “death helmet.” Zuidema’s work on the pre-Columbian use of masks in the Andes reveals the double function inherent in the ritual use of the mask in the Andes, in which the mask was used to represent malignant forces while simultaneously protecting against these forces. According to Zuidema, masks functioned to represent both the enemy and those who battle the enemy (such as warriors or soldiers).

Zuidema observes “masks were used in ambiguous situations that could be ones of insult, but also ones of central religious importance.” This ambiguity is still a central characteristic bestowed by the mask throughout the Andes to this day. The double function of the mask identified by Zuidema is apparent in the masked characters of the doctores, who are simultaneously evil beings – prohibited from entering sacred spaces – and soldiers (or warriors) who are supposed to protect against outside forces. Given the recent history of the department of Ayacucho, it is not surprising that the doctores focus on the soldier less as the protector and more as the enemy and a figure of ridicule who is not to be trusted. This is evidenced by the general use of the word allqo to describe the dancers.

Gisela Cánepa Koch makes a distinction between the theatrical use of masks and their use during ritual. She observes that the theatrical use of a mask in Western cultures conceals the identity of the performer, an illusion which audience and performer alike hold to. Conversely, the ritual use of the mask in the Andes creates a tension, as much

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137 Zuidema, “Masks in the Incaic Solstice,” 152.
139 Zuidema, “Masks in the Incaic Solstice,” 152.
140 Zuidema, “Masks in the Incaic Solstice,” 152.
141 Cánepa Koch, Máscara, transformación e identidad, 26.
142 Zuidema, “Masks in the Incaic Solstice,” 152.
for the performer as for the spectator, in which both the character represented and the identity of the individual wearing the mask are equally important.\footnote{Cánepa Koch, Máscara, transformación e identidad, 30.}

According to Cánepa Koch, during the ritual use of the mask the individual becomes an intermediary between two worlds. It is important to understand this “double dimension” of the mask in Andean ritual which both “conceals and reveals” not only the identity of the wearer but also the mystery or magic of the role.\footnote{Cánepa Koch, Máscara, transformación e identidad, 46.} In the case of the doctores, the mask incorporates the dual function identified by Poole, Zuidema and Cánepa Koch. On the one hand, the mask functions to hide the dancers’ individual identities, allowing them to carry out all their “tricks and devilry”.\footnote{Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 31 August 2009.} On the other, the mask is often lifted to reveal the dancers’ faces, especially when they dance as the centre of attention. For example, when the doctores were near the sacred space of the yacu ñawi their faces were covered, clearly embodying the magical or evil elements associated with their role as they performed acrobatic moves. Yet when they danced during the aku, both men revealed their faces as they competed with each other to be the superior dancer.

There has been little research on the woollen masks of the Andes as used by the doctores during the Yarqa Aspiy. Mendoza has observed that in Cusco the woollen mask is connected with characters that are able to move between worlds.\footnote{Mendoza, Shaping Society Through Dance, 178.} In his work in the Bolivian Andes, Guillermo Delgado examines the use of masks in the carnival of Oruro. According to Delgado, “Woollen masks of the Incan period usually represent monkeys or bears.”\footnote{Guillermo Delgado-P, “The Devil Mask: A Contemporary Variant of Andean Iconography in Oruro,” in The Power of Symbols: 136.} He notes that, “today peasant communities isolated from intense modernising influences still use the woollen masks.”\footnote{Delgado-P, “The Devil Mask,” 136.} Quinuenos are by no means isolated from modernising forces, yet they still choose to use the mask during the Yarqa Aspiy.\footnote{Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, 3-7.} I suggest that there are two main reasons for this. Firstly, the mask forms part of the symbolic capital of the rite. Dancers have worn the mask during Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua for as long as anyone can remember and therefore it is vital to maintain the mask (along with other symbols, such as flowers, coca and musicians) to maintain a
continuum with the “customs of the grandfathers.” Secondly, the mask bestows on the dancers a mystery and magic which are crucial to their role as healer and brujo. As Delgado concludes, “The mask, a body in which two souls live, keeps Andean symbols alive through time. This tradition will last as long as the belief in their efficacy and power breathes life into them.”

Delgado notes that the wearing of masks during the colonial period was linked with “the indigenous population’s defensive strategies against the Spanish.” As Michel Foucault has argued, “where there is power there is resistance.” There has been a great deal of scholarship investigating indigenous resistance to colonial forces through dance, fiesta and music. While some may view these ‘popular’ expressions as passive resistance, Raúl Romero rightly argues that they are by no means passive, as they are public expressions of “worldviews, opinions and cultural alternatives.” He suggests that dance, music and festivals are a form of open and embodied resistance. I suggest that the role of the allqo continues as a form of cultural resistance. As the dancers take on military characters through which the armed forces are openly satirised and criticised, they embody a form of social resistance.

The doctores present an unusual contradiction. The doctores portray a satirical representation of authorities during which traditional power structures are inverted. People hurl criticism and abuse at the doctores who are subjects of ridicule, although the individuals performing the role are respected for their artistic ability. They embody a duality as healer and demon, protector and enemy, sacred and profane. On the one hand, they represent the traditional power role of the military. They carry symbols of power and have the freedom often afforded to those in positions of power. Each dancer carries a whip, which they occasionally use in jest to ‘encourage’ the faenantes and they have complete licence to enter houses and shops and steal whatever they can carry. On the other hand, during the communal meal, traditional power structures are inverted as the doctores fetch and carry, serving the faenantes food and alcohol. The doctores skip and

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150 Delgado-P, “The Devil Mask,” 142.
153 It includes the work of Billie Jean Isbell, Deborah Poole, Raul Romero, Thomas Turino, Zoila Mendoza, Gisela Cánepa Koch, Luis Millones, David Cahill and others.
jump, laugh and joke as they run the food to the people who are waiting to be served. As they wait, some faenantes call out abuse at the doctores. Justin Jennings and Brenda Bowser suggest that “feasts reify social positions by the ways in which goods are served, by whom they are served to, and how they are served.”

During the unique time and space of the Yarqa Aspiy, the military become the servants of the people and targets of ridicule.

Both Poole and Cánepa Koch argue that the ritual representation of the ‘other’ is consistent with Andean ideas that the “external or foreign is the source of power.” According to Cánepa Koch, “ambiguity” is created by the juxtaposition of opposing elements such as the historical and the contemporary, or the sarcastic and the sacred as presented by the doctores. This ambiguity then allows dancers to assimilate the perceived power of the ‘other’, permitting the ritual enactment of past events or characters to transform the present.

**Conclusion**

Mitchell has described the Yarqa Aspiy as “one of Quinua’s most beautiful festivals.” Beyond aesthetic appeal, events like the Yarqa Aspiy are important to Quinuenos because they create a time and space in which community members work together physically towards the common goal of clearing the canals and waterways. Beyond the material aims of the Yarqa Aspiy, Quinuenos also employ the unique time and space to remember and reinstate social and moral values through the dance and rituals involved in the faena. In particular, the values of reciprocity and respect are central to the success of the faena. Socio-cultural structures embedded in the faena promote and maintain close community connections along with reciprocal relations through the system of compadrazgo. It is feasible that the necessary labour could be organised and paid for by the municipality, as is now the case in other parts of Ayacucho. Nevertheless, the people

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155 Jennings & Bowser, Drink, Power and Society in the Andes, 6.
156 Cánepa Koch, Máscara, transformación e identidad, 44.
157 Cánepa Koch, Máscara, transformación e identidad, 44.
158 Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, 144.
of Quinua work to consciously maintain their cultural heritage because it is “the inheritance of our grandfathers” and the “customs of our ancestors.”\textsuperscript{159}

As Quinuenos worked together to reinstate the traditions of the past, they remembered the values of their grandparents. In doing so they engaged in a process of mnemonic selection, creating a positive social memory of how life was, in order to create the present they want to inhabit. The memory of the past is central to the construction of a renewed sense of community because, as Connerton has argued, the bid to create a new identity leads to stereotypes of right action.\textsuperscript{160} In Quinua, the memory of the time prior to the conflict is often romanticised. The time of the grandparents is now recalled by most Quinuenos as a time of respect and peace.

The dancers engaged for the event play a crucial role as ritual leaders and they are central in maintaining a connection to the ancestors. Like the taquiongos and the danzantes de tijeras, the doctores of Quinua possess a mysterious magic allowing them to simultaneously embody paradoxical characteristics. They personify both good and evil, healer and witch, humour and threat. The doctores are both respected and disparaged by Quinuenos during faena. This chapter advances the central argument of this thesis by demonstrating that dance is simultaneously a means of both forgetting and remembering. The doctores’ military uniform reminds the community of the historic and heroic role of the military during the Wars of Independence. The doctores embody duality, which affords them a healing power that is directly related to the historical use of masks and dance in the Andes. The uniform used by the doctores is modern in style and this, combined with their thieving and mischievous behaviour, leads the community to label the doctores ‘dogs’. I suggest that, as the Quinuenos hurl abuse at the allqos, they remember and redress the brutality and corruption of the military forces during the conflict. This has a transformative effect on the community. The following chapter examines fiesta and dance in the urban setting of Huamanga.

\textsuperscript{159} Alberto Sánchez, Quinua, 30 August 2009; Felipe Emanuel Gutiérrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009; Fernando Gutierrez, Quinua, 30 August 2009.

\textsuperscript{160} Connerton, The Spirit of Mourning, 37.
Chapter 3. Salvaging and Communicating Memory Through Dance During the Día de Los Compadres

Field notes: Día de los Compadres, Huamanga, 7 February 2010.

Following numerous rehearsals involving 40 dancers (of which I was one) from two rival elencos, three dance teachers and choreographers, a cultural coordinator, a dance captain and a full orchestra, the day of celebrations arrived for Día de los Compadres (Day of the Godparents). All dancers were asked to arrive at the designated locale by 7am to change into costume, partake of the communal breakfast provided by the mayordomos and be ready to dance into the streets of the city of Huamanga by 8am. The female dancers wore a centro (large white underskirt) with a fustán (a full-circle skirt) made of a heavy flannel material over the top, which would later be removed as we danced the fustanche.

A great sense of fun and encouragement emanated from the large crowd as we danced around the Plaza Mayor in Huamanga, just as it had the night we rehearsed in the plaza. So many people crowded the street that it was initially difficult to dance our way through. Gradually the crowd cleared to the sides, allowing us to dance the high stepping, travelling step of carnival around the plaza. Members of the crowd whistled and cheered, others commented on our attire and the valays (baskets) we were carrying filled with fruit. Some yelled
out for us to dance harder and spin more, so that our skirts would twirl higher to reveal more leg. Some of the men twisted their hips in a humorous demonstration of how they wanted us to dance.

Once we reached the south side of the Plaza it was time to dance the *fustanche*. We danced a spiral pattern, lacing our baskets in a circle on the ground as we reached the centre and then spiralling out again as others danced in. This had been one of the more difficult patterns to perfect as it called for an intertwining of circles. As one circle diminished inward the other grew outward, combined with the crisscrossing of dancers in specific order. Once we had danced into a large circle, the women began to remove the top skirt. By this point the large crowd had gathered in a dense circle of bodies around us. As we began to remove our skirts there was an initial murmur of surprise, followed by hooting, shouting and whistles. We pulled the *fustán* up over our heads as elegantly as possible, while still dancing around in a large circle. Then we danced, sweeping the skirt around as we turned, twirling it above our heads, taunting and chasing the male dancers, to the audible delight of spectators. Eventually, as we had rehearsed, we each caught one of the male dancers and threw the *fustán* over their heads. The men then danced on wearing the skirt over one shoulder and across their bodies as we continued around the circle. The *fustanche* caused an obvious stir among the crowd, largely because it had not been danced in the Plaza Mayor in Huamanga for more than 40 years.
In 2010, the *mayordomos* of Semana Santa (Holy Week) decided to *rescatar* (salvage) the dance of the *fustanche* for the celebrations of Día de los Compadres with the express intention of remembering and reinstating what had been lost. This chapter expands the argument and findings of the previous chapters to demonstrate that dance is a significant memory-making practice not only for rural campesinos but also for the urban inhabitants of Huamanga. This chapter examines the dances and traditions that urban Huamanguinos are remembering as part of a uniquely urban cultural identity for the celebrations for the Día de los Compadres. I argue that dance plays a significant role in the collective memory-making practices of Huamanguinos as they search for a history that makes sense of what happened during the 1980s and 1990s.

Dance was the principal focus for the Día de los Compadres. The celebrations also included a communal breakfast, a *pasacalle* (parade) to and around the Plaza Mayor, a Catholic mass in the Cathedral attended by invited guests, the dance of the *huertakuy* on
the Cathedral forecourt, more dancing around the plaza, followed by the *fustanche* in the plaza and then the play of the *pukllay*, another *pasacalle* through the streets followed by a meal and a party that lasted well into the early hours of the next morning. In order to understand the celebrations of Día de los Compadres it is necessary to understand the interconnected nature of fiestas in Huamanga. Therefore I begin with a brief historical contextualisation of the fiesta and place it in the socio-religious context of Huamanga in relation to Semana Santa – the principal fiesta in Huamanga. I examine the important social and cultural role of the *mayordomos* in maintaining traditions, and in 2010 in reinstating past traditions, paying particular attention to the dance of *fustanche*. I explore how the impact of loss experienced during the internal conflict has motivated some Huamanguinos to reinstate traditions. This leads to a discussion of the organisational methods employed by the *mayordomos* which demonstrates that reciprocal relationships are highly valued during urban fiestas, as Huamanguinos work to salvage and reclaim their cultural heritage.

I pay particular attention to the instrumental role of the cultural coordinator for Holy Week, Gabriel Quispe, in rescuing past traditions in a bid to create a present in which the values of respect and reciprocity are revitalised. Gabriel was adamant that he would reinstate the *fustanche*, which he remembered from childhood and which had been forgotten in recent years. To achieve his aim, Gabriel combined Huamanguino elements with campesino cultural practices. I discuss this ‘combination’ of elements in the national and historical context of *indigenismo*. While this fusion of elements is common throughout Peru, I argue that in Huamanga the use of campesino culture in reinstating an urban identity has taken on a deeper meaning as a consequence of the internal conflict.

The second section of this chapter examines the theoretical concept of embodied memory as it relates to dance, to reveal how corporeal expressions are combined to communicate and remind Huamanguinos of a pre-violent past. I examine how memory is communicated through the embodied expression of dance, which reveals the dance to be a deep embodiment of the broader concerns of the people of Huamanga. I examine the embodied processes during rehearsals for the *fustanche*, combined with information gleaned through meetings and interviews, to demonstrate the ways in which memory and collective social values are communicated through dance and fiesta.
The celebration of the Día de los Compadres forms part of the Christian calendar and was introduced to Latin America by Europeans. Julio Caro Baroja has shown that it was once celebrated throughout various regions of Spain; however, it is no longer an important celebration for the Spanish. In both the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes, the fiesta is now embraced as a local *costumbre*. It is also celebrated throughout the northern region of Argentina and in parts of Mexico. In the Andes, the celebration is tied to the agricultural cycle because it falls (like carnival) during harvest time. It is therefore associated with giving thanks and fertility. The Día de los Compadres is traditionally held on the two Thursdays before carnival – preceding Ash Wednesday – in the Christian calendar of Lent. The first Thursday was, and in some parts remains, the day of *comadres* (godmothers) with the second Thursday dedicated to *comadres* (godfathers). In Huamanga, the two days have been combined as one during which both *comadres* and *comadres* are celebrated. On this day people visit their godmothers and godfathers, presenting them with gifts such as sweet breads and drinks to give thanks for the support and patronage received throughout the year. It is a time of family, for reinstating social connections and acknowledging the reciprocal relations of *compadrazgo*.

Huamanga is known throughout Peru as the city of churches due to its 33 Catholic places of worship. The Catholic Cathedral, consecrated in 1672, is the largest of all and dominates the Plaza Mayor. The Cathedral and the plaza remain the focal points for all the important fiestas and *pasacalles* (parades) in the city, especially those related to the Catholic religion including Día de los Compadres. While there are few written accounts dedicated to the study or history of the fiesta in Latin America, it is referred to in some of the literature in connection with Semana Santa and/or carnival.

In Huamanga, the *mayordomos* for Holy Week are also the *mayordomos* for the public celebrations of Día de los Compadres. Given the interconnected nature of fiestas in Ayacucho, in order to understand the Día de los Compadres in Huamanga it is necessary to appreciate the socio-cultural significance of Semana Santa. Commonly promoted as the largest Holy Week celebrations outside of Spain, Semana Santa is the biggest fiesta held in the city. It is widely considered by Ayacuchanos and Peruvians to be the most

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important and prestigious of all Huamanguino fiestas. Semana Santa has become one of the city’s major tourist attractions, drawing 15,000 tourists to the city in 2009.

As with all Andean festivals, each year a *mayordomo* is nominated for the event. The stewardship of the *mayordomía* is typically taken on by a married couple. Jointly, they hold the *cargo* for a year and are responsible for the organisation of all events which form part of the festival in the months and weeks leading up to and including Semana Santa. This means that preparations for Holy Week, which occurs in March or April, often begin during the previous year. The *mayordomos* are charged with providing finance, ritual guidance and the continuation of Huamanguino traditions during the myriad of processions, masses, dances, fiestas, agrarian markets and communal meals which lead up to and form part of Holy Week. The individuals who take on the *mayordomía* must have significant financial and social resources on which to draw. As many scholars have shown, successfully taking on the role of *mayordomo* for any fiesta is a means by which individuals gain or enhance their social standing within the community. As Huamanga’s largest and most significant fiesta Semana Santa also affords the *mayordomos* a very public platform to advance their social and political status.

The *mayordomos* for Semana Santa are known as the *Mayordomos del Señor de Pascua de Resurrección*. In 2010, Rolando Bellido Aedo and his wife Martha Camasca Saez took on the *mayordomía* with their family (figs 33, 34). Rolando is an engineer who runs a very successful contracting business and Martha is a university graduate. They have four children ranging in ages, in 2010, from sixteen to two, all of whom were involved in the celebrations and/or the marketing materials produced to promote the different events. Photos of the children dressed in traditional attire featured in the 24 page program for Semana Santa as did photos of connected events such as Día de los Compadres.
Photograph 31: Rolando and Martha, Mayordomos del Señor de Pascua de Resurrección, prepare to dance to open the official proceedings on the Día de los Killis
Photograph 32: The Mayordomía del Señor de Pascua de Resurrección 2010; Martha and Rolando (centre) are flanked by their children and Rolando’s mother (seated). Gabriel stands above in the background. This photo was used in the promotional program, Programa Mayordomía Señor de Pascua de Resurrección, produced by Flores Contratistas, Semana Santa, Auaycucho, 2010.

Photograph 33: Rolando and Martha’s daughter poses dressed as the Huamanguina típica. This photo also featured in the promotional program, Programa Mayordomía Señor Pascua de Resurrección
The celebrations for Holy Week in Huamanga have increased in recent years and the week is in fact celebrated over ten days. The official program for Holy Week in 2010 announced the first event, the procession of the *Cristo Salvador del Mundo* (Christ Saviour of the World) on 25 March, followed by a week and a half of celebrations, masses, markets and processions closing with Resurrection Sunday, 4 April.\(^2\) Scholars and Huamanguinos alike argue that the religious festival has been largely converted into a spectacle for tourists or, in the words of Ayacuchano anthropologist Nelson Pereyra, a “performance.”\(^3\)

Although there are still many devout Catholics who attend services and rituals throughout Holy Week, there are many secular events which have been included (or extended) in recent years as a means of attracting and entertaining the crowds of tourists who attend. The most recent and controversial of these is the *jala toro*, which literally translates as ‘pulling of the bull’. This is a relatively new addition to Semana Santa in Huamanaga. According to Pereyra, this event was in fact introduced in the 1990s and is a re-creation of the *pascua toro* (Easter bull), which was eliminated following changes introduced with Vatican II in 1962.\(^4\)

As Pereyra observes, Ayacuchanos generally think of Semana Santa as a festival which incorporates traditional pre-Columbian elements with colonial roots, making it the perfect blend of both worlds.\(^5\) However, according to Pereyra, the roots are more recent and “since the middle of the twentieth century Semana Santa has been a performance which reproduces the rigid hierarchy that was the established local society in the early twentieth century.”\(^6\) Pereyra has argued convincingly that Semana Santa is a space which “ritualises the local social structure.”\(^7\) Many wealthier Huamanguinos strive to maintain the hierarchy of the early to mid-twentieth century even if they are newcomers to wealth and status, and fiestas play a part in the maintenance of social and cultural conventions. The system of *mayordomía* dates back to early colonial times when *hacendados* (landowners) sponsored annual fiestas for their peons. In some ways the

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\(^4\) Pereyra Chávez, “Historia, memoria, identidad y performance,” 222-263.


\(^7\) Pereyra Chávez, “Historia, memoria, identidad y performance,” 223.
system of *mayordomía* functions to maintain and reinforce entrenched power structures. For example, the enormous financial and temporal commitment necessary for Semana Santa excludes anyone but the wealthy and influential from taking on the *mayordomía*.

It is interesting to note that Pereyra uses the term “performance” in English. This is partly because, as Taylor has pointed out, there is no appropriate translation for the word in Spanish.\(^8\) Rather, the English term has been Hispanicised as *el performance* or *la performance*.\(^9\) As Taylor observes, ‘performance’ is a complex term with varied interpretations and applications: “To say something *is* a performance amounts to an ontological affirmation, though a thoroughly localised one.”\(^10\) An event which is considered a performance in one given context and by one society may not be considered such in a different cultural setting. However, Taylor adds that events may also “function as performances” and thus, performance also acts as an epistemology.\(^11\) As Taylor suggests, performance viewed through this lens can be seen as contrary to “the ‘real’ and ‘true’.”\(^12\)

Pereyra employs the latter of the two meanings, to convey the theatricality involved in Semana Santa celebrations which have, in many instances, come to replace any deep religious connection and which are divergent from the ‘true’ origins:

> Through the staging of [Semana Santa] social actors and the society represent and constitute themselves and others. Through the fiesta-performance reality is experienced and configured by the individuals who establish the beginning and the desired end. This new experience is communicated through an expressive form and, at the same time, lived by them … That is to say, experienced and signified with the intervention of the memory, insomuch as each moment observed converts into a moment remembered.\(^13\)

It is these observed moments of past fiestas which Gabriel and the *mayordomía* of 2010 endeavoured to remember as they salvaged traditions which they perceived as lost or forgotten during the celebrations for Semana Santa and Día de los Compadres, in particular the *fustanche*. While Pereyra makes a convincing argument in relation to the

\(^8\) Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 12.

\(^9\) Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 12. According to Taylor *el* is used to denote performances which emerge from politics or business, whilst *la* is used to refer to those which evolve from the arts. (see notes on chapter one, 281).


\(^12\) Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 4.

performative aspect of Semana Santa and the continuation of a twentieth century social hierarchy, also evident in my research findings, he fails to mention the larger context of connected fiestas and celebrations. Pereyra’s analysis is confined to the temporal and spatial limits of the central days of Semana Santa:

This performative representation of reality occurs during a context defined by the moment of the fiesta and the content of the narrative, which is the product of negotiation between the actors of representation and the observers, in this way converting the fiesta into a representation of a reflexive and political nature that occurs in a particular manner, in a determined moment. Thus, each version of the fiesta is different from that which precedes it and that which follows it.¹⁴

Certainly, each year’s celebration is different from the preceding, very often as a result of the conscious intent of the mayordomía, in a bid to stand out and promote themselves within the community both politically and socially. Nevertheless, at no point does Pereyra consider the rehearsals, countless meetings and workshops which go into mounting the fiesta. Yet it is during these periods that notions of tradition, narrative, nostalgia, identity, authenticity and memory are negotiated. Moreover, he does not mention the significance of other celebrations which lead directly into Semana Santa and which are the responsibility of, and overseen by, the Mayordomos del Señor de Pascua de Resurrección, such as the Día de los Compadres. These events involve reciprocal relations, employ the same key actors and play a significant role in the construction of performative aspects of Semana Santa and thus warrant consideration in the analysis of the event.

Mayordomos, Aynis and Reciprocity

As part of the obligations of the mayordomía, Rolando and Martha were responsible for the organisation and financing of numerous events, both religious and secular, in the months leading up to Holy Week. While certain elements such as Catholic masses are not negotiable, some leeway exists as to how events are executed. Rolando and Martha organised a committee to assist in the management and the logistical obligations of all the events, allocating the management of various responsibilities to various coordinators. They held formal general meetings of the mayordomía at least once a week, generally in the late afternoon or early evening, often lasting for up to four hours at a time. Gatherings included large numbers of people (anywhere up to 40) and were

held at the offices of Rolando’s business, Flores Contratistas. The meetings typically began with the minutes of the previous meeting and a report on any achievements made since then.

The mayordomos for Holy Week are supported in their role and responsibilities by family, friends, neighbours and associates in the role of aynis. The principle of ayni, present during the faena of Yarqa Aspiy in Quinua, was also central to fiesta organisation in the urban setting of Huamanga. The word ayni is the root for “measured reciprocity” in both Quechua and Aymara languages.\(^{15}\) Ayni evolved in the pre-Columbian Andes as a means of organising agricultural production and ecology and continues to play a central role in Andean reciprocal relations.\(^{16}\) As Stern observes, “In Quechua, aynillmanta llamkakuni [means] ‘to work the same for another, as him for me.’”\(^{17}\) While the meaning and uses of ayni have shifted with the introduction of the mercantile market and capitalist economy, the “core act of ayni persisted.”\(^{18}\) Aynis take on some of the costs and responsibilities involved in mounting a fiesta. They are generally family members, close family friends or business associates. In the case of Semana Santa, ayni may also be past or future mayordomos, who share in the responsibility with the knowledge that it is a reciprocal relationship and they too will receive or have already received support.\(^{19}\) The word ayni with all that it implies was employed regularly during the meetings, conversations and preparations for Semana Santa and the Día de los Compadres.

As mayordomos, it was necessary for Rolando and Martha to negotiate regularly with local government, church, and cultural groups. For example, the meeting held on 17 January began with a report of appeal for support from various official institutions and private groups. These included requests such as a call for support from the mayor of the municipality of San Juan De Bautista in the form of security personnel for the Día de los Ramos (Palm Sunday) and a request from a women’s group for potatoes to be used in making puccha picante, served as part of a communal meal.\(^{20}\)

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\(^{15}\) Stern, Perú’s Indian Peoples, 8.


\(^{17}\) Stern, Perú’s Indian Peoples, 8.

\(^{18}\) Stern, Perú’s Indian Peoples, 56.

\(^{19}\) Pereyra Chávez, “Historia, memoria, identidad y performance,” 251.

\(^{20}\) Meeting of Mayordomía de la Resurrección de la Pascuas, Ayacucho, 17 January 2010.
church officials also attended meetings. The bishop of Ayacucho attended a meeting in January. After arriving late, he joined Rolando at the main table and then addressed the meeting, beginning with a prayer during which he blessed the mayordomos and prayed for their success. He then spoke about the significance of maintaining Huamanguino traditions, the most important being Semana Santa. The bishop included all aspects of tradition in his speech, urging the mayordomos to honour both the sacred and the secular. The desire to maintain and rescatar Huamanguino traditions, as expressed by the bishop, was a central topic raised during most meetings.

Rolando and Martha considered the continuation of Huamanguino traditions to be both a privilege and a responsibility of their role, as it is the mayordomos who maintain (or not) the rituals of the past. It is a privilege because the traditions of the ancestors are highly valued in Ayacucho and those who are versed in these traditions and have the ability to pass them on are regarded with honour. In the lead up to Semana Santa the Mayordomos del Señor de Pascua de Resurrección become the cultural and moral compass of the city, deciding which aspects of ritual and fiesta should be highlighted, included or excluded. Rolando and Martha relied on the guidance and support of Gabriel Quispe as their asesor cultural (cultural coordinator) to assist them in maintaining and salvaging traditions. Gabriel is Martha’s cousin and it is this family connection, as well as his extensive knowledge of many aspects of Ayacuchano culture, which led to the invitation to be the asesor cultural for the mayordomía of Semana Santa.

Gabriel is a tall man with a gentle disposition, a wry sense of humour and a deep admiration for Ayacuchano history and folklore. He was born and lives in Huamanga. As a young man, he lived and worked as a teacher in Cangallo in the 1970s and also in Huanta during the early 1980s. He retired from teaching in 2009 and now dedicates his time to working in all areas of folklore and caring for his youngest son, Paulo. Gabriel is an accomplished songwriter, recognised by many in Huamanga for his lyrical compositions (a number of which have been recorded) and as an expert in all aspects of tradition, costumbre and Ayacuchano folklore. He is regularly invited to judge concursos of dance, music, song composition and other Ayacuchano traditions in the city of Huamanga and throughout the department. For Gabriel, the invitation was not only an honour, but also as an “opportunity to rescatar and re-establish traditions”
which had been lost or forgotten.\textsuperscript{21} He explained with apparent joy that he had long wanted to do so, but that he had lacked the financial resources. He said that his role as asesor provided the perfect chance to “revalorar nuestra identidad y nuestros costumbres” (“revalue our identity and our customs”).\textsuperscript{22}

In the months and weeks prior to Semana Santa, the mayordomía celebrated a number of events involving pasacalles through the streets of Huamanaga. These afforded Gabriel a public forum to (re)introduce aspects of tradition he felt had been forgotten. One such event was the Día de los Killis (Day of the Killis), which is directly linked to Día de los Compadres. Killis are a form of offering made by individuals and families to the mayordomos, sealing their commitment as ayni. Killis are long ropes attached with an array of gifts such as sweet breads, wine, presents, balloons and streamers. In the following section I provide a description of the Día de los Killis which illustrates Rolando’s, Martha’s and Gabriel’s commitment to salvaging Huamanguino traditions.

On 6 February at 9am all the aynis made their way to the home of Rolando and Martha in San Juan Bauptista for the celebrations. As each person entered the house they passed through the lounge room, passing the image of Señor de Pascua de Resurrección, placed on the family’s altar. As invitados passed the image they genuflected, some kissing the image. It seemed that many were merely going through the motions and were not moved by a sense of deep reverence or religious faith.

\textsuperscript{21} Gabriel Quispe in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 6 January 2010. 
\textsuperscript{22} Gabriel Quispe, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 22 January 2010.
In the back yard, seats had been placed around the perimeter and a large band was set up on a platform. Many of the women wore the traditional dress of Huamanguinas (photo. 36; Martha and the woman seated are both dressed in the traditional style of Huamanga). To be considered a Huamanguino of style and breeding, one should have one’s own traditional attire. For women, this includes a white shirt embroidered with lace and adorned with gold buttons, one or more white petticoats, a large overskirt of a bold colour and a small liklla of the same colour worn around the shoulders, along with a sombrero de paja. The sombrero de paja is considered an essential item of traditional attire and is worn by women as part of a Huamanguina cultural identity. Women adorn the ensemble with gold clasps or brooches and golden earrings. Traditional dress for men is less marked than that of women; it includes trousers (generally black, however brown or blue is also acceptable), a white shirt and black or brown sombrero made of felt; some men carry ponchos made of llama or alpaca wool, which they wear draped over one shoulder. Only Rolando, Gabriel and a few of the male ayni dressed in this style.

23 The women who work selling traditional sweet breads and ice-cream in the Plaza Mayor are obliged by the municipality to dress in this style.
The traditional dress worn today in Huamanga is informed by a mid-twentieth century ideal. The women wear much the same ensemble as middle-class Huamanguinas of the early to mid-1900s, as the photo and caption from the local publication Huamanga illustrate (photo. 37).24

The caption below the illustration reads:

The Huamanguina, unique in all Peru. She has the grace (donaire) of a Spaniard and the constancy of an Indian. She likes to perfume herself like an Arab and love with all that oriental force, until she makes herself a slave of her man for love … She dresses richly, with fabrics of silk and merino, producing the sound of four starched and well ironed petticoats as she passes … The Huamanguina carries herself erect despite the force with which her bodice is adjusted, as if a sigh nestled in her breasts of marble is burning with the fire of affection.25

I sat with a number of women I had not met before, including Elena and Isabel both dressed a la mode Huamanguina. They spoke in a mixture of Quechua and Spanish,

24 Huamanga was published between 1933-1965.
laughing and joking often. A young girl handed us little ceramic cups and filled them with *chicha de jora* from a ceramic jug made in the Wari tradition. The women commented how nice it was to be drinking from ceramic, instead of from glass or plastic, as the “new materials were introduced” and “not of our culture”. It has become common practice during fiestas to serve food and drink on foam plates and in plastic cups. In Huamanga, *chicha* has largely been replaced by beer as it is modern. It is also more expensive and thus more prestigious than *chicha de jora*.

Rolando and Martha danced the *huayno* to mark the beginning of the private celebrations (photo. 36). Gradually, they were joined by other important guests and *ayni*, until the space was filled with dancing. As part of the official proceedings of the morning, Gabriel made a speech. He placed his poncho on the earth and knelt to give thanks for the gifts of nature. Holding a ceramic jug filled with *chicha*, Gabriel sprinkled *chicha* in the air and on the earth while naming the significant *huamanis* of the area, including the Akuchimay. He offered the traditional symbols of ritual reciprocity – coca leaves and *chicha* – as recognition and payment to *pachamama* and the *apus* (photo. 38).

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26 Elena and Isabel in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 6 February 2010.
Gabriel used his role as cultural advisor to salvage many traditions he believed had been lost or forgotten over the years. He consulted with older Huamanguinos such as Don Pedro, a Huamanguino in his eighties, about various traditions from years gone by. Gabriel then considered these accounts in relation with his own memories, to produce a coherent vision for the celebrations. Under Gabriel’s advisement, Rolando and Martha specially commissioned ceramic cups, jugs and urns, dances and costumes to be used during official events. He advised the mayordomos and the aynis on the details of traditional clothing. While most Huamanguinos recognise the basic traditional dress (as it is worn regularly), Gabriel worked to bring back items which had faded from use. These included sourcing and recreating the pisca, a small leather bag used to carry coca
and adorned with images from the Wari culture made of silver. Gabriel commissioned a number of bags from a Huamanguino artisan, to be worn during important ceremonies and events. With Gabriel’s help, Rolando and Martha aimed to create the perfect union of pre-Columbian tradition and modernity observed by Pereyra and which Huamanguinos expect.27

Following the meal and more dancing, it was time to leave to collect the killis. As Rolando and Martha danced through the streets of Huamanga, neighbours and friends emerged from their homes to offer them killis and join the procession (photo. 39). Just as Freddy always carried the Señor de Yarqa during the Yarqa Aspiy, so too Rolando carried the image of the Señor de Pascua de Resurrección during the pasacalle (photo. 40). Both Rolando and Martha carried valays filled with fruit as symbols of fertility. The fruit-filled valay constitutes another element of Huamanguino tradition which

Gabriel recovered for the festivities, which the dancers also carried during the Día de los Compadres.

Even though there was some cloud cover, it was a very hot day. At the major intersection of Puente Nuevo the procession stopped while everyone paused to rest a moment and enjoy some beer (photo. 42; map 3). The procession then made its way down 2 de Mayo, past the university and along Tres Mascaras, arriving at the Plaza Magdalena (see map 3–4) at 1pm, where everyone stopped to drink again and dance the marinera huamanguina. Following copious drinking and dancing, the procession returned to the Plaza Mayor at approximately 4pm, to place the killis on and around the altar of the Cathedral. This was followed by a party with a great deal more drinking and dancing. The Día de los Killis set the stage, culturally and materially, for the public celebrations of the Día de los Compadres; the aynis dressed the Cathedral altar and sealed their commitment with killis while Rolando and Martha – guided by Gabriel – set the cultural tone for their mayordomía.

Photograph 38: Gabriel (behind) dances with the Ayacuchano standard
Rolando carries a basket of fruit and the image of Señor de Pascua de Resurrección with his mother (left) and Martha (right).

Map 3: Huamanga city and the path travelled; map used in the program for Semana Santa 2010.

Map 4: The city centre of Huamanga, the circle marks the Plaza Magdalena.
Photograph 39: More aynis join the pasacalle

Photograph 40: Stopping for a rest and a beer
Photograph 41: Gabriel begins the marinera ayacuchana in the Plaza Magdelena; the female guest is dressed in traditional Huamanguina attire of fustán de lucre and likilla of matching colour, white lace shirt, sombrero de paja, high-heeled shoes and gold jewellery.

The Legacy of Indigenismo

In order to understand why the maintenance of Huamanguino tradition is so important, it is necessary to examine the impact and the legacy of indigenismo. Indigenismo is sometimes described as a “nativist movement”. Following independence, many Latin American nation-states set about constructing national cultural identities which combined elements of a romanticised Indian past with modernising European ideals. An important part of this construction relied on the creation and use of cultural practices which were viewed as quintessentially mestizo. Anthony Smith argues that there are three important elements in the formation of a national cultural identity: a sense of continuity with a collective past; shared memories of that past; and a shared belief in a

29 Smith, “Nacionalismo e indigenismo,” 5.
common destiny.\textsuperscript{30} To this end, Latin American states mobilised the memory of a glorified Indian past combined with the best of European modernity in a bid to create a unique identity which incorporated the indigenous population.

\textit{Indigenismo} was a movement led by non-‘Indian’ artists and intellectuals who worked to create a fusion of pre-Columbian and modern elements in a bid to forge a new and distinctly Latin American identity. Indigenous cultural practices became the inspiration for Latin American intellectuals and artists, who played a key role in forging the new national identity.\textsuperscript{31} In Peru, \textit{indigenismo} dates back to the 1850s.\textsuperscript{32} However, the Mexican Revolution played an important role in the reinvigoration of the movement throughout Latin America. During the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s in Mexico, artists such as Diego Rivera and Xavier Guerrero depicted Mexican society through the celebration of modernity, the condemnation of the bourgeoisie and the elevation of the ‘pure’ pre-colonial Indian culture. In the Andean countries, the work of writers such as Luis E. Valcárcel and José Sabogal (Peru) and Jorge Icaza (Ecuador) led the literary \textit{indigenista} movement during the early part of the twentieth century. Icaza, whose work “represents the entire \textit{indigenista} genre”, was an elite intellectual from Quito who was greatly affected by the plight of the Indian.\textsuperscript{33} His novels generally depict Indians as primitive and passive with little ability to resist outside forces, while the ruling elite are typically portrayed as brutal and immoral. In Icaza’s work the Indian is an ignorant victim unable to change his lot and in need of protection from outside.\textsuperscript{34} Patronising attitudes towards Indians are a central characteristic of \textit{indigenismo}. Válcarcel, possibly Peru’s most prominent \textit{indigenista}, believed that education was the answer to the “Indian problem.”\textsuperscript{35} Válcarcel was opposed to the \textit{mestizaje} project of nation-building.

As Mendoza has argued \textit{indigenismo} is a complex movement incorporating many contradictions.\textsuperscript{36} For this reason she rightly cautions against one-sided criticism and

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{30} Smith, “Nacionalismo e indigenismo,” 6.
\bibitem{32} Mendoza, \textit{Shaping Society Through Dance}, 52.
\bibitem{33} Becker, \textit{Indigenismo and Indian Movements}, 10.
\bibitem{34} Becker, \textit{Indigenismo and Indian Movements}, 10-11.
\end{thebibliography}
urges us to remember that, on the whole, Peruvian *indigenistas* attempted to place the “feelings and desires” of marginalised Andeans at the centre of the nation.\(^{37}\) Mendoza raises an important issue, recognising the individuals involved and their intentions within the broader movement: a perspective which is often overlooked.\(^{38}\) She argues that *indigenismo* was not a simple process of appropriation and/or manipulation of indigenous rural arts and practices by the elites of the time. Rather, a “complex and fluid” interplay existed between intellectuals and artists from both rural and urban sectors.\(^{39}\)

Cadena also recognises that Peruvian proponents of the movement believed *indigenismo* to be a decolonising project that would transform and unify the nation.\(^{40}\) Nevertheless, Cadena also points out that “serrano intellectuals wielded it [*indigenismo*] to define themselves vis-à-vis the local ‘others’ they aimed at controlling.”\(^{41}\)

Although many individuals may have been well intentioned, as Mendoza argues, *Indigenismo* ultimately functioned to institutionalise a form of racism and exclude indigenous people from management of indigenous issues, including their own culture and artistic expression (this exclusion is discussed further in the following chapter). The *mestizaje* project caused the living Indian to be eliminated from national consciousness; it then incorporated them as the “exotic other”.\(^{42}\) In addition, the selective assimilation of indigenous identity gave the impression that the creole elite had the power to create the ‘authentic Indian.’ *Indigenismo* became institutionalised and was integrated into government policies. It became a means by which to incorporate indigenous people into a state-controlled model of a unified nation and thus eliminate what had come to be known as the “Indian problem”.\(^{43}\)

In the early twentieth century, Huamanguino intellectuals and elites also followed the national trend, forming cultural centres and institutions and holding soirées to exchange

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37 Mendoza, *Creating Our Own*, 181.
38 Mendoza, *Creating Our Own*, 7.
ideas and promote cultural activities. In 1934, they formed the Centro Cultural Ayacucho (Cultural Centre of Ayacucho) and initiated the publication *Huamanga*. According to the authors of *Historia y Cultura de Ayacucho*, these intellectuals “invented a historical tradition, which was instrumental in sustaining a political discourse in the region.”\(^{44}\) The discourse promoted and revered the “spiritual” legacy of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of Ayacucho: “valour, courage and pride.”\(^{45}\)

Huamanguino elites have long accepted their *mestizo* heritage. However, in the early twentieth century (and even now), they imagined themselves as descendants of pre-Hispanic nobility, making them superior to the greater indigenous population, who they argued were the descendents of lowly labouring tribes.\(^{46}\) Zapata argues that it was this connection that led them to embrace and speak the language of the Incas – Quechua.

The elite used the pages of *Huamanga* to discuss the philosophy of *indigenismo* and the ‘Indian problem’ in the regional context of Ayacucho. At this time Huamanguinos were looking for a means to “cement our culture so as not to appear *gaseosa* and without a plan” to the rest of the nation.\(^{47}\) The article *El Indio Ayacuchano* by Rosa Escarcena Arpaia, published in 1938 spanning three editions, exemplifies the attitudes of Ayacuchano intellectuals towards the indigenous population. Escarcena carried out an extensive “sociological study” in an attempt to identify and categorise different types of *indios* in Ayacucho.\(^{48}\) As the photo below illustrates (photo. 44), she settled on five categories:

- *Indio rústico* – the rustic Indian
- *Indio semicivilizado* – the semi-civilised Indian
- *Indio civilizado* – the civilised Indian
- *Indio mestizo plebeyo* – the plebeian *mestizo* Indian
- *Indio mestizo culto* – the cultured *mestizo* Indian

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\(^{45}\) Zapata, et al., *Historia y cultura de Ayacucho*, 151.

\(^{46}\) Zapata, et al., *Historia y cultura de Ayacucho*, 151.


To arrive at these categories, Escarcena employed social and cultural markers such as clothing, language, labour activities and diet. She describes the *indio rústico* as the Indian who inhabits the *punas* (highland plateaus), who has “primitive customs.”

His/her life is simple, as is his/her clothing; consisting for the men of *ajotas* or crude sandals made from cow leather, thick sheep’s wool socks, a shirt made from baize or *checkche*, coarse woollen pants and jacket, a short poncho made from sheep’s wool, a woollen *chullo* to cover the head, on top of the *chullo* a rustic sombrero made of sheep’s wool and a leather bag to carry coca and money [*la pisca*], hung in the style of a sash; the women wear a skirt (*faldellín*) made of baize, a mantilla on the back woven from sheeps’ yarn, sombrero and *ajotas* like the men.

In Peru, phenotype is not as important as other cultural markers such as education and morality in defining race and social class. Attire plays a significant role in racial/social identification in Ayacucho. Many of the indicators Escarcena used to identify the “rustic Indian” still hold today, as the photo on the title page of this thesis illustrates. While most campesinos (especially men) do not dress as described above on a daily basis, they do however when they wish to be identified as campesinos, such as during fiestas and *concursos* (this is discussed in more detail in the following chapter). During *elenco* performances and competitions, dancers also dress in the “rustic” style, which is often highly exaggerated, when performing ‘campesino’ dances.

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Escarcena’s article exemplifies the ideal of *indigenista* discourse in the early twentieth century in which the Indian becomes increasingly civilised. In Escarcena’s scheme, the “Indian” evolves to become evermore “civilised”. The diet becomes more “complex” and the more civilised Indians tend to live in the provincial capitals or in cities. According to Escarcena, as the Indians progress they use refined fabrics and no longer wear *ajotas*. The following is an excerpt from the fifth category. Due to the limitations of space I include only Escarcena’s description of the “middle class,” female, cultured
*mestizo* Indian, because it is this image that contemporary middle class female Huamanguinas emulate during rituals and fiestas.

The women constitute a special type, THE MESTIZA HUAMANGUINA, a woman of the attractive type, of a white complexion or light brown, with large black eyes. Her attire is very ornate (*vistoso*) and consists of a skirt made from merino or cashmere, of one clear colour … This outfit is very expensive … So attractive and unusual is the ensemble of the mestiza Huamanguina that both the young women of society as well as women from other places have to photograph themselves in their outfit.⁵² (see photo. 45).

The male *mestizo* cultured Indian is known for his special ability with the fine arts and music. This belief still holds to this day. Huamanguino musicians are revered throughout Peru for their musical talent. The cultured *mestizo* presented in the pages of *Huamanga* is, thus, a syncretism of indigenous and European styles of the early to mid-twentieth century. It is this image that Huamanguinos emulate and recall during fiestas such as Semana Santa and Día de los Compadres.

As Mendoza has observed, although *indigenista* and later neo-*indigenistas* produced and re-produced the “Indian-*mestizo* dichotomy” the distinction between these categories was not absolute but relative.⁵³ Social and cultural elements considered rural, rustic and containing pre-Columbian links were (and still are) considered more indigenous. While elements that are deemed more elaborate, elegant and refined with colonial content and originating closer to the city are considered *mestizo*.⁵⁴ This has led to a rural-urban split that is still present in much of present day artistic output in Peru. But, as Mendoza has also noted, these categories begin to dissolve when considered in the complexity of individual performers and the arts they produce.⁵⁵

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⁵³ Mendoza, *Creating Our Own*, 10.
⁵⁴ Mendoza, *Creating Our Own*, 10.
⁵⁵ Mendoza, *Creating Our Own*, 11.
Photograph 43: Chola Huamanguina

Photograph 44: Cultured mestizo Indian
Gabriel used many of the elements identified as belonging to the rustic Indian mentioned above, such as the *pisca* and the *manta*, in combination with more European styles, in order to (re)create a Huamanguino identity, something Huamanguinos have been attempting to do since at least the early 1900s. While it could be argued that Gabriel engages neo-indigenista techniques, his respect for campesinos and admiration of their cultural practices were evident during all the interactions I witnessed. In evidence of Mendoza’s idea of a fluid and complex rural-urban interaction, Gabriel called on campesino cultural practices including the dances of the *fustanche* and the *huertakuy* to enrich and enhance Huamanguino cultural identity. However, more importantly, he was motivated and inspired by campesino resilience. He believed that although campesinos had suffered years of atrocities during the political violence, they had somehow managed to maintain their dances, fiestas and cultural practices. In addition, Gabriel felt that it was through their cultural practices that campesinos had also managed to recuperate unifying values – such as respect and reciprocity – which he considered to be sorely lacking in Huamanga.

**Recuperating Value Through Dance: Memories of the Violence**

In the early 1980s, Gabriel worked and lived in Huanta (in the north) until he was threatened and briefly imprisoned by police, after which he chose to return to Huamanga as a safer option. During the conflict the police and military personnel regularly assumed that all teachers were of a communist persuasion, SL sympathisers or SL members. Many young teachers trained at the UNSCH were, indeed, members of Sendero Luminoso sent to infiltrate communities under the guise of bringing much-needed education. As a result, teachers such as Gabriel, who were not affiliated with the party, were regularly considered suspect merely because of their profession. As a result, teachers were hounded, persecuted, wrongly accused, imprisoned or worse.

The TRC determined that the internal conflict was officially at an end by 2000. Ten years on, it was apparent that the experience of the conflict was fresh in Gabriel’s memory. It was present on a daily basis, as it is for most Huamanguinos, although it was not regularly mentioned. One evening as we walked towards home, up Mariscal Cáceres – as we had done many times before – Gabriel paused near a doorway (see map 4). He then told of another experience of the violence in which he narrowly escaped crossfire between SL and the police. As he was walking home one evening, “just as you and I are
now, I suddenly heard gunfire. Bullets began to whiz by me." Gabriel ran into the recess of the doorway for safety, where he was trapped as bullets whizzed past. He yelled for the inhabitant to let him in, pounding on the door with his fists. To his disbelief and great relief, the door opened and he fell inside, where he waited until the shooting had subsided.

The memory which caused Gabriel the most obvious grief was the loss of the mother of his youngest son, Paulo. Gabriel explained that she “was killed by the subversives.” “As she walked out of a doorway onto the street they shot her down” when Paulo was only 18 months old. According to Gabriel, she was targeted by Sendero because of her lifelong friendship with a member of the military. Gabriel was deeply affected by the loss of Paulo’s mother. In daily conversations he often referred to Paulo as an orphan. Gabriel felt that Paulo has been robbed of his mother and try as he might, Gabriel was unable to provide Paulo with the love and care of both a father and a mother. Gabriel’s concern was not limited to his own son. He regularly spoke of how the youth of Ayacucho had been left orphaned by years of violence and how the conflict had robbed them of the love and guidance of their parents. For Gabriel this was a travesty which he and his son faced daily.

At an international conference held in Ayacucho to commemorate the anniversary of the release of the TRC’s Final Report, Gabriel stood up in the large crowd and spoke passionately of problems of the Ayacuchano youth, declaring that they arose as a direct result of the violence because “so many had grown up as orphans”. He often spoke with apparent frustration and anger that nothing was being done for people like his son. In our conversations and interviews, Gabriel lamented the state of mental health of Huamanguinos (and Ayacuchanos in general) and observed that there was no support for sufferers of mental illness. It is true that mental health services are sadly lacking in Huamanga. Although there are many individuals and organisations attempting to assist, such as the Centro Loyola and others, there are very few qualified counsellors willing to live in Huamanga and none who speak Quechua.

56 Gabriel Quispe, in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 19 September 2009.
57 Gabriel Quispe, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 23 September 2009.
58 Gabriel Quispe, Ayacucho, 23 September 2009.
59 CEHRA Conference, open session, 7 September 2009.
Gabriel was moved to tears months later during an interview as he once again spoke about the plight of the orphans of the political conflict. Gabriel voluntarily raised numerous issues which he had previously discussed with me informally:

We have lost our practices, our customs. We have lost our values; the value of reciprocity, no? When you give me something, no? I must give you something in return, no? The value of complementarity is related to others, no? Now we have lost the complementarity, each person lives their own life, they have learned to be self-interested. That is to say, if something happens to someone, some misfortune, there is no mutual support, no? They come and they go, I save my skin first and the rest?60

At this point Gabriel found it difficult to speak. His voice began to break, the pain of this reality evident on his face, as his eyes welled with tears. With some difficulty he continued, “Who cares?” Crying now, he managed to conclude, “This is what has happened.”61

This statement offers some insight into why rescatando fiestas and traditions are so important to Ayacuchanos like Gabriel. The values of reciprocity and respect are integral in Andean fiestas. The loss of traditional fiestas is perceived by many Ayacuchanos as the loss of fundamental values, leading to a lack of respect.

Although many rural inhabitants fled to Huamanga in search of safety and to escape the violence in rural areas, as Gabriel’s experience demonstrates, living in the city did not provide a guarantee of safety. Sendero openly attacked public officials, including the mayor. For example, senderistas entered the INC and shot the director Walter Wong in broad daylight and calmly walked away.62 As a result of Sendero violence “Huamanga and the entire department of Ayacucho was invaded by police who behaved like occupying forces, and disputes and fights were everyday occurrences.”63

The armed forces, members of the police and sinchis (special countersubversive forces of the police based in Huamanaga) also committed numerous human rights abuses during the conflict. According to the findings of the TRC, the number of extrajudicial executions and various human rights abuses reached “catastrophic proportions” in

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60 Gabriel Quispe, Ayacucho, 23 March 2010.
61 Gabriel Quispe, Ayacucho, 23 March 2010.
62 CVR, 1.2: 153; Wong later died from the wounds at the Huamanga airport.
63 CVR, 1.2: 152.
response to SL strategies. The TRC reports that the armed forces in Ayacucho “went out to patrol, hold up and shoot, they killed in the name of the fatherland (patria).”

The police and armed forces were responsible for more than 1,000 deaths a year between 1983 and 1984 alone. The Huamanga military base known as Los Cabitos and the Casa Rosada, which housed the intelligence unit on the outskirts of Huamanga, became centres of torture and the forced disappearances of those suspected of terrorism.

For Ayacuchos like Gabriel the memories of the violent years are everpresent. They are evoked merely by walking the streets of the city and they live on in the faces of loved ones. In his son’s face and in every corner of the city, Gabriel, like many Huamanguinos, remembers the violence. However, it is not only what is visible which evokes the ghosts of the past. The ghosts are present in all that is absent, all that has been eroded, lost or forgotten, in the joy which has been taken away, whether that be the people who are missing, the opportunities lost, expressions of identity no longer celebrated or the values eroded. For Gabriel, the traditional costumbres and practices of the past and those still practised by campesinos, which have been lost in the city, are directly related to moral values which have also been replaced. For Gabriel, the hatred stirred by the years of violence is directly related to the current socio-cultural situation in Huamanga:

The arts have become very individualistic, very egocentric. There is a great deal of jealousy between artists, not only in music, but also in dance. There is hatred between them (artists) and this is a consequence of the violence.

It is in part the loss of values which motivated Gabriel to use his role as cultural coordinator to salvage some of what had been taken from him and from Huamanga over the years. It is true in Gabriel’s case – he was born in 1951 – that not all he perceives as lost is lost solely due to the internal conflict. Some changes are the result of modernisation and the reforms of 1969. However, for Gabriel the greatest impact of loss and struggle comes as a result of the years of political violence:

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64 CVR, 1.3.1.3: 266.
65 CVR, 1.3.1.3: 260.
66 CVR, 1.3.1.3: 296.
67 CVR, 1.3.1.3: 266; 2.9: 71-87.
68 Gabriel Quispe Montes, Ayacucho, 23 March 2010.
It is those of who stayed behind, who have suffered the impact and the consequences of the actions of those people responsible. And the truth is it is those of us who stayed who are the heroes because we have lived through very difficult times. Because it is not easy when the stone is thrown not to confront the situation.69

Through remembering and salvaging the traditions of the past, Huamanguaninos are remembering and creating the future they wish to inhabit. In order to bring his memories of the *fustanche* into being, Gabriel needed to enlist the help of dance teachers and dancers. To this end, he approached Vincente, the director of the *elenco* (dance group) for the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC – National Institute of Culture). Willy Castro, the director of the *elenco* Perú Ancestral, and the dancers were invited to join the effort a week after rehearsals began.70 Willy and Vincente are experienced dance teachers who have taught dance in Ayacucho for at least 20 years. Gabriel also asked me to dance and to assist with the choreography, helping to bring his memories of the *fustanche* into being. In this way, I too became part of the *aynis* for the *mayordomos*. I attended rehearsals for the dance and assisted with the choreography. I danced the *fustanche* in the Plaza Mayor on the Día de Los Compadres and I danced in Rolando and Martha’s *comparsa* (group) for carnival. I attended numerous committee meetings. I travelled with the family in the collection of the *killis*. I partook of communal meals, travelled in *pasacalles* and partied late into the night.

Rehearsals for the *fustanche* began with the members of the *elenco* from the INC. The first rehearsal was held on a Wednesday evening in the cement forecourt of the INC, the usual rehearsal space for the *elenco*. Gabriel and I arrived early to meet with Vincente and Elena. Elena was director of dance for Semana Santa, which in practice meant she assisted Gabriel by organising the dancers, the costumes and the props for the dances for the Día de los Compadres and later for Semana Santa. The four of us waited, sitting on a brick wall as the young dancers dribbled in. Elena had brought 20 *valays*, along with material which had been twisted and tied into small circles with string. Once everyone had arrived, Gabriel informed us that the dancers would dance with the *valays* on their heads without the use of hands. The circles of material would be placed directly on the head with the *valay* balanced on top. Although the *valays* were not originally part

69 Gabriel Quispe Montes, Ayacucho, 23 March 2010.
70 During my time in Ayacucho I joined the *elenco* Peru Ancestral and I regularly rehearsed and performed with them. I am grateful to all the dancers and to Willy Castro for their generosity in welcoming me into their group and for all that I learned from them.
of the _fustanche_, the addition was another element of Huamanguino tradition that Gabriel planned to salvage. He recalled that women _panaderas_ (bakers) carried large quantities of bread in _valays_ balanced on their heads, without using their hands to hold it in place.

There was much nervous laughter and trepidation among the dancers as they attempted to walk while balancing the _valay_ on their heads, without holding it in place. _Valays_ went falling and rolling, dropping and bouncing all over the courtyard as the dancers attempted the new challenge. It seemed it was no easy task for these young dancers, who ranged in age from 16 to 24. More than one dancer exclaimed “it’s impossible”, another, “it can’t be done” and “we can’t dance properly with these on our heads.”

Such negative responses seemed to frustrate Gabriel, who took a basket and material ring from one of the dancers. Placing them on his head, with his hands propped on his hips, neck long and back straight, he proceeded to show the dancers that it was indeed possible (photo. 47). Admittedly, he had practised a little before the dancers arrived.

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As none of the organisers, dancers or choreographers had ever worked as a *panadera* (few had seen *panaderas* carrying *valays* on their heads), a lot of time was spent working out how to walk without the baskets falling off. It took some time and instruction for the dancers to be able to manage walking without constantly dropping the baskets during the initial rehearsal. With some time and effort they gradually became more proficient. Then Gabriel decided the men could hold the *valay* with one hand and put the other behind their back in the style of *marinera ayacuchana*. The women, however, would have to conduct the entire dance with both hands on their hips or skirts. This information was not well received by the girls, who exclaimed that it was “unfair”. The rehearsal lasted two hours and most of that time was spent working out how to carry the *valays*, to the frustration of many of the dancers who simply wanted to dance. It was not difficult to understand the dancers’ point of view, as there was much standing around and talking in the initial stages as Gabriel attempted to recall what he had seen as a child and to convey what he wanted to the choreographers and the dancers.

For someone with formal dance training, particularly in many Western styles of dance such as classical, jazz or contemporary, moving while balancing something on one’s head is no great challenge. The nature of the training involved in these formal styles of dance is to lengthen the spine, to hold the neck straight and to be able to consciously isolate different areas of the body. As such, holding the upper body still while softening the movements of the legs and feet to enable smooth travelling movements is a relatively simple task for most trained dancers. While some of the *elenco* dancers had been dancing and performing for up to six years, they were not trained in Western styles of dance. The dances regularly performed by Ayacuchano *elencos* are generally bucolic dances from Ayacucho and other departments of Peru.

The dance training in an *elenco* in Ayacucho generally consists of joining in at the back of the group and gradually assimilating the steps and the choreography over time. Some *elencos* conduct a brief warm-up before the rehearsal begins in earnest and again new members learn by following. Straight backs and elevated bodies are not sought after in the portrayal of campesino dance; rather, corporeal expressions which emphasise staccato movements and connection to the earth with flat-footed hopping and stamping movements are employed. The ability to bend low to the ground and bounce up rapidly
is regularly called for, especially in the execution of agricultural dances such as the huertakuy, a dance practised by campesinos in the huerta (‘small orchard’), which celebrates planting and fertility and the fruits of the earth.

Most elenco members have some experience of more elevated corporeal expression through dancing the marinera ayacuchana, which is considered to be a mestizo or urban dance. While there are a number of different styles of marinera, the marinera ayacuchana is specific to Ayacucho and differs from the dances of the campo and from the more famous and flirtatious marinera norteña (from the north coast). It is far more conservative, the movements are slow and elegant with most interest coming from varied choreographic shapes rather than from the steps. The walking steps are danced with elegance and grace. All movements are smooth and fluid, bodies long and erect. Men dance with their hands behind their back, elbows out to the side, reminiscent of gentlemen dancing eighteenth century quadrilles.

The fustanche takes its name from the fustán, the large over-skirt, which the women remove during the dance and place on the male dancers. Gabriel recalled that this dance was regularly performed in the Plaza Mayor as part of the celebrations for Día de los Compadres when he was a young boy. This part of the dance took some rehearsing as the majority of the dancers had not grown up with this behaviour in a dance or otherwise. They could not quite understand the point of it and the young men became very embarrassed at the idea of wearing a skirt. They seemed to think it threatened their masculinity to be seen in public wearing a skirt. Rehearsals stalled as the male dancers initially protested and ultimately teased each other about the colour of the skirt or whether it suited them. The young women also had difficulty initially, particularly in finding the element of fun and play in the dance, because they did not understand the origins of the dance or the significance of placing their skirt on a man. This gave Gabriel the chance to explain the origins and meaning of the dance to the young dancers.

Many people think like Westerners, no? They think that when the man puts on the fustán that he becomes a homosexual, that isn’t so. A person who doesn’t understand Andean cosmology could typify it like that, but it isn’t so. The mentality is the following, the woman has laid eyes on the man she likes, and
what she does [by placing her skirt on him] is secure her affection and that he belongs to her. It is a manifestation of this relationship.\footnote{Gabriel Quispe, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 21 March, 2010.}

During carnival celebrations in Huanta, Gabriel and I witnessed the fustanche happen in an organic way. As some campesinos from the north of the province performed a carnival dance, a few of the dancers spontaneously whipped off their skirts and chased the men who, once caught, happily wore the skirt, incorporating it in the rest of the dance. Some became effeminate in their movements, others grabbed the woman who had placed it on them and hoisted her over the shoulder as if to carry her off. Others fell on top of the woman in sexual parody. The dance was free and chaotic, with dancers following their individual inclination and initiative.

\begin{figure}[h!]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Photograph_46.png}
\caption{Carnival chaos in Huanta}
\end{figure}

The fustanche for Día de los Compadres was far more structured than that in Huanta. Re-created from Gabriel’s childhood memories of the dance, it is likely these were somewhat influenced by dances he had seen campesinos dance. In our role as choreographers Willy, Vincente and I acted as translators for Gabriel’s ideas and memories. For example, in the creation of the spiral (described earlier) in the fustanche, Gabriel explained verbally and corporeally what he remembered as he moved around the open space etching out a large circle. From his verbal and physical narrative we
instructed the dancers, creating various versions until Gabriel was satisfied that the choreography met with both his memories and his aesthetic expectations of the dance. Dance teachers from Ayacucho are accustomed to creating dances through this method. Willy explained the elements he believes any comparsa or elenco should aim to achieve. It was this philosophy that informed his interpretation of the fustanche:

What does the dance mean? The dance should bring the customs or the cultural manifestation of a community to the stage so that the people can observe and understand the community through the dance, but most dance teachers don’t really understand this. They just want to create a beautiful spectacle. In the end, you leave the event, but you don’t understand anything, because there is no reason for what they [dance teachers] do.\(^{73}\)

Both Gabriel and Willy aimed to help Ayacuchanos come to a better understanding of themselves and their cultural history through the dance of the fustanche, the huertakuy and through the play of the pukllay (Quechua for ‘play’ – discussed in Chapter 5).

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\(^{73}\) Willy Castro, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 26 February, 2010.
Communicating Embodied Memory: Culture, Time and Space

As Marcel Mauss and Pierre Bourdieu have shown, certain cultural patterns are inscribed in the movements of the body in what has been termed ‘habitus.’ Many of these movements and patterns are unconscious, such as how one walks or waves hello. No conscious thought is used to execute these movements, yet the imprint of one’s culture is present. It is useful to consider the notion of habitus in relation to communicating the memory of the past through the embodied expression of dance. During the rehearsals for the fustanche, it became clear that the organisers were attempting to recall and reinstate the embodied culture of the past.

In 1936, Marcel Mauss wrote his now famous article, “Techniques of the Body”. Mauss was one of the first scholars to identify how cultural and social factors are inscribed in physical movement. Mauss described technique as “an action which is effective and traditional.” Mauss examined various physical activities such as the techniques of swimming and of teaching swimming in which he observed that these vary from country to country and change from generation to generation. He also examined the vastly different digging techniques of the French and English troops during WWI and analysed the different marching styles of these two armies. These observations were a starting point for Mauss. He then had a “kind of revelation” while in a New York hospital, when he noticed that the nurses walked in a way that was somewhat familiar to him. Initially he could not place where he had seen this walk, but with time he realised it was in the cinema. On his return to France he noticed that “American walking fashions” had spread to Europe via the cinema. This is a phenomenon that most travellers have experienced in one way or another. It is the ability to pick a fellow Australian in a crowded Spanish bar or on the streets of Rome purely by the walk or by simple hand gestures. Mauss concludes that:

What emerges very clearly … is the fact we are everywhere faced with physio-psycho-sociological assemblages of series of actions. These actions are

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75 Mauss, “Body Techniques,” 75.
more or less habitual and more or less ancient in the life of the individual and the history of society.\textsuperscript{78}

Mauss employed the concept of \textit{habitus} to explain the social habits and embodied expressions of socio-cultural influences. While the English term ‘habitude’ is similar, Mauss found the Latin habitus was “infinitely better”.\textsuperscript{79} Mauss stressed that to understand the concept of habitus a “triple viewpoint” is needed of “the total man”.\textsuperscript{80} This perspective is physiological, psychological and sociological.

In the early 1970s, Bourdieu expanded on the notion of habitus. Bourdieu differs from Mauss as he views \textit{habitus} as transferable but not necessarily something which is actively or consciously taught. According to Bourdieu, “The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce \textit{habitus}.”\textsuperscript{81} Bourdieu states that habitus is a:

System of durable transposable \textit{dispositions}, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being the product of obedience to the rules.\textsuperscript{82}

Bourdieu has shown how individuals respond in a particular way in a given situation and this is not necessarily in conscious response to the rules. Habitus is a “set of dispositions which generates practices and perception.”\textsuperscript{83} These dispositions are inculcated during the early years of life and last the duration of an agent’s life.

Certain physical patterns (or habitus) are attributed to the true Huamanguina, such as elegance, grace and beauty. Ephemeral qualities such as elegance and grace are specific to the culture in which they are being interpreted. In the city of Huamanga, which has a long history as a colonial city, notions of elegance – for women – are communicated through movements which are smooth, gliding, soft and elevated. During the re-creation

\textsuperscript{78} Mauss, “Body Techniques,” 85.
\textsuperscript{79} Mauss, “Body Techniques,” 73.
\textsuperscript{80} Mauss, “Body Techniques,” 73.
\textsuperscript{81} Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory and Practice, 72.
\textsuperscript{82} Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory and Practice, 72.
of the *fustanche*, all these key physical elements of a remembered habitus were employed to convey and communicate the memory of the past.

As the young women were encouraged to lengthen their neck and spines, they became taller and embodied a more stately somatic expression, one which did not come naturally, or easily, to many of the girls. As they worked to soften the movements of their knees and move with elasticity through their feet and ankles so the baskets would stay in place, their movements became more fluid and elegant. All staccato movements were gradually eliminated, as these caused the baskets to be dislodged. As the dancers held their torsos long and still, making articulations from the hip down, they began to move as if gliding across the surface. As they left behind flat-footed walks, round shoulders and bowed heads, the young women took on an embodied expression not their own, they took on the physical habitus of a previous time and space.

While habitus explains the communication of the memory of an embodied cultural aesthetic and social ideal, its use in relation to dance is limited. I, like others before me,
consider Bourdieu’s contention that habitus is necessarily an unconscious intertwining of physical actions and philosophies limited. As dance anthropologist Sklar observes, “For Bourdieu, people are not in possession of the habitus; rather they are possessed by it.” However, in the conscious interpretation of a dance which aims to portray the cultural memory of a time and space, choreographers and dancers take on and take up what may be unconscious in another, to communicate a socio-cultural aesthetic of a particular time and place. For those who are experienced in working with their own body (or that of others) in a dynamic way, such as dancers, choreographers or actors, the act of interpreting the social meaning of a particular movement or combination of movements is not unconscious. The corporeal facility of most dancers, combined with a mindfulness of movement, allows for an embodiment of movements enacted in a conscious manner. While it is true that dancers cannot take on the cultural economic or social field, as explained by Bourdieu, they can have a glimpse of awareness which goes beyond the constraints of habitus. The dancers for the fustanche did not leave behind their own habitus as they worked to take on a new one. Rather, their own was expanded, and this became apparent as they walked away from rehearsals still with their shoulders rolled back and down, their spines long and erect.

In the case of the fustanche, the dancers performing the dance were completely new to the dance, the history and the social significance of the movements. The fustanche dancers learned a dance and a tradition which was largely new to them. This is in contrast with many campesino dances such as those performed during the Hatun Tupanakuy (see Chapter 5), where dancers dance the embodied memory of the past in the present, a somatic memory which in the majority of instances has been passed down through generations. In this instance, it is useful to consider Edward Casey’s definition of remembering and recollecting. Casey identifies two forms of memory in relation to the body. The first he identifies as “remembering”. This is a “body memory” which is a sensing of and in the body. The second he calls “recollecting”, which is a “memory of the body” through an objectified consciousness of the body. As Sklar writes (informed

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84 Sklar, “Qualities of Memory,” 99.
by Casey), “in body memory, the past is enacted in the present, as a kind of *immanence*.”

In creating the *fustanche*, Gabriel (and his team) were “recollecting” in Casey’s terms. I argue that although Gabriel did not dance the *fustanche* himself, he still carried an embodied memory of the dance. This is not merely a visual memory held in his mind’s eye or “preserved in images.” To be present to the dance during fiestas is to have all the senses involved and to imbibe the dance through a sensorial reception of the dance. It is this embodied witnessing of the dance – also a form of participation – that came forward during the rehearsals for the *fustanche*. This sensorial memory was evident as Gabriel demonstrated how the girls should dance with the *valay* on their head or how the boys should hold their arms and chest as they accompanied the girls in the dance. It should be noted, of course, that it is likely that Gabriel’s recollection was by no means a “pure memory” of the *fustanche* from his youth.

In *Qualities of Memory* Sklar investigates the importance of the senses in the formation and the recall of memory. Sklar provides a brief history of early scholarly interest in sensory memory, beginning in the 1970s with the work of Richard Bandler and John Grinder, who developed Neuro-linguistic Programming and “showed that different people access memory via different sensory modalities.” They also demonstrated that the sense primarily used in the formation of a particular memory is not always that which is used in its representation. At around the same time, Geertz began to emphasise the importance of embodied knowledge, raising the important question, which Sklar echoes, “How do we, in Geerzt’s terms, ‘sense with understanding’?”

In a bid to answer this question, Sklar examines the importance of the senses in the formation of both knowledge and memory. Sklar takes Mauss and Bordieu’s understanding of habitus a step further. She writes, “all thinking occurs in one or another sensory modality, but ratios are different for different individuals, and perhaps for the same individual in different circumstances.” According to Sklar there is another, deeper level of sensory memory. She highlights kinaesthetic memory, which

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86 Sklar, “Qualities of Memory,” 99.
88 Sklar, “Qualities of Memory,” 97.
89 Sklar, “Qualities of Memory,” 98.
90 Sklar, “Qualities of Memory,” 98.
goes beyond the usual understanding of the sensation of touch. Touch is generally perceived of as an external sense; one feels what one touches on the skin, or one feels the pressure, the weight, the warmth of the embrace of another human being – on the outside of the body. Kinaesthetic awareness is felt from within, from the inside out: “Movement in other words combines felt bodily experience and the culturally based organisation of that experience into cognitive patterns. Ways of moving are ways of thinking.”91 This point is well illustrated by Gabriel’s approach to dance and memory. Taking this into account, we start to see that the embodied practice of dance and other embodied aspects of traditional fiestas, which incorporate values and knowledge of the past, also lead to ways of thinking. These ways of thinking incorporate moral codes including reciprocity and therefore are treasured by Huamanguinos like Gabriel, Rolando, Martha and Willy.

On the morning of the dance, the female dancers dressed in the skirts commissioned especially for the occasion under Gabriel’s direction, made of floral material in a range of pastel colours. The traditional Huamanguino *fustán* is typically bold and in block colours. However, the change was in line with what Gabriel remembered from his youth, when “there was more variety.” 92 The female dancers wore long-sleeved white shirts with a brightly coloured *manta* around the shoulders and high-heeled black shoes (photo. 51). The ensemble was topped off with the white hat bordered with a large black ribbon which is considered uniquely Huamanguina – *sombrero de paja*. 93 The ensemble mixed campesino elements with traditional Huamanguino attire. For example, the

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92 Gabriel Quispe, during a meeting of *Mayordomía de Resurrección de Pascuas*, Ayacucho, 17 January 2010.

*manta* is strongly identified with campesino work life and culture. It is tied around the shoulders and used by campesinos to carry heavy loads including babies and young children. Specific colour and pattern combinations identify particular communities and regions. Huamanguina women use the more decorative *lliklla* (Quechua for *manta* – this word is generally used in relation to this particular outfit) over the shoulders, fastened with an ornate clasp. All dancers wore their hair in braids, a style which is associated with campesino dress. It is rarely (if ever) worn by urban Huamanguinas. Members of Peru Ancestral plaited our own hair in braids, while dancers with the INC attached long black braids made from wool, which is common among urban *elencos* when performing campesino dances. The male dancers wore black pants and shoes, with white shirts and black sombreros. Both the male and female dancers carried fruit in *valays*, just as Rolando and Martha had done on the Día de los Killis. The fruit would later be thrown at one another and the *invitados* following the *fustanche* as part of the *pukllay* (‘to play’). *Pukllay* is a carnival game which celebrates the fruits of the harvest and fertility; many rural *comparsas* included this during the carnival, as discussed in Chapter 5. Almost all the *aynis* and *invitados* were dressed in a similar fashion to that of the dancers; however, none wore their hair in braids and all wore *llikllas*.

As the *pasacalle* set out into the streets, two men ran ahead, setting off large firecrackers to announce our arrival. The male dancers danced down one side of the street and the women lined the other. Rolando, Martha, Gabriel and other family and invited guests walked or danced in the centre, flanked by the dancers with the musicians behind. Rolando carried the small image of the *Señor de la Pascua de Resurrección*, encased in its elaborately embossed silver frame. His daughter, Luisa, carried the richly embroidered standard, while Gabriel carried a large sky blue flag with the coat of arms of Huamanga in the centre of a royal blue cross. As we made our way along the streets to the Plaza Mayor, we danced the simple travelling step of carnival. The men carried the *valay* on their heads, while to the general relief of the women we ultimately carried ours balanced on our hip with the left arm. We were accompanied by a large band which included traditional and modern instruments such as trumpets, tubas, violins, *charangos*, guitars and large modern drums. We paused at the entrance to the plaza as all traffic was stopped and the streets cleared for us.
As is the norm in Huamanga during *pasacalles*, we entered the plaza from the northwest corner of Jirón Lima and Jirón 28 de Julio (see photo. 50) and then danced our way around the plaza to the Cathedral, where we entered the church for the official mass (see map 3). Before entering the church, there was much for the dancers to manage. We placed our *valays* on the ground, removed our sombreros, undid our *mantas* and then placed them over our heads, as a type of veil, recalling the tradition in which women covered their heads in Catholic churches, a practice which became less common following changes introduced with Vatican II in the early to mid-1960s (fig 52). The female dancers placed our hats on top of the fruit in our *valays* and carried them at our waist, following the official party of the *mayordomía*. As the dancers approached the altar, we genuflected and placed our baskets on the steps of the altar, which had been adorned with metres and metres of colourful *killis* donated to the *mayordomos* by the *aynis* and collected during the previous week on the day of *killis*. All of these moments had been extensively practised during the dance rehearsals in the weeks leading up to the event, as many of the dancers were not regular churchgoers and needed to learn how to genuflect.
Following the mass we retrieved our baskets from the altar and processed out of the cathedral to the large patio, where we danced a *huertakuy*. This is a type of agricultural dance, traditionally celebrated by rural communities at the time of harvest or planting; it is rarely danced in rural communities anymore. It is, however, regularly performed by *elencos* during *concursos* and exhibitions. With a wry smile, Gabriel proudly informed me that we were the first group ever to be permitted to dance on the forecourt of the Cathedral. This dance had been included, at Gabriel’s suggestion, as a type of homage to the campesinos of Ayacucho. For Gabriel, the fact that we danced the *huertakuy* on the forecourt of the Cathedral was a triumph of/for the oppressed even though the majority of the dancers were urban and not campesinos.

For the *huertakuy* we put down our *valays*, *sombreros* and *mantas*. In their place, the women collected five vegetables each which we held in our skirts (campesino fashion) and the men collected wooden sticks fashioned in the shape of hoes (photo. 53). The dance called for a very different corporeal expression to that of the *fustanche* or even the carnival dance. The performance of campesino dances includes movements in which the body is bent forward and the centre of gravity is low to the ground. During this
dance the men travelled forward, making stamping movements with their right leg as they mimed a digging action with the hoe. The women danced behind their partner, bouncing in a wide-legged stance, making small half-circles, holding the skirt with the left hand and making a sewing action with the right. After three such actions, we placed one of our vegetables on the ground, as if planting. While campesino dances are known for their humour, freedom, spontaneity and lewdness, when performed by elencos they are generally highly rehearsed, as was this dance. We all placed the same vegetable at the same time (photo. 54). We had practised this many times, with cardboard cutouts of the vegetables, to be sure that we all had the correct vegetable.

It was unusual and somewhat uncomfortable to dance the low, bent knee, grounded movements of the huertakuy in high heels. Dances of this type are usually performed wearing ajotas (a type of sandal). The high heels altered our stance and meant that we were attempting to dance grounded movements from an elevated position. In many ways this is a perfect analogy for neo-indigenistas, who attempt to appreciate the campesino reality but often remain elevated above it and in some instances dictate to campesinos what their culture is and how to be authentic (see Chapters 4 and 5). After
completing the *huertakuy* we replaced our *valays*, sombreros and *mantas* and danced out into and around the Plaza where we performed the *fustanche* described earlier.

**Conclusion: Remembering the Sense of the Dance**

This chapter builds on the argument of the previous chapter and contributes to the overall argument by demonstrating that dance remains a significant site of memory not only for rural campesinos but also for urban dwellers in the capital city of Huamanga. Cultural groups as well as individuals are now working to reclaim dances that have been lost or forgotten. Some of these dances disappeared as a result of the restrictions enforced under the state of emergency. Others faded out of use as a result of social and economic changes within the city. Irrespective of the cause of the disappearance, it is important to note that many Huamanguinos now frame the need to remember the dances, fiestas and ‘traditions of the ancestors’ as part of a process of recovery following the violent years. Huamanguinos, like many rural Ayacuchanos, equate the loss of *costumbres* with the loss of social and moral values. Through dance and fiesta, Huamanguinos are reinstating the social values that they believe have been lost as a result of the violence *entre projimos*, during which trust, loyalty, and respect were replaced with suspicion and egoism.

The dance of the *fustanche* was for Gabriel much like the little madeleine cakes in Marcel Proust’s *Remembrance of Things Past*, in which the senses served to stimulate the memory. The senses of hearing, smell and touch were all involved in his recall and creation of the dance.

> But when from a long-distant past nothing subsists, after the people are dead, after the things are broken and scattered, still, alone, more fragile, but with more vitality, more unsubstantial, more persistent, more faithful, the smell and taste of things remain poised a long time, like souls, ready to remind us, waiting and hoping for their moment, amid the ruins of all the rest; and bear unfaltering, in the tiny and almost impalpable drop of their essence, the vast structure of recollection.\(^\text{94}\)

Sight alone is not enough to summon memories; it is the engagement with all the senses and the kinaesthetic in a process of synesthesia which evokes the past. For Gabriel, the *fustanche* was, like the madeleine, which he hoped would be the essence to awaken “the vast structure of recollection” not only for himself, but in the consciousness of all

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Huamanguinos who would witness the dance and be reminded of the stately nature of their collective history and in doing so reclaim their self-esteem. For Gabriel, cultural practices such as the dance, song, artesanía, fiestas and ritual practices of his people are connected to the self-esteem of the individual and the collective. By supporting artisans who remembered the old ways, Gabriel’s intention was to reinstate traditions in an ongoing way, reaching beyond the Semana Santa of 2010.

Jo Labanyi observes that, “According to Benjamin’s cultural history as montage, the historian not only collects bits of rubble from amid the ruins of the past – that is, bits and pieces – so it can be assembled to create new meanings through the dialectical confrontation of fragments that are normally separate.”\(^{95}\) I suggest that this is not only the role of the historian. It is also the role of the human being who seeks to make sense of the past and to connect with the spectre of what has been lost or forgotten. Certainly, Gabriel Quispe aimed to pull together the many fragments of the Huamanguino past.\(^{96}\) For the individuals involved in the mayordomía of 2010, the dance of the fustanche acted to pull the past to the present, creating a present in which the values of reciprocity and complementarity were respected and all that had been lost could be remembered in all its livingness.

Sklar has shown that for the people of Tortugas in New Mexico “The dance worked as a mnemonic, a way to remember, in the sense of re-embody, a time ‘before missionaries came.’”\(^{97}\) For Gabriel Quispe, the mayordomos and many other Huamanguinos, the dance of the fustanche was a site of memory which functioned to recall a time that had been forgotten, to re-embody a time when people respected the values of reciprocity and complementarity, when the women were elegant and the men were gentlemen, when they walked tall and proud of their heritage and heroic history, and when Huamanga was renowned for its musicians, artisans, for the wealth of silver and for the craftsmen who worked it. All these elements were memorialised, embodied and communicated through the movements, apparel and preparations of the dance of the fustanche.

\(^{96}\) Labanyi, “Coming to Terms with the Ghosts of the Past.”
\(^{97}\) Sklar, “Qualities of Memory,” 112.
The corporeal memory danced and performed by Huamanguinos during private parties, as well as major fiestas such as Holy Week and Carnival, calls on a memory of elegance and sophistication associated with the mid-twentieth century. The embodied memory communicated through Huamanguino dance also acts as a tacit reminder of the difference between campesinos and urban Huamanguinos. It incorporates moves in which the body is elevated and the spine is elongated; this effect is exaggerated for women, who always wear high-heeled shoes. The physical elevation of the body and elegant floating movements of the Huamanguino style is in stark contrast with the corporeal expressions identified with campesinos and their dances. Campesinos are often perceived by non-campesinos as being lower class and closer to nature and thus are represented through movements bowing low to the ground, with knees bent and staccato stamping performed in open *ajotas* or flat shoes. The following chapter examines how campesinos use dance to embody place and redress inequality within the urban setting of Huamanga.
Chapter 4. Carnavales Rurales and the Choreography of Place


On Sunday, 24 January 2010, the Plaza Mayor in Huamanga came alive with the dance, song, colour and laughter of over 70 comparsas (groups) gathered in preparation for the pasacalle of Carnavales Rurales. It was the first Sunday of Rural Carnival and the air was electric with the vibrations of music, chatter, laughter, song and dance. While waiting for other groups to arrive in the plaza, comparsa members spent their time talking, eating, drinking and generally celebrating. At random intervals members broke into spontaneous dance, calling on the musicians to play for them. Comparsa members flowed in and out of these spontaneous performances with a playful ease. It was creative chaos and the atmosphere hummed with excitement as more and more comparsas gathered in the plaza. Spectators and participants intermingled as crowds gathered on stone steps under the colonial balconies of the plaza.
Each comparsa wore the traditional dress specific to its rural community of origin. The male members of the comparsa Los Renacientes de Paccha dressed in ponchos of heavy wool with bright coloured stripes, linen pants, long woollen socks, a woollen cullo and a sombrero. The women wore bright blue or green skirts with brightly coloured borders and shirts of fluorescent colours. They followed the men dancing in two long lines of pairs which opened out to form two separate circles. Bent forward at the waist, elbows out to the side like wings, the men stamped the earth with incredible strength as they danced. They moved their elbows in rapid strokes, causing their ponchos to fly around them. The women followed slapping the earth with ajota-clad feet. They also bent low towards the earth swinging their arms from side to side in a long sweeping motion. As they danced, they sang their carnival song in bright loud voices which mirrored the strength and pride of their movements.

Entire families participated in comparsas from young children to grandparents. The tiny children (some as young as three) were dressed as miniature versions of the adults; they appeared like dolls that danced, ran and tumbled over each other, their obvious excitement and joy at taking part palpable and infectious to all those around. With the arrival of the rural comparsas, the plaza exploded with a vitality that is unmatched throughout the rest of the year.
As a direct result of the political violence, the city of Huamanga experienced a large influx of rural inhabitants who have made the city their home over the past 30 years. Rapid forced migration from the country to the city made integration very difficult due to the sheer volume of displaced populations and the speed with which they were arriving.¹ Although many now hold professional positions, work in restaurants, run market stalls and own or run small neighbourhood tiendas (shops), most maintain strong links to their community of origin. The ways in which individuals sustain this connection are many and varied. However, as I will demonstrate, dance and fiesta are some of the most far reaching and profound, as they are embodied.

This chapter considers the celebration of Carnavales Rurales in the urban space of Huamanga to reveal how rural campesinos embody the memory of place through dance. I argue that campesinos living in the city dance their place of origin into being in the

urban setting as a means of maintaining connection to their homeland and cultural heritage through what I call the ‘choreography of place,’ firstly, to recall and reconnect to ancestral lands and place of origin and secondly, as a means of transforming the urban space, which has long been a space of campesino marginalisation.

The second part of this chapter explores how issues of marginalisation are reworked through the political negotiations associated with the concurso (competition) for Rural Carnival by examining what happened when city authorities attempted to control and restrict Rural Carnival. As campesinos were forced to negotiate with government institutions, historical prejudices arose and battles over the space to express cultural identity were fought. As Thomas Turino has observed, “populist nationalism” in Latin America has classically involved “top-down, state-generated movements.” The members of the Federación Departamental de la Cultura Andina Wari Allyukuna – FEDACWA (Departmental Federation of Andean Culture Wari Allyukuna) employed the festival of carnival to redress and reshape relations of inequality. I argue that through these negotiations, campesinos are attempting to wrest back control of their cultural heritage and use that memory as a means of reworking power relations.

In order to gain a deep understanding of Rural Carnival, I learned some of the dances. I attended the pasacalle in the plaza, followed by the concurso in the stadium each Sunday during February. When Gerardo Muñoz performed the pagú, giving thanks to pachamama and the apus to officially open Rural Carnival, I was invited to be present and partake of coca and caña. In order to fully comprehend the complexity of Rural Carnival it was important to attend FEDACWA meetings and interview and converse with dancers, performers, concurso judges and carnival organisers. Through a deep involvement in Rural Carnival, I was able to appreciate the value it holds for campesinos living in Huamanga.

According to the general program for Carnaval Ayacuchano 2010, a glossy pamphlet produced by the regional government of Ayacucho and the Comité Multisectorial del Carnaval Ayacuchano – CMCA (Multisectorial Committee for Carnival Festivities), the official days of carnival in 2010 ran from 13 to 17 February (photo. 57). However, the

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central pages more accurately reflect the lived experience of carnival in the city of Huamanga, which begins with rehearsals and celebrations long before the official days of carnival. The carnival period in Huamanga begins with the Día de los Compadres, However, the preparations begin once Christmas concludes on 6 January, with the fiesta of the Bajada de Reyes. The official days of carnival are typically celebrated on the three days before the Catholic ritual of Ash Wednesday which signals the beginning of the 40 days of lent. Lent is a sombre, reflective time of fasting and abstinence which leads up to Easter. For many Huamanguinos, carnival is considered the last hoorah before the restrictions of Lent begin.

Carnival is celebrated throughout Peru, from the coast to the jungle and from Lima to the sierra. Each of these regions has a distinct ethnic/racial makeup and a unique social and economic history; thus, the expression of carnival in each region varies greatly. In the Andes, indigenous and geographical influences have shaped carnival and created a unique expression. Carnival in the Andes coincides with the wet season and the emergence of the season’s first fruits. At this time, the generally dry and yellowed

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landscape of Ayacucho is awash with colour. Yellow turns to brilliant green and the dry cacti, so common to the region, bud with fruits of orange and red. As discussed in previous chapters, in rural Ayacucho the fertility of the budding plants is associated with human fertility. This is also true in the city of Huamanga during carnival.

Fertility is a fundamental aspect of carnival and the relationship between solteros y solteras (single men and single women) is considered an expression and “realización of fertility.” Ayacuchanos regularly refer to carnival as the time of solteros. During carnival time, single people have the freedom to flirt and play in ways that may not be socially acceptable at other times. Picaresco or mischievousness and flirtation, expressed in song lyrics and behaviour during carnival, is both accepted and expected.

Throughout the entire month of February, the streets of Huamanga resemble a schoolyard playground on a hot day, when it is permitted for anyone to throw water at passersby, be they friends, family or complete strangers. During carnival time, the sounds of laughter and girls squealing as boys chase them with bags, jugs or even buckets of water fill the air.

Carnival is the most highly anticipated and loved of all fiestas celebrated in Huamanga. Antonio Quispe Huaripauca, a secondary teacher from Lucanamarca, explained that carnival is so loved by Ayacuchanos because it provides a unique time and space “where you externalise all your worries.” Historically, carnival has been a time when the world is turned upside down, when traditional power structures are inverted and when the people have licence to criticise and satirise authorities.

Carnival in Huamanga is referred to in the plural as Los Carnavales, due to the many different expressions of carnival now celebrated in the city. Carnavales Rurales is the term used by Huamanguinos to distinguish the various styles of Rural Carnival from the urban expression of Carnaval Huamanguino. Rural Carnival is celebrated in the city each Sunday during the three weeks leading up to the central days of carnival. In 2010,

4 Chalena Vásquez & Abilio Vergara, Chayraq: Carnaval Ayacuchano (Lima CEDAP, 1988), 40.
5 Vásquez and Vergara, Chayraq; Ulfe, “Variedades del carnaval.”
6 Water throwing is a common practice throughout Peru, although lately it has become less widely accepted and in some areas such as Lima penalties are enforced for those who take the practice too far. The practice of throwing water during carnival time is not unique to Peru. Records depicting women throwing water from second-storey windows in Madrid date back to the 1600s; Julio Caro Baroja, El carnaval: andlisis histórico-cultural (Madrid: Taurus, 1965): 57-58.
7 Abilio Soto Yupanqui, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 1 March 2010.
8 Antonio Quispe Huaripauca, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 15 January 2010.
this was 24 and 31 January and 7 February. Up to 70 rural comparsas converged on the plaza to dance and sing their unique carnival. While the non-formal distinction between the two expressions has existed for as long as campesinos have lived in the city of Huamanga, the temporal and spatial separation is a relatively recent phenomenon.

During the mid to late-twentieth century, Carnaval Ayacuchano was less formally organised than it is nowadays. As rural migrants arrived in Huamanga, they celebrated their local carnival on the central days alongside urban comparsas. Extended family groups, friends and members of the same neighbourhood formed comparsas. On the central days of carnival they would meet at the house of the mayordomo to eat and drink (this aspect has not changed). They then made their way dancing and singing to the central plaza, visiting the homes of other comparsas and breaking into spontaneous competitions in the streets along the way. Newly-arrived migrants danced and sang the carnival specific to their pueblo together with urban comparsas. The movement of comparsas through the streets of Huamanga was spontaneous, chaotic and free-flowing. This is no longer the case. Increased migration from the campo (country) as a result of the political violence, combined with the growing popularity of carnival in Huamanga, has led to organisational changes prompted, in part, by the need to manage a greater number of participants. This has in turn led to a formalised separation between the two distinct forms of carnival within the city.

Rural Carnival in Huamanga consists of two main elements. The first is the pasacalle, which takes place in the Plaza Mayor on Sunday mornings. Each comparsa makes its way to the plaza, parading through the streets, singing and dancing, visiting friends and drinking en route. The vibrant journey typically begins at the cemetery and generally takes a few hours to reach the central plaza. Following the pasacalle around the plaza, participants dance their way to one of two venues for what is the climax of Carnavales Rurales – the competition of the atipanakuy (Quechua for ‘encounter’; however, a sense of competition is implicit). In this chapter I focus firstly on the embodied expression of the pasacalle in the plaza. I then turn to the political negotiations that took place when campesinos were denied the space for the atipanakuy.

Rural comparsas are recognised as dancing traditional dances originating from the campo, and those who participate in these groups are considered or identify as campesinos, even though many participants have lived in Huamanga more than half
their lives and some of the younger participants were born in the city. Campesino migrants, living in the city, are joined by campesinos from the provinces of Huamanga, Huanta, La Mar, Cangallo and Víctor Fajardo, who make the journey to Huamanga each week specifically to participate in Rural Carnival. The cultural crossover between the country and city works in both directions, with large numbers of migrants also returning to their home communities for the central days of carnival. So why then do rural migrants feel the need to perform regional carnival in the city of Huamanga?

Answers to this question can be found in both the corporeal and lyrical expressions of carnival, exemplified by the comparsa Los Renacientes de Paccha dancing in the plaza:

we are the muchachos from Paccha
with the strength and courage of always
we are the muchachos from Paccha
with the strength and courage of always

I am singing the songs of my father and mother
just the same, I am singing and dancing the songs of our fathers and mothers
without copying others.  

Joy, valour, physical strength, courage, cultural continuity and ancestral connection are articulated through song lyrics and expressed corporeally through the dance of rural comparsas during Rural Carnival in Huamanga. Joy or alegria is an essential ingredient of carnival and one of the keys to understanding the importance of carnival in Ayacucho – both rural and urban. Antonio Quispe explained that, “The dances are the customs of our ancestors that reflect our culture and our life experiences. Carnival dances are part of our work, the agriculture, the alegria.” The dance itself is more than an outward or externalised expression of joy, the presence of which was so apparent in the sparkling eyes, gleaming smiles and vital bodies of comparsa members as they danced (photo. 58). The dance of carnival is transformative, it is joy embodied, joy physicalised. It is a visceral experience felt deep within. As Antonio Quispe pointed out, “Part of the alegria is the dance.”

9 Lyrics sung by comparsa members of Los Renacientes de Paccha during the 2010 rural carnival; phrases referring to authenticity and to the ancestral heritage of fathers and mothers were sung in Quechua. Words provided and Quechua to Spanish translation by Antony Espíritu.
Photograph 56: Female dancers from Los Renacientes de Paccha danced with gleaming smiles and powerful bodies.

Photograph 57: Los Claveles de Vinchos dance in the plaza.
This aspect of carnival has remained a constant over the years. In the 1980s, Vázquez and Vergara also noted that “the alegría appears in the gestures and attitudes [of the dancers] just as it appears in the words of the songs. Life and daily reality are put off until tomorrow.”\(^{12}\) In the 1990s, María Eugenia Ulfe observed that “the fiesta of carnival is considered the period of maximum alegría.”\(^{13}\) While there have been many changes to carnival in recent years and the motivations for participating may have changed, nevertheless Ayacuchanos still consider alegría to be the essence of Rural Carnival. However, the joyous expression of carnival does not prevent it from being an important site of memory and cultural heritage. On the contrary, joy, family, connection to homeland, local identity and ancestral connection expressed through carnival – corporeally and lyrically – are precisely what make it such a powerful site of memory.

While there is no longer a threat of violence, large numbers of campesinos still travel to Huamanga each year to participate in Rural Carnival. Many are now motivated by regional pride and a desire to demonstrate the strength of what it is to be campesino and the “traditions of our ancestors”.\(^{14}\) Rural Carnival has a transformative effect not only on participants but also on the wider urban population. During Rural Carnival, campesinos, who are regularly ignored, discounted or actively discriminated against, briefly hold a place of power and respect. For a few hours each Sunday, they are treated as masters of an ancient art form.

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\(^{12}\) Vásquez & Vergara, *Chayraq*, 119.

\(^{13}\) Ulfe, “Variedades del carnaval en los Andes,” 399.

\(^{14}\) Rómulo Canales Bautista, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 29 January 2010.
History of Carnival in Huamanga: Dance, Violence and Migration

There are few substantial works on the carnival dance and music of Huamanga, as most scholars working in the Peruvian Andes tend to focus on Cusco and Puno. As mentioned previously, this is partly because it was difficult and dangerous to carry out research in Ayacucho during the 1980s and 1990s. There are some notable exceptions, such as Jonathan Ritter’s study of carnival music of pumpin from the Ayacuchano province of Victor Farjado.\(^\text{15}\) Ritter’s comprehensive study, based on research between 2000 and 2002, demonstrates how Sendero organised formalised song competitions in Fajardo which led to the radicalisation of pumpin.\(^\text{16}\) Ritter’s insightful study considers


musical performance as “a site of memory.” It examines the social and political context in Ayacucho through the lens of music, song and carnival ritual to reveal these to be powerful agents for social change. Ritter’s work does not, however, examine carnival within the city of Huamanga.

Maria Eugenia Ulfe is one of a small number of scholars who has examined carnival in Huamanga. She offers a brief description and analysis of carnival as part of a comparative study of carnival in Huamanga, Apuimac and Hancavelica. Scholars from the Universidad de San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSH) have also published a number of short articles investigating carnival in the department of Ayacucho and the city of Huamanga. The majority of these studies focus on song lyrics and musical expressions of carnival to reveal how carnival was employed to express and protest the pain and suffering experienced by Ayacuchcanos during the years of political violence. There is little mention of dance, however, and none of the aforementioned studies consider or analyse dance as a source of knowledge or information. My research contributes to the field of Andean dance and fiesta by filling this gap and considering the embodied expression of carnival dance as an embodiment of memory.

In 1988, Peruvian musicologist and singer Chalena Vásquez and Ayacuchano anthropologist Abilio Vergara published what remains the most comprehensive study of carnival in the city of Huamanga, ¡Chayraq! Carnaval Ayacuchano. This book provides a window into the history and organisation of carnival in Huamanga. Nevertheless, it is a source which seems to have been undervalued. Huamanga of the 1980s was a far cry from what it had been in the 1970s and earlier. The changes were a direct consequence of the political violence and the consequent migration. According to Vásquez and Vergara, the Huamanga of 1988 had been “renewed by the massive cultural presence of campesino migrants” making it a far cry from “the señorial or aristocratic town it once was”. The migration from the campo to the urban centres is a

19 Ulfe, “Variedades del carnaval en los Andes.”
21 For example, Ulfe does not reference Chayraq even though it deals directly with the city of Huamanga.
23 Vásquez & Vergara, Chayraq, 26.
24 Vásquez & Vergara, Chayraq, 9.
national trend throughout Peru which began in earnest in the 1940s with the rise of capitalism. In 1940, the population of the city of Huamanga was 16,642. This number grew steadily, reaching 24,836 by 1961, reflecting the national migratory trends from rural to urban settings. As a result of the reforms introduced by the Velasco regime in the 1960s (discussed in Chapter 1), migration from the campo to the city increased and by 1972 the population of Huamanga had reached 48,100.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the already steady migration from the campo to the city increased dramatically as a result of the constant threat of violence. As a result of the internal conflict, approximately 450 rural communities were either abandoned or destroyed in the southern-central Andes. 300 of these were in the department of Ayacucho. Consequently, Huamanga experienced an enormous influx of rural migrants displaced by the violence. According to the UNHCR, 30% of all displaced people moved to the city of Huamanga. The authors of the CEDIFA article observed that “during the last five years [1981–1986] the rural and urban scene in Ayacucho, especially in the campo, has literally been stained with blood and mourning.” By 1981, the population of Huamanga reached 73,699, resulting in considerable social and cultural changes. The sheer numbers of displaced people and the rapid pace with which they arrived made integration difficult. The cultural life within the city changed dramatically as more and more campesinos moved to Huamanga. As campesinos moved in search of relative safety, they formed new neighbourhoods on the hillsides on the outskirts of the city. Generally, migrants from the same province joined together, forming new neighbourhoods, creating communities with similar traditions, backgrounds and experiences. Newly arrived campesinos sought to maintain a local

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28 INEI, Perú: Migraciones internas, 40.
29 UNHCR, Core document forming part of the reports of State Parties: Peru, 1995, HRI/CORE/1/Add.43/Rev.1
31 CVR, 1.1: 65. This number is reported as 69,533 in L. Huber ed. Ayacucho: Centralismo y Descentralización (Lima: IEP, 2003), 16.
32 Vergara, “Presentación,” 2.
identity and connection to their homelands through the celebration of regional fiestas and rituals in their new neighbourhoods and throughout the streets of the city. At the same time many Huamanguinos, also seeking safety, were leaving Ayacucho for the capital.

Vásquez and Vergara argue that “in terms of popular organisation and a campesino presence in the city, the migration and the violence are the social processes most directly linked to the new configuration of carnival in Ayacucho.” It was during the 1980s that the distinction between rural and urban comparsas began to be formalised. It is difficult to pinpoint when the concursos for Rural Carnival first began in Huamanga, as they were initially celebrated on the margins of the city by newly arrived immigrants. Many Huamanguinos I spoke with were unaware of their existence in the city until approximately 15 years ago. One source makes reference to “a concurso that maintained links with rural areas of the interior of the department”, celebrated in the neighbourhood of San Melchor as early as 1986.

According to Gerardo Muñoz, a 67-year-old migrant from Chilcas and head of the comparsa Los Hijos de Chilcas (the Children of Chilcas), who has participated in the concursos for Rural Carnival since their inception, concursos began in 1985. This was a time when the political violence was at its “most brutal” and indiscriminate. Gerardo is a strong, commanding man respected by concurso participants from all regions, with a very mischievous sense of humour that was often apparent during carnival. However, whenever he spoke of the changes to carnival and the reasons for moving to the city, his demeanour was solemn. Gerardo explained that many campesinos came to Huamanga specifically to celebrate carnival because it was not possible or was actively prohibited in their home communities. All the carnival participants I spoke with expressed a strong desire to maintain fiestas despite the threat posed by the political violence. To do

33 Vergara, “Presentación,” 1-2.
35 Vásquez & Vergara, Chayraq!, 27.
so, some communities modified their traditions. Antonio Quispe explained that the threat posed by Sendero was so great that:

We did not sleep in our houses, we had to escape at night to caves or if not, our parents would take us high up in the mountains where no one would find us. Even we children were considered suspect [by the armed forces] because we could have been indoctrinated by Sendero … Nevertheless, our community continued with fiestas, but not as they used to be before, with the essence of tradition. Rather, with a certain amount of fear, suspicion and trepidation.

Antonio explained that by adapting fiestas some communities were able to maintain a version of their fiestas, while others continued to celebrate their fiestas by choosing to post armed guards during the night to protect and warn participants against attack. Others found safer places, such as Huamanga, to celebrate their fiestas. According to Gerardo Muñoz, it was largely due to the threat of attack that campesinos originally came to Huamanga to celebrate carnival.

Kilder Vásquez explained that the threat of violence and the curfews in the city caused Huamanguinos to curb the celebration of fiestas. Kilder was born in Huancayo and moved to Huamanga to attend university, where he studied philosophy and psychology. He has since lived in Huamanga for over 25 years. He now considers it his home and a place which has afforded him many opportunities. Kilder currently works in television and radio, producing and directing his own folklore programs for Channel 33 and for Radio de la Voz:

Look, Micaelita, if we go back a number of years, there were many years in which Huamanga suffered the violence, where everything was prohibited here in Huamanga, beginning from the years 1981, ’82. We didn’t celebrate carnival as you have seen it, we didn’t practise Semana Santa because of the curfew, which started at six in the evening. And with the incursion of our … [he paused a moment] of the subversive group we lost our identity, we were losing our authenticity. There were no carnivals, no Semana Santa, we even had to celebrate the rituals of midnight at ten in the morning until five in the

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39 Abilio Soto Yupanqui, is originally from Vinchos. He explained that in his pueblo inhabitants tried to maintain their fiestas. To do so they had to conclude a given fiesta in the afternoon due to the curfew and for fear of attack by SL or Sinchis. He told me that during some fiestas they would post lookouts around the perimeter of the town to keep watch. Most fiestas in Ayacucho are celebrated through the night with rituals held at or before dawn; Abilio Soto Yupanqui, Ayacucho, 1 March 2010.


43 Kilder Vásquez Mesa, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
afternoon for 15 years, because after 5pm there wasn’t one citizen on the streets of Huamanga.44

Carnival was in fact celebrated in the city of Huamanga during the 1980s, as evidenced by the interviews I conducted, as well as Chayraq published in 1988 and, according to the study, the CEDIFA edition dedicated to carnival in Ayacucho published in 1986. Nevertheless, as Gabriel Quispe explained, celebrating fiestas was no easy task: “We love our folklore. Because of our love for our art we had to be in our festivals, despite the fear, but, always running the risk that something might happen to us.”45 The point Kilder tried to stress was that during this time, fiestas (and life in general) were greatly restricted and no fiesta resembled its original or authentic form.

Ayacuchanos like Gerardo and Antonio have always embraced and revelled in the freedom provided during carnival. Originally, carnival provided a time and space for political commentary during which government and even church authorities could be criticised and satirised. During the internal conflict, Ayacuchanos employed the unique unrestrictive space of carnival to protest the violence and criticise government officials, the armed forces and Sendero Luminoso. They did so through a combination of physical satire and musical composition. During this period, “the military and the violence occup[ied] an ever greater space in the songs, thus becoming weapons of ethnic and classist resistance.”46 Songs such as “Sad Huamanga” lamented the situation while openly criticising authorities, corruption and “false justice”:

Triste Huamanga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sad Huamanga</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Río Alameda, río caudaloso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu cauce ya se está llenando</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con lágrimas de la gente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tus aguas están llenando</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con las lágrimas de la gente.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malicia, malicia, cierta malicia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dicen que tu enamorado está</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penando en Parakuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>que tu querido está en Infiernillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justicia, justicia, mala justicia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>que llamar a la gente a la cárcel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala justicia</td>
</tr>
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River Alameda, mighty river  
your river bed I know is filling  
with the tears of the people  
your waters are filling  
with the tears of the people.  
Malice, malice, true malice  
they say your lover is  
suffering in Parakuti  
that your loved one is in Infiernillo.  
Justice, justice, foul justice  
that calls the people to prison  
fool justice

44 Kilder Vásquez Mesa, Ayacucho, 26 February, 2010.
45 Gabriel Quispe, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 22 March, 2010.
46 Vásquez & Vergara, Chayraq, 26.
During the 1980s, the people of Huamanga lived with the constant threat of unjustified detention and raids, or of being caught in crossfire as in Gabiel’s case. The carnival song “Sad Huamanga” makes reference to *infiernillo*, which symbolises the terror experienced by Huamanguinos, particularly during the early-1980s.* Infiernillo* is Spanish for ‘gas ovens’ and it is likely that the author was making a direct reference to Los Cabitos prison. Los Cabitos was a centre for counterinsurgency activities in Huamanga during the early 1980s where ovens were constructed to burn the remains of the disappeared. In 2009, forensic anthropologists unearthed the remains of over 100 individuals who had been disappeared at Los Cabitos. Nearly all of the remains evidenced signs of torture. The use of ovens at Los Cabitos has prompted political scientist and activist, Jo-Marie Burt, to label it “Peru’s Auschwitz”.*

While song has been the main focus of scholarly studies of carnival in Ayacucho, songs were not the only form of resistance, satire or protest. Santiago Montes, a 42-year-old Huamanguino, recalled that “during the violence some carnival participants in Huamanga would dress as police, soldiers and even *senderistas*, making fun of all three.” This would be unthinkable at any other time of year or in any other context. A professor from the Universidad de San Cristóbel de Huamanga also reported to the TRC that during *Carnavales* in 1993 (the year after SL leader, Abimael Guzmán, was captured), one *comparsa* included participants dressed in prison stripes satirising

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47 Coronel Aguirre, et al., “Análisis de Canciones,” 9; The Alemeda River is the central river that runs through Huamanga.
48 Coronel Aguirre, et al., “Análisis de canciones,” 12; Gabriel Quispe in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 19 September, 2009
50 Burt, “The Bones Tell the Story.”
51 Santiago Montes, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 23 September 2009.
Guzmán and his recent capture. Both these incidents occurred in the city of Huamanga where there was a strong military presence during the 1980s and 1990s. It is probable that the armed forces and Sendero ‘respected’ the unique time and space of carnival in the city due to the sheer numbers of people present, more than out of a respect for tradition.

In fact, SL cadres aimed to transform or eradicate the cultural heritage of Ayacuchano campesinos. As a result, many Ayacuchanos feel they have been robbed of their cultural heritage, as Antonio, Kilder, Gabriel and others recalled. On the whole, Sendero cadres followed the Maoist creed that the popular arts (in the case of Peru this necessarily includes folklore) should be used to educate the people in the ways of the new world and revolutionary discourse. Carnival songs also became tools of SL propaganda. As Ritter observes, song contests and carnival celebrations organised and sponsored by SL played a central role “in the history of political violence in Farjado.” The party’s disparaging attitudes towards traditional culture are evident in articles published in El Diario, a Lima newspaper dedicated to supporting and promoting the PCP-SL and the ‘People’s War’ during the 1980s and early 1990s. The cultural pages of the weekly publication shed some light on the complex and often contradictory views of the party and the desire to eradicate the old.

On 17 May 1990, El Diario published an anniversary edition in celebration of “ten years of the victorious popular war”. The culture section espoused the great edifying success of the arts as a weapon in the war to overthrow the state: “In ten years of vigorous and victorious Popular War outdated concepts with respect to art and culture in general are being destroyed along with the antiquated state.” The eradication of cultural identity mentioned by both Antonio and Kilder is also evident in the anniversary edition:

There have risen, within the heart of the masses, diverse artistic expressions with the stamp of the proletariat, manifestations with a clear objective to serve the people and guided by the all-powerful ideology of Marxist – Leninist – Maoist thought of Gonzalo.

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52 CVR, 1.1:83.
56 Gonzalo was the name given to the leader of the PCP-SL, Abimael Guzmán; “El arte en diez años del arte popular,” El Diario, 17 Mayo, 1990.
According to the article, a new revolutionary art of the masses was taking the place of the old that was being destroyed. It is at this point that Sendero Luminoso’s contradictory attitudes become apparent. The culture and art of the people who are perceived as constituting the masses were considered antiquated, anti-modern and against party ideology.

An article written on the ninth anniversary of the beginning of the war, entitled “Desarrollar el Arte Como Arma de Combate” (Develop Art as a Weapon of Combat) claims, “To speak of new art and popular art and continue singing the same old songs, dancing the same old dances, presenting the same old works is to cheat/trick the masses, to confuse them, and serve the bourgeoisie and the landowners.”\(^{57}\) The article questions the work of popular artists, concluding that artists should take and incorporate the best aspects from the past and create a new art for the nation: “As the artistic vanguard, the work of popular artists is to create, to develop art. Taking the best, democratic, socialist, revolutionary elements of the art of the old society and developing them; to elevate art.”\(^{58}\) This is an exact replica of indigenista discourse against which the party supposedly fought. The article makes it clear that millenarian movements – often equated with Peruvian folklore – have no place in the new state they aim to create: “The past is history; it can be the roots, the cause, but never a programme or goal in itself.”\(^ {59}\)

The violence of the 1980s and 1990s is no longer overtly referenced in the lyrics or dances of Rural Carnival (or Carnaval Huamanguino for that matter); it does, however, form part of the backdrop.\(^ {60}\) All those I spoke to or interviewed in relation to Rural Carnival mentioned the years of political violence and the impact of those years on their personal lives, as well as on their choice to dance, exemplified by the experiences of Rómulo Bautista.

**Dancing to Connect: Rómulo’s Story**

While some rural campesinos displaced by the violence are now returning to their communities, many more have chosen to remain in Ayacucho. One such person is

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60 In 2010, only one comparsa out of the more than one hundred comparsas participating in Carnaval Huamanguino made any mention of the violence. This was the comparsa for human rights; participants were from a number of different NGOs and human rights organisations, including SER and APRODEH.
Rómulo Canales Bautista. Born in the district of Vinchos, in the province of Huamanga, Rómulo explained that he was forced to move to the city of Huamanga due to “the danger posed by Sendero Luminoso … During this time our district was marginalised and greatly affected by the presence of Sendero Luminoso.”

Rómulo’s father was killed in the fighting between *ronderos* and members of Sendero Luminoso. When the fighting abated, Rómulo left Ayacucho for his hometown, only to return a few years later to study at the University San Cristóbal de Huamanga. This was made possible because as an *afectado* (person affected by the violence) Rómulo was the beneficiary of a scholarship provided by AJOVISOP. Rómulo is now the president of AJOVISOP and although most of the orphans of the violence are now in their early twenties, the association continues to work to support the struggle for reparations and to help the younger generation, who are facing new challenges.

Rómulo laughed as he told me that “I was not born dancing.” His mother converted to the evangelical faith in the early 1980s and although she attended carnival as an observer when Rómulo was young, she did not dance or drink, as both are prohibited by her religion. Nor did she allow her children to dance or drink. Significantly, however, dance has become an important part of Rómulo’s life since moving to the city. He explained that dance has helped him through the pain of losing his father and leaving his home.

Rómulo, like many who participate in Rural Carnival, has come to view the dance and song of carnival as his cultural inheritance and that which affords him a unique identity within the city. It is also one means by which he maintains connection to his ancestry and place of origin.

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In recent years Rómulo has become very active in the promotion and the “defence of our culture”.\textsuperscript{65} He is the representative for the rural \textit{comparsa}, Claveles de Vinchos, and

\textsuperscript{65}Rómulo Canales Bautista, Ayacucho, 29 January, 2010.
dances in the *comparsa* as one of two captains. As part of carnival preparations, Rómulo returns regularly to Vinchos “to talk with the grandparents”. He explained he does this in order to improve dance and to understand how it used be before the interruption brought by the violence and the influence of the evangelist religions.

Like many who participate in Rural Carnival, Rómulo has lived in Huamanga for a number of years and lives a very “urban existence.” Having completed his studies at the university, he works as a professional with no plans to ever return permanently to Vinchos. When we met for the interview, he was dressed in black jeans, a brown leather jacket and brown leather dress shoes. Nevertheless, Rómulo, like many others, considers himself to be campesino, specifically a Vinchino, stating “I am campesino. I identify myself as I am.” Living and working in the urban setting while maintaining strong links to their homelands through the embodied expressions of fiesta, many migrants negotiate and move between an urbanised *mestizo* identity and a rural campesino identity. This negotiation of identity is clearly evident during carnival time, as individuals like Rómulo participate in both Rural Canival and Carnival Huamanguino. The negotiation of identity may be more prominent during carnival time as it has historically been a time and space in which anything is possible and everything is permitted and when hierarchies are inverted.

In the dance, music, lyrics and dress, the collective narrative of a community is remembered, reinforced and recreated. As William H. McNeill suggests, “coordinated rhythmic movement, the muscular bonding of drill, exemplified by dance … creates a sense of community.” A sense of community is important to the migrants, like Rómulo, who were forced to leave their homes due to the violence and who experienced further marginalisation and discrimination in their new home. The embodied expression of Rural Carnival dance, performed in the urban space of the Plaza Mayor in Huamanga, provides the opportunity for campesinos like Rómulo to dance their place into being through the choreography of place. As Jane Kowan notes:

> It is necessary to approach dancing not only as a ‘spectacle’ in which dancing bodies are ‘read’ as ‘signs’ but also as a process of intersubjectivity. Dance

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must be considered from the actor’s point of view, as both performance and experience.\textsuperscript{69}

In order to consider the danced experience, I now provide a detailed description of the \emph{comparsa} Los Hijos de Chilcas dancing in the plaza.

\section*{The Choreography of Place}

At the corner of Dos de Mayo and Jirón Lima, the deafening crack of fireworks, accompanied by the sounds of music and whistles, announced the arrival of yet another \emph{comparsa}. They were Los Hijos de Chilcas from Chilcas de La Mar in the north-east of the department. They proudly danced and sang their way onto the Plaza – bodies strong, their movements powerful yet fluid, their heads lifted to greet the crowd, their chests wide and open, eyes bright with pride. The carnival dance of the Hijos de Chilcas is specific to the region of La Mar.

The dancers formed two long lines in pairs led by the men, followed by the women. All the men carried \emph{warakas}, long plaited whips which they cracked in the air as they danced; during the \emph{concurso}, they used them to perform the ritual battle of \emph{warakanakuy}. \emph{Warakas} are pre-Columbian weapons which function as both whips and slingshots.\textsuperscript{70} They danced in a swinging stepping motion that swerved and snaked, wound and weaved along the road. At various intervals the two lines opened out, doubling back on themselves, creating two semicircles. The men wore \emph{frontales}, pieces of material which hang down the front of the legs, attached with long, brightly coloured ribbons. The dancers made high stepping motions, kicking the \emph{frontales} up in the air as they danced, as if moving through high grasses. The ribbons swished and flew around the men and they were clouded in a blur of colour and movement (photo. 64).

The women followed carrying \emph{warakitas}, which are shorter and much finer. They held their whips in two hands, stretched wide in front of their bodies or sweeping from side to side above their heads. They wore large, brightly coloured skirts known as \emph{polleras} made from heavy material which swished and swooshed as they danced from side to side – step, touch together, bounce; step, touch together, bounce. The women followed the serpent pattern of the men. Behind the women, the musicians followed playing guitars, \emph{quenas} and \emph{tinyas}. The women were followed by five older men dressed in pants and suit coats carrying ponchos draped over the right shoulder. They represented the traditional community authorities known as \emph{varayuq} and \emph{karguyoq}.\textsuperscript{71} The oldest of the men was Gerardo Muñoz, who carried traditional symbols of

\textsuperscript{69} Cowan, \emph{Dance and the Body}, 24.

\textsuperscript{70} Warakas do not have a handle at one end; rather, the middle is wider so that a projectile can be placed within it, enabling it to function as a slingshot.

\textsuperscript{71} Varayuq is the Quechua term for traditional community leaders who guided and governed Andean communities from pre-Hispanic times until the late twentieth century. In Ayacucho, senderistas regularly punished or killed community leaders, replacing them with an SL member. Karguyoq is an amalgamation of the Spanish term cargo (‘to be responsible for’) and the Quechua yuq for ‘person’; meaning a person who holds a position of responsibility and typically supports the \emph{mayordomo}. 226
leadership – the staff and the leather whip. These are important symbols which are associated with pre-Columbian culture.

Photograph 61: Dancers from Los Hijos de Chilcas dance with strength and pride
For the members of the Hijos de Chilcas, the dance represents the topography of their homeland. The steps and choreography are created and informed by the dancers’ relationship to the land from which they come. La Mar is a very mountainous region where, as one of the dancers explained, it is impossible to walk a straight line up or down the terrain. One must therefore weave a winding path so as not to slip and fall. As the dancers snake and weave, curl and wind, they literally dance their place of origin into being. With each swaying movement of their body, with each turn and with every footfall on the earth, dancers lay the mountainous terrain of La Mar along the paved roads of Ayacucho. The flying ribbons of the frontales evoke the long grasses of the hillsides. “The comparsa dance is danced in the form of a zigzag which represents the changeable and curvilinear paths that join the towns, as well as creating the figure eight which represents the eight anexos of the district.”

During carnival they dance the land into being. In doing so, they dance their ancestral connection into life.

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72 Carnaval Tradicional del Distrito de Chilcas – La Mar, Comparsas de La Asociación Social – Cultural “Los Hijos de Chilcas y Anexos”, pamphlet handed to the judges of the atipinakuy, 2010.
The weaving patterns and the figure eights of the dance create what I call the choreography of place, which reflects and evokes the land. This choreography of place is built on with each step of the dance, many of which emulate the native fauna. One of the dancers explained, while demonstrating a hopping step, “this is the step of a little bird” common to La Mar. With his body bent forward from the waist, left hand behind his back and elbow out to the side like a wing, stepping forward on the left leg and sweeping the right leg in a half-circle motion, he indeed resembled a little bird hopping along the ground. Other animals such as the luwichu or deer are also represented in the carnival dance of La Mar. Gabriel Quispe explained to a reporter who had arrived to film the Carnavales Rurales, that dancers from the district of La Mar “parody the luwichu. They wear the skin of the deer adorned with stars and the sun, with coloured ribbons which represent the rainbow; this is to say, the dancer becomes a deity” 73 (photo. 65).

Photograph 63: Generally only the captains are dressed in the skin of the deer adorned with stars and mirrors as described by Gabriel

73 Gabriel Quispe, interviewed by Canal 21, Ayacucho, 24 January 2010.
The choreography of place inherent in carnival dance provides a mnemonic structure for rural migrants living in Huamanga. It traces the natural environment of their homelands: the mountains, paths, flora and fauna, all of which are intertwined with the history of the body. Comparsa members have danced, drunk, eaten and celebrated (and some continue to do so) carnival in open environments and streets of their homelands since they were children. Connerton argues that familiar places are incorporated by the body as knowledge, which in turn promotes a sense of emplacement. Comparsa members have incorporated a sense of emplacement through years of inhabiting and being with the land, as they worked the land, celebrated fiestas and lived on and with their homeland. The sense of emplacement is embodied through dancing the carnival dances that celebrate and emulate the natural environment and which have been danced for generations.

According to Michelle Bigenho, highland Bolivians create a sense of locality through their participation in carnival and rituals of the state as a means by which to “establish domain over geographic localities.” She explains that:

Carnival rituals privilege multiple sense experiences, contributing to a process of recognition and remembrance through synesthesia – a process by which one sense experience, by continuity, draws an associative relation with another.

Dancers who participate in Rural Carnival, like Rómulo and Gerardo, have absorbed the land sensorially and embodied it. Through dancing the land they give it form and bring sensorial memory into being, imbuing the paved roads of the plaza with the mountainous terrain of their homeland, claiming the urban streets as their own. For the members of Los Hijos de Chilcas and other comparsas, the ritual of the carnival dance performed in the urban plaza of Huamanga acts to remember homeland and to ‘establish domain’ over the urban locality.

Andean people have used dance and song as a means of maintaining connection to spirituality, land and the ancestors since the arrival of the Spanish and before, evident in

74 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 33.
75 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 32.
76 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 32.
the *Taki Onqoy* (discussed in Chapter 1). Ayacuchanos still use the carnival dance to maintain connection and transform localities. The province of La Mar was among those most severely affected during the years of internal armed conflict, especially during the most violent period, 1983–1984. More than 1,400 deaths and disappearances were reported to the TRC for these two years alone.\(^7^9\) Hundreds of people were forced to leave their homes and in many communities it became impossible to celebrate fiestas. Embodied memory goes beyond memory as a mental process recalled through images in the mind and communicated by the word. The body is a site of memory or, in the words of Comaroff and Comaroff, a “mnemonic entity” with the ability to recall and “remember” through the five senses.\(^8^0\) Just as an actor uses the technique of “sense memory” to call up certain memories and emotions through the senses, so too *comparsa* members dance into being the landscape of their birth.\(^8^1\) This may be one of the reasons for the resurgence of fiesta, as migrants forced to leave their land due to the violence now dance to remember place and ancestral connections in an urban setting. As Rómulo explained, learning and dancing the carnival of Vinchos afforded him a visceral means by which to connect to his homeland and to “remember the cultural heritage of the ancestors.”\(^8^2\) The dance of carnival allows participants to recall their homelands through a corporeal memory and to dance their place into being wherever they may be.

Acts of memory-making are often tied to place.\(^8^3\) Connerton argues that remembering is related to place in two very different ways, making a distinction between *locus*, place as a “site of cultural memory,” and memorial as a “memory place”.\(^8^4\) While Connerton concedes that many memorials are potent places of memory, he argues their effect is often ambiguous.\(^8^5\) The construction of memorials allows for certain things to be remembered while others are excluded, causing these to be forgotten.\(^8^6\) For example,
war memorials obscure certain dimensions while simultaneously prompting us to remember others, such as the obelisk in Quinua which celebrates the heroic triumph of patriot troops over the royalists; however, the lives of the soldiers and how they died are concealed. Connerton argues, that sets them apart from loci. According to Connerton, loci are more inexplicit references to memory and it is their inexplicitness that make them such efficient “carriers of cultural memory”. Employing Connerton’s distinction for place memory, I suggest that Rural Carnival dance is a locus of memory.

Many Rural Carnival participants are cognizant of the knowledge and the memory they dance, such as Rómulo, Gerardo and the Los Hijos dancers. Nevertheless, even those who may not be fully aware of the dance as memory embody the memory of place through the dance. Connerton suggests that we “experience a locus inattentively, in a state of distraction.” Even those who may dance unaware of the symbolism of the movements are living and moving in the memory of place as a part of carnival, albeit in an inattentive manner. Others, such as Porfirio Guisante, dance to connect to a campesino identity and embody a memory that may not be of their own homeland.

Porfirio Guisante was born in 1975 in Hualla in the southern province of Víctor Fajardo, where the carnival tradition is pumpin, which is distinct from other Rural Carnivals practised in Huamanga. Porfirio and his mother were forced to leave their home as a result of the internal armed conflict. They arrived in the city of Huamanga when Porfirio was six years old. Porfirio recalled participating in pumpin when he was very young, but after arriving in Huamanga he decided not to dance any traditional dances from Ayacucho; that was, until he met his wife:

I participate in this carnival because of my wife. My wife is from the province of La Mar, it is because of her that I am part of this Federation. In the beginning I was the type of person that detested [he paused, realising the harshness of this word] … well I didn’t like carnival at all, not at all. It’s true. Look, when I started dating my wife, her father invited me to participate in his comparsa. My wife told me that he wanted me to help one

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87 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 29.
88 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 27.
89 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 30.
90 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 34.
91 Connerton, How Modernity Forgets, 34.
Sunday and that I definitely wouldn’t be bored. And when I arrived and saw his comparsa it was horrible. But I was in another world then; in the world of youth and salsa music, rock and cumbia, so I didn’t like Rural Carnival at all. When I saw my wife I began to criticise her, saying how can you be in this type of music where you can’t even dance? Given Porfirio’s role as the President of FEDACWA coupled with the passion and dedication he displayed during the weeks leading up to and during carnival, it was difficult to reconcile the young man who hated carnival with the accomplished leader, ready to take on the municipal authorities, sitting in front of me. Seven years had passed since those days when he had “detested” Rural Carnival. So how and why did his attitude change? Family, social relations and dance play a key role in carnival and family connections are often important motivating factors in carnival participation. They pulled Porfirio into the fray of Rural Carnival:

My father-in-law saw me watching and criticising and he called me over, putting me with all the dancers with their chicha de jora and their caña. So I began to drink and drink. And I became a little drunk, and I began to feel the rhythm that they were playing, so I began to dance [he laughs], and I danced well. The next time it was the same, I was invited and I went. I see that anyone who is drunk likes to dance. My uncle told me I dance well and asked me why don’t I dance? And with total respect I said OK and I decided to join this group. I liked dancing, I began to dance and dance and from the end of the line they put me in the middle and from the middle they put me at the front, as a type of captain at the front of the line, I was the captain. The captain.

Migrants like Rómulo and Porfirio experienced a rupture in the continuum of their cultural practices. Rural campesinos, like Porfirio, living in Huamanga seek to maintain a cultural heritage which expresses the strength and joy of what it is to be campesino. Dance and carnival provide that connection. As young men, they both found that Rural Carnival afforded them the opportunity to recreate links to a campesino identity and heritage (albeit in different ways), particularly during carnival.

The transformative effect of Rural Carnival goes beyond the moment of the dance, influencing generations. As campesinos salvage what was taken from them, they engage in a form of justice through which they recover some of what was taken. Gerardo Muñoz explained: “We want to make our culture live again, it is our heritage, it is what our grandfathers have left us of their wisdom and how it used to be. This is what we

Carnival dance functions as a site of memory to draw the past forward to the present. It also plays an important role in the construction of the future. In order to appreciate how and why Rural Carnival is employed in this way, it is first necessary to understand the economic importance of Rural Carnival within the department.

**Photograph 64: Gerardo Muñoz demonstrates how traditional community authorities used to punish individuals; holding the staff, he acts out whipping one of the dancers**

**“Living History”: The Economic Power of the Dance**

*Carnavales Ayacuchanos* were declared *Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación* (Cultural Heritage of the Nation), on 4 December 2003. The National Directorial Resolution no. 866, in accordance with the first article of law 24047, states that the carnival dances organised by Ayacucho and shown in Lima display an obvious “conservation of cultural identity through music and dance”. The declaration goes on to state that these should be preserved and continued and it is thus appropriate that the carnival of Ayacucho be declared Cultural Heritage of the Nation as it “constitutes an expression of Regional and National Identity.”

Ayacuchanos now consider carnival a cultural treasure that belongs

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95 Gerardo Muñoz, Ayacucho, 22 January 2010.
to the entire nation and it has since become an important cultural and economic resource for the city. Rural Carnival is especially valued for its vibrancy and diversity, which are no longer found in Carnival Huamanguino. The comparsas for urban carnival have become a white sea of similarity, while Rural Carnival is renowned for its colour and multiplicity.

The department of Ayacucho is one of the poorest in Peru. As the department slowly recovers from the social and economic impact of the years of violence, authorities are looking for viable sources of income. While participants and audience alike value Rural Carnival as a space that allows for ancestral connection, freedom, spontaneity and joy, it is now valued by state authorities as a resource for tourism. During the conflict, tourist numbers to the region were naturally low due to the danger posed by SL and travel restrictions under the state of emergency, with only 30,878 visitors in 1992. By 2002 the numbers had more than doubled to 68,015.\textsuperscript{97} There can be no doubt that tourist numbers to the department of Ayacucho and the city of Huamanga continue to increase as the region is perceived as safe by both national and international tourists, and Ayacucho is often considered a ‘less touristy’ alternative to other Andean destinations such as Cusco and Huaraz.

The city of Huamanga provides many of the attractions for which Andean tourism is renowned. It is a classic colonial town, with a beautiful – if unrenovated – Plaza Mayor, bordered by stone archways and surrounded by colonial architecture. It is only an hour or so to various archaeological sites such as the Wari ruins to the north and the Inca ruins of Vilcashuaman in the south. The historical site of the Battle of Ayacucho and the artisan town of Quinua are only 36 kilometres to the north.\textsuperscript{98} All these attractions are promoted in tourist brochures and websites designed to attract tourists to the region. However, these historical sites pale in comparison with the Inca ruins of Machu Picchu, the Nazca Lines and other archaeological attractions on the north coast of the country. For this reason, traditional festivals such as Semana Santa and carnival present a unique opportunity for the growth of tourism in the area.

\textsuperscript{98} Plan de Desarrollo Turístico de la Región de Ayacucho 2004-2014.
Due to a history of marginalisation, followed by 20 years of isolation, the department of Ayacucho has not experienced the same level of modernisation as other parts of the country. Consequently, Peruvians consider Ayacucho as having an authentic culture, along with campesinos who practice traditional ways, resulting in what is often referred to as “living history.” This is exemplified in an official document produced by the Regional Government of Ayacucho, laying out the plan for tourist development in the region for 2004–2014. In an echo of indigenismo the document states, “Without doubt the greatest resource for tourism in Ayacucho is the living culture of the campesinos, which is an expression of the historical continuity of the Wari and Chanka cultures.”

The campesino culture of Ayacucho is now regarded by government officials, cultural institutions and many individuals as an important resource for tourism.

Each year since the declaration, an official ceremony is held to launch Carnavales Ayacuchanos in Lima. The 2010 launch was held on 16 January at the Palacio de Gobierno (Government Palace) in Lima’s Plaza Mayor. At this high-profile event, Peru’s President Alan Garcia Pérez, accompanied the President of the regional government of Ayacucho, Ernesto Molina Chávez, as he officially launched Carnival Ayacuchano. Percy Guillén Castro, the president of FEDIPA (Departmental Federation of Provincial Institutes of Ayacucho), was also present at the launch. Molina used the opportunity to promote Ayacucho to the rest of the nation. During his address to the crowd, Molina called on tourists to visit Ayacucho. Molina used the opportunity to promote both carnival and Semana Santa as major tourist attractions, declaring unashamedly that Carnavales Ayacuchanos is a great tourist attraction:

Our thanks to the central government for supporting this call to the Peruvian people, that they visit Ayacucho from the 13–17 of February, to enjoy the best carnival in Peru. Thanks to the songs, music, dances and food – it is one of the most authentic and traditional of Ayacucho.

According to Molina, carnival is second only to Semana Santa as an authentic fiesta costumbrista and as a major tourist attraction. Molina clearly stated the economic importance of carnival as the reason for the public launch in Lima:

Last year we brought together around 15,000 tourists and this year we hope to increase the flow of both national and international visitors. This is the

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100 “Lanzan Oficialmente Celebración de Carnavales de Ayacucho 2010.”
principal reason for this launch of Carnival Ayacuchano from the capital of Peru.101

Rural Carnival events are regularly assimilated under the generalised banner of Carnival Ayacuchano, but this public assimilation obscures the division that separates the urban and rural carnivals and which is experienced daily by participants in Rural Carnival. Rural Carnival is accepted by authorities as an important aspect of carnival which adds colour and diversity provided it is regulated and organised by the Comité Multisectorial de Festejos Del Carnaval Ayacuchano, which oversees the running of Carnavales Ayacuchanos – both rural and urban. The committee is made up of representatives of various official governing bodies such as the regional government, the armed forces, the Institute for National Culture and others. In repetition of an age-old pattern of exploitation and indigenismo – in which certain aspects of indigenous practices are appreciated and assimilated by the state into a mestizo vision of Peru – pamphlets published by the regional government of Ayacucho use images and symbols specific to Rural Carnival to promote tourism. However, little support is given to the campesinos who are the custodians and the practitioners of the symbolic capital used in these promotions.

The movements of the dance and the organisation surrounding the dance contain and convey a politics.102 Since the declaration of Cultural Heritage, campesinos have become conscious of the importance of their traditional practices within the national arena. While many of the younger generations willingly participate in both Carnival Huamanguino and Rural Carnival, others feel it is important to articulate the difference between the urban and the rural, as a means of reclaiming what was taken from them. More importantly, it is also a means of redressing entrenched racism and classism by demonstrating the strength and pride of what it is to be campesino within the local and national arena. However, gaining control over all aspects of campesino cultural expression and heritage is no easy task.

101 “Lanzan Oficialmente Celebración de Carnavales de Ayacucho 2010.”
102 Susan Leigh Foster, Choreographing Empathy: Kinesthesia in Performance (Hoboken: Routledge, 2010): 22; Mendoza has also demonstrated the politics involved in dance in her analysis of mestizo dance in San Jerónimo, Cusco in Shaping Society Through Dance.
The Politics of Dancing

For many years, private promoters and the regional government have controlled the concursos for Carnavales Rurales. Promoters sell tickets to the concursos and although these are not expensive, many hundreds are sold over the three weeks of competitions and the majority – if not all – of the proceeds are kept by the promoters:

They [the municipality] organised the concurso but they gave a very minimal amount of money to the winners and only to those who won first prize, to the rest they didn’t even give one sol.

According to the president of FEDACWA, Porfirio Guisante, the Federation was formed in 2006 in response to the appropriation and “abuse” of campesino culture and identity by urban elites. He explained, “There are promoters who made money with this Rural Carnival.” A number of comparsa delegates – who had previously participated in concursos for Rural Carnival organised by private promoters with state backing – chose to break away, forming their own alliance:

I began to talk with the rest of the delegates ... why don’t we carry out (realizar) carnival for ourselves? From this the Federation was born. The other comparsistas saw how they [the promoters] used us, taking our culture, our customs and putting food on the plate of other people without even valuing our culture.

The Federation is comprised of significant numbers, consisting of 72 delegates, each representing a different comparsa. While the numbers of each comparsa vary, it is not unusual for a comparsa to have 50 or more participants, and spectators attending concursos can number in the thousands across the three weeks of competition. FEDACWA now organises and runs its own atipanakuy for carnival and each year more rural comparsas join them.

The Federation began by working in conjunction with the municipality and the Comité Multisectorial. Then in 2008 FEDACWA received legal recognition from the regional government and attempted to manage its carnival independently of the Comité

Multisectorial. Porfirio explained that the Federation grew from humble beginnings. The first meeting of the different *comparsas* was held in a small shop rented specifically for the occasion. Over glasses of soft drink, they voted for the president of the newly-formed Federation. Five candidates vied for the position, to which Porfirio was ultimately elected. Porfirio continues to be elected each year. He owes his success to his professional manner, administrative skills, imposing presence and passion. He is not a man who is easily intimidated, as was demonstrated during meetings with the Comité Multisectorial in 2010. It may also have something to do with his connection to Gerardo Muñoz, his father-in-law, who has been a driving force in Carnavales Rurales for over 20 years.

Gerardo explained that the struggle to be free of promoters and the CMCA lasted for 18 years. Although FEDACWA has finally received legal recognition, according to Gerardo the CMCA continues to “place stones on the path.” Cultural and economic exploitation and the resentment it engendered in Porfirio and other delegates led to the creation of the FEDACWA. The motivation for the break was both socio-political and economic in nature. It was viewed as a means by which campesinos could claim control over their own cultural expression and the financial rewards generated through *concursos*. Gerardo explained:

> We are recognised under the resolution of the regional government. Why? Because they know who created Cultural Heritage. It was those of us from the Federation. So now in this moment the señores of the Multisectorial del Consejo, and of the Ministry of Culture, everything they do is a farce, it’s a scar that they create. They live off our sweat. They should develop Cultural Heritage each year, as much for Rural Carnival as for urban carnival. After all we are the ones defending the culture. And so what should we say of the Multisectorial? What is the Multisectorial? They don’t even know or value what is Cultural Heritage.

A long history of marginalisation and exploitation of campesinos during carnival was confirmed and elaborated during an interview with Kilder Vásquez Mesa. Kilder is the principal master of ceremonies for Rural Carnival and was present at a number of FEDACWA meetings. Kilder is a short, charismatic man with an engaging voice and manner who has become the voice of Rural Carnival during *concursos*. Throughout the

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110 During the three weeks of rural carnival *concursos*, there were two stands running simultaneously; this meant that there was a second announcer for much of the time.
three weeks of Rural Carnival and then also during the national competition of Hatun Tupanakuy Nacional (Chapter 5), Kilder announced each comparsa as it made its way onto the arena. He also motivated and managed the audience – urging spectators to move off the arena and at times commenting on the judges’ results. During an interview following the close of Rural Carnival, he told me:

Michaela, there is one thing I want you to highlight. It is thanks to Rural Carnival that Ayacucho has been declared Heritage of the Nation. It has been declared Cultural Heritage of the Nation, our carnival, not urban carnival, not urban carnival. It is thanks to Rural Carnival, thanks to our brothers and sisters who arrive with their diversity, colour and different styles. This is thanks to them. This must be made very clear so it cannot be confused.\textsuperscript{111}

I asked him if he “had always been involved in various aspects of folklore.”\textsuperscript{112} He replied: “We are dedicated to our folklore.”\textsuperscript{113} Kilder stressed the distinction between being “involved” and being “dedicated” throughout the interview and consequent conversations. As Porfirio Guisante, Gerardo Muñoz, Gabriel Quispe and others all pointed out, there are individuals and institutions in Ayacucho which have been “involved” in the folklore of the region. However, this involvement has not always been beneficial to the custodians of the folklore. Rather, the involvement of outsiders has often been exploitative and has not incorporated the element of dedication that Kilder stressed. Like Gerardo, Kilder regularly made a distinction between those who use yet lack respect for the folklore of the region, and those like himself (and members of FEDACWA) who are dedicated to all aspects of folklore.

When asked why the Multisectorial Committee offered so little support for FEDACWA, Kilder’s response echoed those of Porfirio and Gerardo:

Here there is one point, one thing which is very important and this [he paused, adding emphasis to the following words] we need to make very clear, Michaela. Look, carnival has recently become politicised, they are commercialising it and what I want to tell you is that they take advantage of carnival to grow richer. There is a promoter … [at this point he stopped].\textsuperscript{114}

Kilder was at first reluctant to mention the name of the promoter. However, when I suggested the promoter in question might be Pablo Cervantes, Kilder confirmed my

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{111} Kilder Vásquez Mesa, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{112} Kilder Vásquez Mesa, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{113} Kilder Vásquez Mesa, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{114} Kilder Vásquez Mesa, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
\end{flushleft}
suspicion with the nod of his head and a single word – “precisely”.

According to Kilder and others, including Gabriel Quispe and Gerardo Muñoz, Pablo Cervantes was the person who initiated concursos for Rural Carnival in the city of Huamanga during the mid to late 1980s:

Undoubtedly Pablo Cervantes began Rural Carnival, 20 or 25 years ago. It’s undeniable. I can’t say that I was the one who had this idea, this idea was his. This Señor began carnival and I was witness. For 15 years I worked for him. He organised the carnivals and he did them very well, very well.

Nevertheless, in 2000 Porfirio, Gerardo and a number of rural comparsas elected to leave Pablo Cervantes to organise their own association, which in time became FEDACWA. Kilder chose to go with them. Although Pablo Cervantes still runs concursos, each year more comparsas choose to participate with FEDACWA instead. If Pablo Cervantes was doing such a good job with Rural Carnival, why did Kilder feel the need to separate himself from Cervantes and why did the comparsas decide to form their own association? This question was both posed and answered by Kilder: “because this promoter never fulfilled his promises, he never fulfilled his promises.”

According to Kilder, Cervantes rarely gave cash prizes to the winners. As I was unable to speak with Pablo Cervantes, it is difficult to verify this statement. However, other participants and judges also mentioned this failure to award money to the winners. Gabriel Quispe explained that, “He [Pablo Cervantes] always made excuses as to why he didn’t have the money to award the winners and yet he lived off the money he made from them, which isn’t right.”

According to Kilder, Cervantes took advantage of rural comparsas, inventing stories to avoid paying them any prize money.

According to Kilder, Cervantes was supported in his deception by municipal authorities. Kilder recalled one instance in which Cervantes told the campesinos that the ticket booth had been robbed and there was no money left to award the prizes. The majority of comparsa delegates are no longer prepared to tolerate such treatment; they are now far more aware of the cultural and economic currency of their folklore:

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115 Kilder Vásquez Mesa, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
116 Kilder Vásquez Mesa, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
117 Kilder Vásquez Mesa, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
118 Gabriel Quispe, in conversation with Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 21 January 2010.
119 Kilder Vásquez Mesa, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
120 Kilder Vásquez Mesa, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
The *comparsas* you see now have matured. Now they raise their hand and speak out. Before, they used to follow him like little sheep, they were lacking in ideological maturity, they wouldn’t say – Señor, you are abusing our art, our culture.121

Bearing in mind the number of tourists attracted to Ayacucho by carnival and the numbers involved in Rural Carnival, it is not surprising that the Comité Multisectorial de Festejos does not wish to relinquish control over any aspect of Carnival Ayacuchano. However, campesinos are no longer willing to let their cultural heritage be exploited, least of all by those who do not understand or appreciate their culture. As Gerardo explained:

There were promoters that made money from us. They live off our sweat. They use us and take our culture and our customs … they don’t even value our culture. We participate in four events, from those four events they take 15,000 to 20,000 soles from entry sales. They keep it all.122

Since the arrival of the Spanish, Andeans have been conscious of the importance of defending their cultural identity and traditions against many different forces including the Catholic Church, ruling elites, *indigenistas*, Evangelist religions and the pressures of modernity. Rural Carnival in the city of Huamanga now plays an important role in the defence of identity, memory and cultural heritage for the campesinos of Ayacucho. The cultural and political significance of Carnavales Rurales was tested in 2010 as the members of FEDACWA were forced to take on the authorities of the CMCA.

On 21 January 2010, only three days before the first *concurso* for *Carnavales Rurales* was due to take place, I attended a meeting of FEDACWA where it was revealed that organisers were unable to secure a venue for the competition following the *pasacalle*. According to Porfirio, this was not for want of trying; rather, it was yet another act of discrimination on the part of the members of the CMCA.

The FEDACWA delegates were informed that the usual venue, Leoncio Prado Stadium (also known as Mariscal Cáceres Stadium), was under repair and thus unavailable. FEDACWA members attempted to work around the problem, suggesting that they could use the venue without the stand (the only part of the arena under repair). They were told this was not possible as the army had to agree, which was unlikely. The delegates were obviously angry. They were certain that this was a deliberate act on the part of the

121 Kilder Vásquez Mesa, Ayacucho, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
officials to undermine their event and maintain control over their cultural expression and the economic benefits produced as a direct result of their cultural heritage.

As Porfirio revealed FEDACWA members felt they were being discriminated against purely because they were campesinos. Porfirio explained that during a meeting with the CMCA, he and Marcel (the Vice-president of FEDACWA) were told that they could not use the Stadium because they were “campesinos cochinos” (‘filthy pig campesinos’) who will get drunk, urinate indiscriminately and leave the Stadium in a mess. 123 Marcel explained that the Committee members think “we are dirty little pigs from the country and they turn their backs on us. They forget the country.” 124 The discussion became animated, anger and frustration over years of discrimination and exploitation obvious in the passionate responses of the delegates. Rómulo Canales Bautista jumped up and passionately exclaimed, “They want to murder our cultural identity and we will not allow it!” 125 The idea that authorities and elites were attempting to control and even “kill” campesino identity was prevalent among the majority of members who spoke up during the meeting. For many, the desire to fight against the discrimination and reclaim control over their cultural heritage was a motivating factor in their participation in Rural Carnival and also in the formation of a national competition.

In a bid to resolve the situation, another meeting was arranged for the following day between FEDACWA and the Comité Multisectorial, only this time FEDACWA members decided that all delegates should be present in a show of strength and unity. They also decided it would be strategic to invite the media and me to record the meeting. This was done in the hope that public pressure would cause the CMCA to amend its decision.

The following morning, only 20 or so delegates arrived for the meeting; many more were unable to attend due the short notice and work commitments. We all waited outside the large meeting room. Once the members of the Comité Multisectorial were ready, they invited Porfirio, Marcel and Gerardo to enter; the rest of us, including the members of the press who had arrived, were initially prohibited from entering the meeting.

123 FEDACWA meeting, Ayacucho, 21 January 2010.
124 FEDACWA meeting, Ayacucho, 21 January 2010.
125 FEDACWA meeting, Ayacucho, 21 January 2010.
Approximately ten minutes later, the doors opened and we were allowed to observe the proceedings. It seems that Porfirio and Gerardo had been quite persuasive.

Six members of the CMCA sat around the large antique meeting table, joined by three FEDACWA, delegates – Porfirio, Marcel and Gerardo. While Gerardo does not have an official position in FEDACWA he is the delegate for Los Hijos de Chilcas. He is also highly respected as a keeper of the traditional ways and as one of the original participants in concursos for Rural Carnival since the 1980s. There was a great deal of toing and froing during the meeting, with very little headway made, if any. Accusations of discrimination hurled at the Comité Multisectorial were denied and offers of other venues refused. Members of the Comité Multisectorial stated several times that the decision prohibiting the use of the Stadium was by no means based on race or class. One stated by way of proof that there was no discrimination: “I myself am from Cangallo.”

The Comité Multisectorial proposed that FEDACWA run its concurso at a venue on the outskirts of the city. This was not acceptable to FEDACWA because, as Gerardo explained, “There isn’t even one inhabitant there” and the chance of attracting large audiences would be minimal, making the event non-viable.

When the meeting closed, following much discussion and with only one day to go, there was still no resolution. Nevertheless, on the morning of the event a much relieved Porfirio informed me that the concurso would indeed go ahead at Estadio Leoncio Prado. It was difficult to discover exactly what caused this reversal at the eleventh hour. However, in hushed tones I was informed that money had changed hands between FEDACWA members and army officials. Although delegates were generally very open in their harsh criticism of authorities, they did not feel at liberty to speak boldly about the exchange. This may be because they saw me as an outsider or as a researcher who would report it. Or quite simply, it could have been that they were focused on the competition at hand. Perhaps it was a combination of all three. However, I had been allowed to attend numerous meetings where I was privy to sensitive information, invited to Porfirio’s home and allowed to get in among the dancers to take photographs and film as they danced. It is also possible that they did not want the general public to hear our conversations.

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Conclusion

Although the majority of displaced people like Gerardo arrived with very few material possessions, they did, however, retain a wealth of cultural practices which they began to celebrate in the relative safety of Huamanga. The desire to maintain a connection to homeland and local identity was made possible through the celebration of local fiestas within the city. As this chapter has demonstrated, the choreography of place plays a crucial role in remembering and connecting to homeland. As campesinos dance the carnival dance of their home town or community, they embody the memory of that place and dance it into being in the urban streets of Huamanga.

This chapter revisits the argument of the previous chapter and contributes to the greater argument of the thesis by demonstrating that dance is an embodied form of memory for rural migrants living in the city. Katrina Teaiwa notes that the peoples of the South Pacific dance to embody “not space but place.” As I have demonstrated, this is true also for campesinos living in the urban setting, who invoke their place of origin and the time of the ancestors as they dance their carnival. The notion of place is not merely terrain. It includes nature elements, the ancestors and also those who have passed away. Through the choreography of place, dancers transform the urban streets and dance the land of their origin into being, claiming the urban streets as their own. The importance of this act cannot be overstated for campesinos who have lost family members and were forced to leave their communities during the years of violence. As comparsa members teach their children the carnival dance of their parents and grandparents, they maintain ancestral connections and pass on the stories and embodied memories of their homes through the somatic transmission of dance.

Carnival is a particularly important case study for the research of collective memory embodied through dance, firstly, because it is one of the most loved and highly anticipated fiestas of the year in urban and rural Ayacucho. Carnival has always been a time and space to express political views and complaints, to freely express sexuality and, as so many people told me, it is a time to forget your troubles. As a consequence of its popularity, almost everyone within a given community participates in some form or another, providing information on a large cross-section of society. Secondly, and

128 Katerina Teaiwa, Challenges to Dance! Choreographing History in Oceania, Greg Dening Memorial Lecture University of Melbourne, Melbourne, 14 October, 2010.
perhaps even more importantly, the study of carnival in Ayacucho and more specifically in the city of Huamanga reveals the complex urban – rural divide that exists and exposes the ethno-racial prejudices that continue to affect campesinos. Although many Huamanguinos respect and even value campesino cultural practices, campesinos displaced by the violence now living in Huamanga often feel marginalised. They also feel that their cultural heritage has and continues to be exploited by the elite. As a result, federations such as FEDACWA are working to reclaim authority over their own cultural capital. The marginalisation of Ayacuchanos is historically contingent, therefore the remembering and salvaging of the dances in Ayacucho takes place within the historical context in which rural campesinos have been seen as a rich cultural source to be appropriated and/or mined in the creation of a unique national identity. As campesinos remember and engage the memory of their ancestors, they are redressing some of the race and class prejudices experienced on a daily basis.

The following chapter examines how campesinos are engaging the memory of the past to create the future they wish to inhabit through the competitive environment of concursos.
Chapter 5. *Hatun Tupanakuy: Competing for the Future*

The musicians made their way to the microphones as the dancers entered the arena. The *comparsa* for the Centro Folklórico los Hijos de Fray Martin de Pukará was one of the very few rural *comparsas* in which the women led the dance onto the arena. They performed a simple travelling step, their bodies held up right, arms stretched out high above their heads, holding the long cords with pompom-like ends stretched wide between their hands. The women made strong sweeping motions from side to side through the air as they skipped their way to the centre of the arena. The cords were pale blue and white, matching the colour of the ribbons around the sombreros. The men followed with a light skipping step, showing little of the power demonstrated by the dancers from the Claveles de Vinchos or the Hijos de La Mar. Once in the centre of the dance space, the performers formed clearly structured lines of three across, facing the judges as they continued to dance in place until the captain raised his arm high, signalling the musicians and the dancers to stop. All the performers stood tall then, taking the sombrero in their right hand, the dancers took a deep bow for the *saludo* (greeting). Holding the sombrero outstretched, each member made a full circle in the bowed position.

The more senior of the two captains, a man in his late thirties, led the dancers and directed the timing of each section of the dance. Following the *saludo*, the captain again raised one arm high, blowing the whistle he wore around his neck, and the music and dance began in earnest. The performers danced around the arena making clear geometric patterns, creating circles and exes,
demonstrating their ability to dominate the enormous open-air performance space. They danced for approximately four minutes, then the female dancers took up positions in the middle of the area in lines of three across and six deep. The women danced in place, swooshing their skirts as they moved from side to side on the spot, swinging the pom-poms in their right hands, making circles at their side as they skipped and bounced from right to left in time with the music. Then, with another change in the music, they stretched the cord between two hands in front of the chest as they skipped a circle around themselves to the left and then to the right. Another change of music and the singer began the universal call of carnival in Ayacucho, “Chayraq, chayraq, chayraq”. Answering the call, the dancers raised their cords high above their heads, swinging them from right to left as they danced with increased energy in a step – touch – bounce movement. Faces bright and heads held high, they jumped high from side to side, building their energy to match the music. They were the ninth comparsa to compete in the inaugural Hatun Tupanakuy Nacional.

On 21 February 2010, the members of FEDACWA launched the inaugural Hatun Tupanakuy Nacional – a national Rural Carnival competition – in the city of Huamanga. FEDACWA hoped to emulate carnival competitions held in Lima and other departments, such as the pukllay in Andahuaylas (the capital of Apurímac). As previous chapters have demonstrated Ayacuchano dance, maintained and reclaimed during fiestas, was and remains a significant site of memory-making. This chapter examines another important dance space which I have not yet addressed: that of dances performed during the more structured context of concursos for the inaugural national competition of the Hatun Tupanakuy. During the concurso, comparsa members performed their regional dances in front of large crowds, competing for trophies, prize money and prestige. Although the dance and music of a region are often stylised and adapted in order to be competitive, and campesinos frequently engage in a type of parody of their own cultural practices during concursos, I argue that concursos are important sites of identity-construction and memory-making. In Peru, concursos have become spaces in which campesino culture and identity are celebrated on a national level. In the previous chapter we have seen that Rural Carnival is an important ‘space of memory’ for campesinos living in Huamanga as they engage the choreography of place. This chapter builds on that argument to demonstrate that carnival concursos also constitute dynamic ‘sites of memory’ (as discussed in the Introduction) through which campesinos use collective memory to transform historical prejudice. During concurso performances, campesinos select aspects of their collective identity to highlight, engaging the past to create the future they desire.
This chapter pays particular attention to those aspects which campesinos have chosen to recall during performance and why. As I have mentioned previously, Andean cultural practices are not static and campesinos do not exist in isolation from the national political discourse or social influences. Choices regarding what to highlight, maintain or leave out have been influenced by the folkloric tradition and the history of indigenismo.

In order to understand the significance of dance performed in the competitive context of a national concurso, it is necessary to examine the influential role of the judges along with the legacy of Peruvian folklore.

This chapter begins with a detailed description of a comparsa performance in order to illustrate the elements of campesino culture that comparsa members choose to perform. I examine the influential role of folklore in Peru and Ayacucho in relation to concursos. This is followed by a brief history of the development of concursos in Ayacucho. Next, I examine the motivating influences which led FEDACWA to instigate a national carnival concurso, revealed during interviews with the event organisers. Finally, I demonstrate how these choices are influenced by the competitive environment and the authority of the judges.

The flyer produced by FEDACWA to promote the event was in stark contrast to the General Program for Carnival Ayacuchano discussed in the previous chapter. Instead of a glossy pamphlet resplendent with photos of dancers, musicians, masks and typical foods, finished off with the official logos of organisers and sponsors, the FEDACWA flyer was photocopied on white A4 paper in blue, red and black type. In the top corners the image of a ceramic pot, immediately recognisable as ancient Wari production, called to mind the name of the Federation, referencing a connection to pre-Columbian culture from the region of Ayacucho.

The simple flyer advertised the three days of regional carnival on 24 and 31 of January and 7 February in which “our eleven provinces of Ayacucho will participate.” It then announced the first ever national carnival to be held on February 20 and 21, in which “our twenty-four departments of Peru will participate.” Like the General Program the FEDACWA flyer invited audiences to join with Ayacuchanos to “live with us our carnival” and enticed prospective visitors with the knowledge that they would receive a

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warm reception: “Ayacucho awaits you”. Nevertheless, the fact that the flyer was not distributed much beyond the members of FEDACWA and their families and friends, meant the event was doomed before it began. Due to a lack of resources and promotion, the national event ultimately only attracted competitors from the department of Ayacucho.

Carnival Re-enacted

Carnival is normally celebrated over four days and three nights. The celebrations involve eating, drinking, playing, music and dance. During Rural Carnival competitions, the activities of those four days are presented in a 12 minute performance. While dance and song composition are the focus, many comparsas also include dance/drama\(^3\) scenes as part of the overall performance. The performers who carry out these generally comic scenes are best described as actor/dancers. They act out and dance the experience of carnival lived in the campo as it is remembered or imagined by comparsa members. During the Hatun Tupanakuy, the majority of the competing comparsas performed scenes in which the interrelatedness of dance, music, food, alcohol, alegría and costume was re-enacted. These scenes were typically performed by older or more senior members of the community.

The Centro Folklórico los Hijos de Fray Martin de Pukará, introduced at the beginning of this chapter, was one of only 17 comparsas to compete in the Hatun Tupanakuy Nacional in 2010. Like all the competitors, the Hijos de Fray Martin de Pukará were from Ayacucho and had competed during the previous three weeks of rural concursos. The comparsa had 45 performers including one female singer and five male musicians (two guitarists, one violinist and two quena players), two captains, 18 female dancers, 12 male dancers, and 9 actor/dancers (five female and four male). Participants ranged in age from the early teens to 60-plus.

The women wore long-sleeved white shirts and red skirts with a chumpi tied around the waist. The chumpi is a traditional belt hand-woven from alpaca and/or sheep’s wool and adorned with symbols dating back to the Wari empire. All wore their hair in trenzas

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3 Mendoza also uses this term to describe the performers in the dance-dramas of Cusco; while carnival dances do not really fit the genre as described by Mendoza, there are elements of the performance which incorporate both dance and acting.
(two long braids), the style recognised as ‘typical’ of Andean campesinas. On their feet they wore *ajotas*. On their heads they wore black sombreros adorned with blue and white ribbons, and tied around their shoulders they wore brightly coloured *mantas* known in Quechua as *llikllas*. The male dancers wore long brown pants made of heavy wool with a white shirt. They also wore the *manta* tied in the masculine manner, over one shoulder and across the body. They wore thick woollen knee length socks with *ajotas* and a small brown felt hat. The men also wore the *chumpi* around their waists. The *chumpi* is typically worn by *comparsas* from the provinces of Huamanga and Vinchos during carnival and plays a central role during the ritual battle that forms part of the performance, described later in this chapter. The musicians were dressed in the same style as the dancers and all the dancers and musicians sported large white smudges of talcum powder on their cheeks and coloured streamers around their necks.

The *comparsa* Hijos de Fray Martin de Pukará included a group of actor/dancers who enacted the roles of various community members. The distinction between the dancers for *concurso* and the actor/dancers was immediately apparent through the conscious use of very specific attire. This was further articulated through the somatic expression of the actor/dancers, whose physical movements tended to be freer, looser and more fluid than those of the dancers. Their performance was far more spontaneous, including a great deal of improvisation. The actor/dancers followed the dancers into the arena, dancing some of the choreographed dance steps while carrying various props before separating from the main dance to act out what is considered a typical carnival scene in the foreground, close to the judges. At this point the male dancers moved out of the highly choreographed dance, forming pairs around the periphery of the dancers. The women continued to dance choreographed steps, performed in unison.

All the important symbols and rituals of carnival were included in the performance. The actor/dancers – all in their forties or older – were dressed in individualised costumes. The women wore what could be considered a parody of rural campesino attire. Their *polleras* were made from a range of different faded colours, patched with enormous squares of different faded materials – some skirts were made completely from patches, resulting in a highly exaggerated interpretation of campesino dress. It would be unusual to see even the poorest women in the *campo* dressed in so many patches. Each of the female actor/dancers (*abuelitas*) wore a long-sleeved shirt of a pale colour that became more and more dishevelled as the performance went on. They also wore a small felt hat
bent out of shape and riddled with holes and rips. Each woman wore an old *manta* around her shoulders in which she carried the fruit and vegetables that would become part of the theatrics to come. Most wore *ajotas* but some wore rubber boots, which added to the image of poor agricultural workers and to the physical humour, as dancing in oversized boots is no easy task. The women carried an array of large metal cooking pots, wooden spoons, bowls and ceramic jugs.

The men were also dressed in old clothes contrived to appear ancient and unkempt. One man wore an old natural coloured poncho tied at the waist with a piece of rope over patched pants. He performed the role of the community elder or leader known as the *varayoq*. Although this was a comic representation of an honoured position, the role of *varayoq* was evident through the symbols of leadership carried by the performer, such as the staff. *Varayoq* is the role that Gerardo Muñoz holds during carnival; however, his was a more serious embodiment of the role that went beyond the spatio-temporal limits of the performance. Another man played the *viejo* (old man), a common character in many Andean festivals, especially during the Bajada de Reyes. The *viejo* is a comic character who is inclined to drunken and lascivious behaviour. The *viejo* wore an old, soiled, torn and heavily patched poncho which covered his hunchback. Adding to the illusion of age, he wore a large white beard and white bushy eyebrows. Another man, dressed much like the male dancers, carried a red guitar – without strings – which he pretended to play as he danced and stumbled around the scene. The last man carried the cross, adorned with coloured flowers, fruit and balloons. He also carried the *killi*, which he spread out. These elements set the scene and created the acting space in which actor/dancers performed their traditional carnival scene.

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4 As I argued in Chapter 2, the cross is an important symbol during Andean festivals and many *comparsas* carried it during carnival performances.
The women dressed as abuelitas danced forwards, stepping and swinging in time with the rhythm of the music. Once in front of the judges, the women removed their mantas, placing them on the earth and unwrapping the fruit and vegetables inside. The women mimed the cooking of food for fiesta, some lit a fire, while others carried ceramic jugs, pouring drinks for themselves and the other actor/dancers who became instantly intoxicated. Some handed the food they had ‘cooked’ to the judges in ceramic bowls. The drunken antics of the performers were hilarious and a great crowd pleaser – evident in the cheers and laughter from the spectators. The guitarist parodied a drunken musician as he danced and stumbled around the scene, stepping in pots and sending food flying, falling down while attempting to play the guitar. His characterisation was so convincing it was difficult to ascertain to what degree his acting was aided by the drinking off the field. On his hands and feet and with his bottom raised and bobbing in the air, he struggled to lift himself off the ground as one of the old women pulled his arm out from under him. He fell on his face, legs and arms splayed and the guitar standing on its end.

The women danced around drinking and stumbling. Some became involved in the pukllay, taking large bunches of the green herb ortiga (in Spanish) or itana (in Quechua) to whip the exposed flesh of the men preparing to battle. Ortiga is a type of stinging
Nettle which is commonly used in the natural medicine of the region and by many communities during the play-fighting of carnival. They also threw fruit at the old men in the performance of a typical carnival game which celebrates fertility and the fruits of the earth (*pukllay*). When attacked by one of the old women, the *viejo* fell dramatically to the ground, rolling on his back with his legs flailing in the air.

It was a chaotic scene, full of movement, improvisation and play. Many of the actor/dancers were in fact quite inebriated. Nevertheless, the scene had been constructed to include all the expected elements of a Rural Carnival scene: *alegría*, drunkenness, play, the *pukllay* and the *warakanakuy* (discussed later), specific dance steps from the province of Huamanga, interesting choreography, campesino costume – both traditional and comic – the preparation of traditional foods and drink along with the use of traditional ceramics. In Ayacucho all these elements add to the perceived authenticity of *comparsa* performances during competition. While this may at first seem like simple entertainment, every article of clothing worn and each item carried into the arena has a specific symbolic capital just as each dance step also has a specific symbolism.

As a number of authors have shown, in Peru social markers such as clothes and language play an important role in defining social class. Campesinos are conscious of how they are perceived and employ social markers such as *ajotas*, *trenzas*, *mantas* dance and comportment, often exaggerating them and reworking stereotypes through humour. *Comparsa* members consciously navigate and manipulate these symbols to create an ambience which will be perceived as authentically rural. Through the use of social markers, including the corporeal expression of dance, *comparsa* members embrace and promote their regional identity.

Drinking and drunkenness are a central element of the carnival experience in Ayacucho. *Comparsa* members treated the competition as another day of celebrations and the majority ate, drank and celebrated as they waited to perform. However, as Weismantel has argued, “Drunkenness has a very special relationship to class in the Andes.” Indians and then campesinos have long been considered to be prone to more ‘debauched’ behaviour than the more ‘refined’ mestizos. While drinking and drunkenness occur...

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5 Vásquez & Vergara, *Chayraq*; Weismantel, “Maize Beer.”
6 Weismantel, “Maize Beer,” 864.
across all levels of society, the image of the drunk falling in the dirt has become associated with the Andean campesino.\textsuperscript{7}

As Weismantel has observed, “Exaggerated displays of public drunkenness are part and parcel of Indian celebrations.”\textsuperscript{8} This is something of which all comparsas are aware. Thus, in the pursuit of an ‘authentic’ and competitive performance, comparsa members enter into a type of self-parody, performing exaggerated displays of drunkenness. I argue that although campesinos have been influenced by a history of prejudice and the expectations of others which have cast them in this role, comparsa members are not unaware of what they are doing. Rather, when they perform these scenes they are using humour to transform prejudice.

Photograph 67: Actor/dancers perform a drunken scene

Another central reason for the inclusion of this highly comic scene is alegria and comedy. Drunkenness and lascivious behaviour are expected and appreciated during carnival performances because they add to the humour. Through enacting what is generally accepted as a traditional Rural Carnival scene, comparsa members elicit laughter from the audience and engage in one of the key elements of carnival Ayacuchano – recognised by all Ayacuchanos, both rural and urban. Dancing a highly

\textsuperscript{7} Weismantel, “Maize Beer,” 865.
\textsuperscript{8} Weismantel, “Maize Beer,” 865.
choreographed routine shows the members’ ability as dancers, as well as their knowledge of traditional steps and choreography. Knowledge includes the dance steps, as well as the use of the correct props and the authenticity of costume and ornaments.

A successful comparsa performance is not only determined by what can be seen with the eyes. While it may be evident that the dancer’s experience of performance is embodied, the experience of the dance for the spectator (or judge) is visceral as well as visual; it incorporates all five senses and beyond. The ‘beyond’ incorporates all that is experienced and recalled through the dance, music and play as well as all the elements on which the performance draws and with which there is an interplay or dialogue. Kalpana Ram explains that traditional “dance and music are made up of affectively charged and condensed patterns and rhythms which are directly apprehended by the senses; but they also draw on practices which figure only as background at the time of the performance.”

The overwhelming ‘background’ during Rural Carnival is the cultural inheritance of the ancestors and, while it could be argued that this is the background for many traditional fiestas and dances in Peru, it is especially important for Ayacuchanos and in particular Ayacuchano campesinos. The background also involves the years of racism and marginalisation, evident in the words of Rómulo, Porfirio, Kilder and so many others. As we have seen, this has led to the restriction, prohibition and forced forgetting of countless rituals and cultural practices during the years of political violence.

As I have shown, a powerful desire exists among Ayacuchanos, both urban and rural, to salvage (rescatar) the cultural inheritance of their ancestors. The desire to maintain culture or to ‘keep it alive’ is something that many postcolonial nations continue to experience. As Ram has observed, “Notions of the loss of culture and cultural identity or anxieties about one’s ‘culture’ do not begin with migration for people who have experienced colonisation.” Ayacuchanos, both campesinos and urban dwellers alike, frequently experience and express this anxiety of loss. For the Andean campesino, the anxiety is compounded by the experience of cultural colonialism, first experienced at

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11 Ram, “Dancing the Past into Life,” 263.
the hands of the conquering Spanish and then again following independence at the hands of indigenistas in the nineteenth century and then again in the twentieth century under the influence of neo-indigenistas and the coercion of senderistas.

The term ‘folklore’ is used regularly to refer to campesino culture, to concursos and traditional dance, music and fiestas. For example, Gabriel Quispe stated, “we [Ayacuchanos] love our folklore.”12 It is used by urban university-educated Huamanguinos and by rural campesinos alike. Kilder explained “we [members of FEDACWA] are dedicated to our folklore”13 and Qori Tanka stated “the folklore of this land of Ayacucho runs in my blood.”14 The term ‘folklore’ also features in comparsa names. Therefore, it is important to understand what those who use the term mean by it. In order to understand the local usage it is also necessary to place the concept of folklore in historical and national context.

William J. Thoms15 coined the neologism ‘folklore’ in 1846 by combining two distinct terms: ‘lore’, meaning knowledge (which includes an aspect of scholarship), with the term ‘folk’, meaning ‘of the people’ or the masses, Thoms created an innovative concept in which the knowledge of the masses was afforded a new level of credibility.16 Over time, the term became widely accepted. Thoms was a Londoner and, like many folklorists who would follow him, he had very little understanding of the ‘lore’ or the ‘folk’ he aimed to study.17 What he, and many like him, did possess was a keen interest in uncovering the knowledge held in the ‘everyday’ communal activities of song, dance, poetry, and festivals, coupled with a desire to salvage those elements which were fading out of use. Much of the scholarship on folklore has shown how the emergence of the study and the preservation of folklore throughout Europe came about as a response to the “disappearance of cultures.”18 A concerted effort was undertaken to study folklore as a science by folklorists who feared that certain pre-industrial cultures were dying out with the rise of modernisation.

12 Gabriel Quispe, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, 21 February, 2010.
13 Kilder Vásquez Mesa, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, 26 February, 2010.
15 Thoms is also referred to in some of the literature as William J. Thomas.
18 Rowe & Schelling, Memory and Modernity, 3.
While elements of the original historical understanding as coined by Thoms remain in the common usage of the term in Latin America, other aspects are incorporated which are unique to the region. Rowe and Schelling argue that it is important to differentiate between folklore as it is understood in Europe and the US in contrast with how it has developed and is understood throughout Latin America. In many countries, folklore is generally equated with the past and associated with the unofficial and the informal. Nevertheless, in Latin America, it has come to represent both the past and the present, and is commonly used in the promotion of future-oriented projects – as in the case of FEDACWA and the Hatun Tupanakuy. “Although it is difficult to generalise, it is probably valid to say that in Latin America the idea of folklore has been bound up with the idea of national identity, and has been used by the state, among other things, in order to bring about national unity.”

In Latin America, folklore and folkloric practices have been intertwined with political projects such as cultural nationalism and the attempted construction of a unified national identity, ideological projects which promoted the incorporation of the indigenous population within a cohesive nation, and economic projects related to tourism. As discussed in Chapter 3, indigenismo and the mestizaje project appropriated aspects of the ancient and living culture of indigenous peoples and incorporated these into a state-sanctioned notion of national identity while the living custodians of the culture continued to be marginalised. The incorporation of the past and the present has meant that the term ‘folklore’ may be used in Latin America, to refer equally to the past and to the present. Andean communities that maintain practices and rituals which represent pre-Columbian roots are perceived by the wider urban population as ‘authentic’ and are regularly considered the custodians of folkloric traditions.

As Rowe and Schelling argue, “Thus the concept [of folklore] ranges between two extremes of usage: on the one hand, folklore is seen as a kind of bank where authenticity is safely stored; on the other, it is a way of referring to contemporary cultures which articulate alternatives to existing power structures.” Thomas Turino argues that “Music, dance, visual arts, political speech, and a broad variety of other

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19 Rowe & Schelling, Memory and Modernity, 4-5.
20 Rowe & Schelling, Memory and Modernity, 4.
21 Rowe & Schelling, Memory and Modernity, 4.
22 Rowe & Schelling, Memory and Modernity, 4.
expressive cultural practices, in turn, are at the center of cultural nationalist projects.”

Concursos have played a pivotal role in all aspects of promoting, maintaining and creating folklore in Latin America and Peru.

Throughout the twentieth century, concursos were employed by governments to garner nationalist sentiment as part of larger nationalising projects. Turino’s point is illustrated by President Augusto Leguía’s decision to establish a national competition in Lima in 1927, inviting Andeans to participate, performing their local music on the Día de los Indios. The sweeping reforms introduced by President Velasco’s regime in the early 1970s led to a growing nationalisation of indigenous art and culture. As a result of the reforms, all radio stations were required by law to play at least 30 minutes of Peruvian folkloric music each day and Quechua became an official language of the nation. The government promotion and sponsorship of regional festivals and arts competitions led to the promotion and folklorisation of rural and indigenous culture. Contests were held at local, provincial and department levels with winners receiving paid passage to Lima to compete at the national level.

In Peru, as Mendoza argues, it was the “fetishization of the Inca past” by indigenistas in Cusco, and other parts of the country which led to “folklorization” and a fascination with recovering ‘authentic’ forms of expression: “The reconstruction of the memory of the Inca Empire has been since early colonial times the basis for a wide range of diverse ideological, political, and economic ends inside and outside Cusco.” Even as recently as the 1960s, many saw the great advantage of folklore as a subtle means of incorporation, a way to integrate the ‘Indian’ into the greater Peruvian nation. This was certainly the case in Cusco, which is often considered the folkloric capital of Peru along with Puno. However, the fetishisation of a pre-Columbian past occurred throughout Peru.

23 Turino, “Nationalism and Latin American Music,” 175.
29 Mendoza, Shaping Society Through Dance, 18.
30 Mendoza, Shaping Society Through Dance, 18.
Although the city of Huamanga was largely excluded from national participation during the twentieth century, it remained a señoríal city in which a clear distinction was made between Huamanguinos (who were mestizos with European heritage) and campesinos. The city experienced a steady increase in migration from the campo to the city, with the reopening of the university in 1959 and as a result of the 1969 land reforms. In addition, campesinos were striving to be included in the growing capitalist economy of the nation.

In 1967, Ayacuchano folklorista Manuel E. Bustamante published Apuntes Para el Folklore Peruano (Notes for Peruvian Folklore) in Ayacucho. In this study of Ayacuchano folklore Bustamante states that the objective of folklore is the “systematic study of the knowledge, thoughts and words of the object of the science of folklore.”

Citing William Thoms, he adds that folklore is “the study of the traditions, customs and beliefs of the people of a nation.” The writings of Bustamante illustrate the neo-indigenista sentiment which was prevalent throughout the Peruvian Andes during the 1950s and 1960s. The neo-indigenistas were concerned with the central question which had preoccupied the indigenistas of the early 1900s and, like many indigenistas before him, Bustamante viewed folklore as being part of the solution to the ongoing problem facing the Peruvian nation; how to incorporate the ‘Indian’ into the nation-state.

The combating or cultivating of some of their [the Indians’] traditions, customs or beliefs, by schools, the sacred teachings [of the church] (Cátedra Sagrada), and Commissions, that would be specially organised to reach a partial resolution of that complex problem of incorporating the Indian into the national civilization, Peruvian folklore should be used as a guide so that the nation marches with a firm step up that incline of progress, homogenising their race, unifying their language and generalising their customs, beliefs and work.

These questions were common at the time and still hold sway to this day and have certainly pervaded the realm of folkloric study, performance, competition and judging, evident in the judging criteria for the Hatun Tupanakuy, discussed later in this chapter. However, not all those writing about folklore and indigenous culture at the time could be considered neo-indigenistas. One such exception is the Peruvian writer and anthropologist, José María Arguedas. A Quechua speaker with an intimate knowledge of

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31 Bustamante, Apuntes Para el Folklore Peruano, 5.
32 Bustamante, Apuntes Para el Folklore Peruano, 5.
33 Bustamante, Apuntes Para el Folklore Peruano, 5.
34 Bustamante, Apuntes Para el Folklore Peruano, 5.
Andean traditions, Arguedas did not hold the same attitude towards ‘Indians’ as many of his generation. Although he was writing at the same time as Bustamante, Arguedas did not accept the original definition of the term ‘folklore’. Rather, he problematised the concept, concluding that there are two distinct interpretations of the term. In his article, ¿Qué es el folklore? (what is folklore?), he made the distinction between “Folklore” written with a capital letter and “folklore” uncapitalised. Arguedas argued that the “Folklore”, which has been studied as a science and preserved by various institutions and organisations is distinct from the “folklore” which is a living cultural expression of a people. According to Arguedas, the study of Folklore which incorporates the traditional arts of a people, including the legends, music and dances, “as a science”, can only be studied in universities and cultural institutions, while “folkloric wisdom” can only be learned in the traditional manner, “through the living voice, ‘by mouth’, by oral explanation or imitation.”

The distinction made by Arguedas goes a long way towards explaining the complexities of folklore in Peru. It is also useful to think in these terms when attempting to understand the evolution of the concept of folklore in Ayacucho. However, while this may be a useful conceptual tool, the lived reality of individuals in the city of Huamanga (and Ayacucho) is not so easily placed into a dichotomous interpretation. As discussed in Chapter 3, Huamanga is a city which experienced an enormous influx of migrants, especially during the years of violence. Many of these migrants continue to practise the “folklore” of their homeland while simultaneously engaging in the “Folklore” available to them through various institutions and concursos in the city, as was the case for Rubén Romani and other participants in Rural Carnival and the Hatun Tupanakuy. This means that much of what could be considered “folklore” in Arguedas’ understanding is also becoming “Folklore” as migrant campesinos use it to consciously engage with authorities and to challenge historical prejudices and marginalisation.

In the twenty-first century, concursos have become a means by which not only government authorities, but also other organisations, such as NGOs, indigenous organisations and human rights groups, are able to generate interest in a particular region or cause. Following the release of the TRC’s Final Report, concursos took on a new

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35 Arguedas, “¿Qué es el folklore?,” 42.
36 Arguedas, “¿Qué es el folklore?,” 42.
significance as they became a space in which many rural and urban victims of the violence gave their testimony.

SER (Servicios Educativos Rurales – Rural Educational Services) runs various educational programs throughout rural areas. Years of previous contact with rural communities made their knowledge and input invaluable during the conflict. In recent years their work has largely focused on the retrieval and reconstruction of memory as a means of giving voice to those most affected by the years of violence and who still remain largely forgotten in the greater national agenda. SER was one of the first organisations to employ concursos as testimonial spaces. The director of SER in Lima, Javier Torres, explained that art became a means by which people affected by the violence (affectados) could give their testimony in a manner which was “more accessible and friendly” than during the usual interview situation:

At SER we have worked on the theme of memory basically with the logic of reconstructing the communal histories of the conflict; the collective memories of the communities, we have engaged in various projects [to this end].

There is an interesting point which the affectados put to us, being that their history didn’t begin in 1980 and it didn’t end with the decline of Sendero, no? But rather, it is a much longer continuum [he takes a moment and pauses] and this is interesting [he pauses again, thinking over this point] and I strongly agree as well. Because they feel that the academy and the intellectuals and the official world of authorities characterise them only as being victims of the conflict and there is a rejection of this which is logical, no?

There is a rejection of this. The affectados told us; we want to reconstruct our own history from further back, as well as towards the future, because they find part of the explanation for what occurred in their own past history; which is logical, no? So this is the work we have done.

In the beginning we did it [picture concursos] with the Commission as a motivation for people to tell their testimony in another way, in a more accessible way. That is to say that for us it was a big problem that the Final Report from the TRC is a book, a monumental book, it is an encyclopaedia, no? And it is inaccessible, no? So we created concursos, the first was more rural, the second was in the city of Huamanga. We also held them in Huancavelica and later they were replicated by others who mastered the methodology such as COMISED and various human rights groups, each one with their own focus. But what is interesting is that we could continue. It is true that all testimony is an oration. No one can tell you exactly what happened, it is an oration of what happened. And we believe it was a much more friendly way – an accessible and friendly way – in which the people

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could find a greater facility in such a painful context such as this no? In an interview such as this the señora who is feeling scared will not find it easy to tell her story, of how they killed her husband and how on that night she was raped. [He pauses] This can be difficult for anyone and even more so for people who are not accustomed to interviews. \(^{38}\)

The work carried out by SER and other groups in creating drawing, painting and song competitions has played an important role in creating a space for those affected to express their pain and to tell their stories in an alternative manner. However, these initiatives were planned and organised by outsiders. As is evident in the words of Javier Torres, many of the *affectados* feel that these are the same people who ignore them or relegate them to the role of victim. As Torres explained, the people of Ayacucho want to tell their history beginning with a past which precedes the violence, which recognises pre-Columbian connections and the strength of what it is to be campesino and/or Ayacuchano. They also want to use that memory in the construction of a new future in which they are included and respected. Ayacuchanos I spoke with explained that they do not want to be cast in the role of victims, nor do they want to be cast in the role of *terrucos* (terrorists). The desire for self-determination and to remember the strength of what it is to be an Ayacuchano campesino was a motivating force for Daniel Huamán, the mayor of Chungui. He explained that the loss of *costumbres* has had a profound effect on the inhabitants of Ayacucho, especially in the provinces where Sendero was initially able to take control. This has led him and others to instigate *concursos* (in music and dance) as a means of recovering what was lost. He described how many communities are now employing dance and music *concurso* as a means of reclaiming an identity they feel was lost or killed during the conflict.

Before the violence, community organisation was solid, it was strong. Now, there is very little. Only a few communities continue to work together. But in others, they are completely disorganised [socially], now there is envy, division and such things. If we speak of folklore before the violence, *pucha*, everybody practiced folklore, children, adults, everyone.

Our folklore has been lost, on the one side because of Sendero Luminoso and on the other because of religion. \(^{39}\)

Daniel’s words echo those of Rubén Romaní and many other Ayacuchanos I spoke with. For Ayacuchanos, the restoration of lost *costumbres* is a means of rebuilding fractured

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\(^{38}\) Javier Torres, Lima, 17 April 2009.

\(^{39}\) The popularity of evangelical religions also led to the decrease of fiestas. In some areas fiestas were prohibited as a result of religion; Daniel Huamán, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 30 November. 2009.
communities and restoring a portion of the dignity that has been lost as a result of the violence. This is because dance, along with all elements considered folklore, is directly related to the construction of identity. Daniel explained that, since the two decades of internal conflict, “Working on identity is important for us. We work to restore all that is our identity, which is our folklore and our language.”

As I have argued previously, government organisations and entrepreneurs have long been aware of the power of the ‘living culture’ of campesinos. The delegates of FEDACWA are also conscious of the economic and symbolic capital of their cultural traditions. For Porfirio Guisante, the aim of organising the Hatun Tupanakuy Nacional was to promote the Rural Carnival of Ayacucho run by the campesino federation and in the process afford campesinos the respect which has been so lacking in Ayacucho. Porfirio explained that FEDACWA planned to create an event that would eventually rival the popularity and prestige of the pukllay in Andahuaylas.

In 2004 we went to Andahuaylas to participate in the national pukllay. And we saw how it was, the organisational part etc., and it was beautiful. They treated us as if we were ambassadors, we received first-class treatment. Ayacucho won first place for four years in a row in Andahuaylas. In Huancavelica there was another national carnival concurso and we won there as well. So I thought, why not? If Ayacucho is so rich in all that is Rural Carnival, why aren’t we the best? So we decided to do it and in the month of October we presented a project of more or less 30 folios to the Regional Director of Tourism and Industry of the Regional Government of Ayacucho and the Municipality of Huamanga.

Porfirio’s comments highlight the powerful effect of concursos in altering perceptions. In Andahuaylas, Porfirio experienced an acceptance and celebration of Ayacuchano campesino culture which inspired him and other delegates to bring about a change in Ayacucho. It is interesting to note that Porfirio always referred to Ayacucho as the winners. Even though the rivalry between provinces and districts is rife during concursos, he never referred to one province as the winner. Rather, Porfirio aimed to elevate the status of all Ayacuchano campesinos:

40 Gabriel Quispe, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 23 March 2010.
41 Porfirio Guisante, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho 3 March 2010.
42 The Federation hoped to match the popularity of the Pukllay, which has become one of Peru’s largest and most prestigious carnival concursos. In 2009, over 140 comparsas participated. On the tenth anniversary of the event in 2010, the Pukllay attracted hundreds of thousands of people for the occasion; “140 Delegaciones de Diversas Partes del País Participarán en Carnaval de Andahuaylas,” Andina: Agencia Peruana de Noticias (Lima, 3 March, 2009).
We thought, why shouldn’t they help us economically and do it much better than Andahuaylas and Tacna and Cajamarca, much better? And regrettably we waited until the last moment. They had seen the project and they wanted to run it themselves – both the Regional Government and the Municipality. They closed the door in our faces saying, yes, yes. Then with only two weeks to go [before the event] they said we’ll give you 30,000 soles for something which costs 300,000 soles. \(^{43}\)

Once again, as during the regional carnival only weeks earlier, it seemed the authorities had left the members of FEDACWA in an invidious position. With little money and almost no practical support for the event, and no ‘national’ competitors, the FEDACWA organisers decided to continue regardless. Porfirio highlighted the lack of respect that Ayacuchano authorities have for campesinos and campesino culture as the reason for the lack of support.

In Andahuaylas and Cusco, they [authorities] value the customs of Rural Carnival, which are also very beautiful. In contrast, here, nothing. It is true that Rural Carnival is a national asset. Regrettably the authorities in Ayacucho don’t value our customs. \(^{44}\)

I asked Porfirio why he thought this was the case.

They believe that people from the campo are all backward, that we are chanchitos (‘little pigs’), they don’t treat us, uh, how can I explain it? They separate us to one side. They always put us to the side. But little by little as you have seen, those of us who run the Federation are making them respect us like they never have before. \(^{45}\)

It was evident from Porfirio’s description of the treatment he received in Andahuaylas that there he felt respected as a custodian of an ancient tradition and as an ambassador for his district, whereas in Huamanga he and his fellow organisers were racially discriminated against and treated as chanchitos. In conversations with Porfirio and during the meetings of delegates held prior to Rural Carnival, discussed in Chapter 4, it was apparent that he and the other delegates viewed Rural Carnival as an important cultural event which allowed for a connection to homeland and ancestors through the choreography of place. Carnival is also a space which facilitated the maintenance of a distinctly campesino identity within the urban setting of Ayacucho. As Mendoza has observed in her work on Cusco, comparsa performances are fundamental in the formation of ethnic/racial identities as performers constantly “explore and rework the

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\(^{43}\) Porfirio Guisante, Ayacucho 3 March 2010.

\(^{44}\) Porfirio Guisante, Ayacucho 3 March 2010.

\(^{45}\) Porfirio Guisante, Ayacucho 3 March 2010.
relationship between the practical embodiment and the ideological aspects of those identities.46

**Ritual Battles: Remembering Strength**

In a study which analyses the intersections between tourism, folklore and the formation of regional identities in Cusco, Mendoza has shown that three main expressions of dance have become identified as authentic representations of Andean culture. The first of these are dances which express the warrior spirit, the second dances that display the laconic yet bucolic lifestyle of the Andean campesino and the third are dances that display a debauched licentiousness.47 This triptych can be observed in many concurso performances throughout the Peruvian Andes. However, very few if any Ayacuchano dances portray an overtly bellicose spirit, with one important exception being the *Danzantes de Tijeras*.48 Nevertheless, the combative spirit identified by Mendoza can be found during comparsa performances as they engage in the *pukllay* and *warakanakuy*, performed during carnival, and which are often referred to as ritual battles.

The *pukllay* translates from Quechua as ‘game’ or ‘to play’. It may also be referred to as *lucheo* or *pulseo* in Spanish which means ‘to fight’. The *pulseo* is often described as a “ritual battle”.49 However, this description does not do justice to the element of play which is present in the Quechua term and in the physical execution of the *pukllay* during carnival concursos. It is a pre-Columbian ritual which has been used to settle community grievances and to establish the dominance of one community over another. It forms an integral part of carnival in the Andean region of Ayacucho and the neighbouring department of Apurímac.

The *lucheo* (using the *waraka*) is called the *warakanakuy* and is commonly performed by comparsas from the district of La Mar. During carnival concursos, the *pulseo* and the *warakanakuy* are typically performed by pairs of dancers. During the *warakanakuy*, one dancer lifts his trouser leg to expose the bare flesh of the shin and calf to his opponent,

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48 Re-enactments of the Battle of Ayacucho are held at the site of the battle in Quinua; nevertheless, these performances are intermittent and do not involve dance and music, nor do they fall into the category of a traditional fiesta such as that of the Inkarri ritual or an official fiesta.
49 Vásquez & Vergara, *Chayraq*, 40.
who then whips the leg with his *waraka*. Ritual battles, displaying the strength and courage of individuals and thus of each community, are an important part of the *concursos* for Rural Carnival. Many *comparsas* enacted this ritual battle during the *concursos* held on the three Sundays of Regional Carnival. However, during the *concurso* for the Hatun Tupanakuy, the majority of *comparsas* seemed to raise the stakes to a new level, even to the point of drawing blood.

True to their name, members from the Huaraqueros$^{50}$ de La Mar performed the most striking *warakanakuy* of the event, exemplified by the pair of dancers who chose to perform the *warakanakuy* directly in front of the judges, at a distance of only approximately one and a half metres. The choice to battle at such close proximity to the judges was unusual and likely an attempt to display their superior strength and authenticity. They were completely committed to the ritual battle, in contrast to the competitors from Hijos de Fray Martin de Pukará. There is no doubt that the two men, along with the majority of their *comparsa* companions, were intoxicated. The intoxication was brought about by a combination of elements. Certainly the *chicha de jora*, which they had been drinking throughout the day, was a key element. However, the chemical influence of alcohol on the body was compounded by the intoxication brought on by the atmosphere and by the dance itself. The dance seemed to transport the dancers to an altered state in which some of the participants appeared to be beyond the experience of physical pain.

In typical fashion, as performed by numerous dancers before them, the first man pulled up his trouser leg to expose the bare flesh of his shin and calf to his opponent. The second man flung his right arm high in the air, the plaited *waraka* flying high above his head before it came down with a loud thwacking sound around the exposed flesh of the first man, who stood dispassionately, apparently completely unaffected by the blow. The man’s flesh immediately turned red raw in the pattern of his opponent’s whip. They repeated this action and then reversed the roles.

The second man moved closer to the judges as he lifted his pant leg, almost as if to challenge them as he eyed them directly. He stood tall, his chin high and jutting forward in a display of pride and strength as he bounced in time with the rhythm of the music.

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$^{50}$ *Huaraquero* means ‘those who hold or wield the *waraka*’. In written Quechua ‘hu’ and ‘w’ are used to describe the same sound. Both spellings are considered correct.
The second man seemed keen to exact his revenge and he did not hold back as he whipped his opponent with incredible force. The cracking sound of the whip as it bit into the man’s flesh was unsettling; the crowd which had assembled close around the judges gasped in response “que fuerte” (‘how strong’). The waraka left a raw welt as it had on the first man, but the dancer seemed unperturbed. Rather, he stepped closer to his opponent, lifting his trouser leg higher in a defiant challenge to his rival and to those of us who watched on. His opponent rose to the challenge, responding with a blow of even greater force than the first. Again, the man being whipped continued to bounce in time to the rhythm, seemingly oblivious to physical pain. Neither the man’s facial or corporeal expression revealed any hint of pain. The two men repeated this action a third time. The third and final hit cut deep, drawing blood as it cracked into the bare flesh, leaving the audience gasping, many impressed by the dancer’s valour and strength. The dancer then released his trouser leg and danced proudly towards the judges and spectators before dancing away to join in the choreography.

Photograph 68: Two dancers perform the warakanakuy in front of the judges
Two women from the same *comparsa* placed themselves directly in front of the judges in a display also meant to impress. The first woman lifted her skirt so that her shin could be whipped. Although women did not traditionally engage in the *wakaranakuy*, during
carnival concursos it is becoming more and more common. Often women will place their hand on the ground, exposing the flesh of their arm to the warakakita. The second woman knelt on the earth only one metre from the judges and lifted her blouse to expose the bare flesh of her torso. The first woman pulled back, taking aim. Stepping forward with her left leg, she brought the warakita out and along in a sideways movement which wrapped the length of the warakita around the woman’s broad torso. The thwacking sound was loud and again the crowd gasped in response. The woman on her knees simply smiled triumphantly at the judges and the audience as she awaited another blow.51

The comparsa members of the Hijos Renacientes de Paqcha performed the ritual battle which is common to the provinces of Vinchos and Huamanga, known as the pulseo. The Paqchinos danced a large circle into place and the captain of each group called forth a male dancer. Like centurions entering the arena, the men danced powerfully at each other. As they came together, they took hold of the other’s chumpi and began to wrestle one another. Resembling lithe sumos, they struggled, lifting, pushing, pulling and heaving one another around the circle in an attempt to throw their opponent to the ground, until finally one man succeeded, falling on top of his opponent as they slammed onto the dusty earth. During the pulseo the man who lands on top is considered the winner. As Rómulo Caneles Bautista explained “The one that falls underneath loses.”52 According to Rómulo, through these ritual battles “you know who is the strongest, who is the most macho and who is the most courageous.”53

While one couple struggled, the captains called in another pair to begin their battle. This was repeated a number of times by different couples, including pairs of women. Although this is not strictly considered ‘traditional’ it has become commonplace. Competitors generally take the pullkay very seriously and put all their physical force behind each attempt to throw their opponent down. However, as always, alegría remains an important element of carnival and therefore of all concurso performances. To this end – and to the great amusement of the crowd – two tiny boys, both approximately five years old, from the Renacientes de Paqcha, danced into the centre of the circle of

51 While women now engage in the warakanakay, this was the one of the few times I saw a woman, or anyone, expose their torso to receive the blow.
dancers to demonstrate their physical prowess. While the sight of two such tiny boys fighting it out was very funny, the children appeared to take the competition even more seriously than the adult dancers. They struggled for some time before they both tumbled to the ground, where they rolled over each other in the dirt each trying to be on top and thus be the winner. The captain ultimately had to drag them apart and they danced back to the circle, only to be replaced by two little girls who also took the fight very seriously – to the delight of the crowd. Children are very present during Rural Carnival and they join in the spirit of fun and competition in equal measure to the adults.

The members of the Hijos de Fray Martin de Pukará performed pukllay more for show with very few actually engaging with great force, unlike the members of the Centro Cultural Chilcas La Mar and the Huaraqueros de La Mar. This difference may be explained by the fact that the majority of the male dancers in the Hijos de Fray Martin de Pukará were very young, between the ages of 13 and 23, while the male dancers from the other two comparsas ranged in age from twelve (only two boys) to mid to late thirties or older. However, this may also be illustrative of the changes and the fusion which takes place as rural comparsas move to and/or originate from the urban setting of Huamanga.

Comparsa members choose to remember and demonstrate the strength and power of what it is to be campesino during these battles. They also employ humour and satire to transform prejudice. However, as I argued in Chapter 1, ethnographic studies, anthropological discourse and the folkloric tradition of the 1960s and 1970s had a marked influence on Andean inhabitants which continues to this day. As Urrutia has observed, these ‘outside’ influences have affected the way campesinos perceive and practise their own culture. This influence was evident during the Hatun Tupanakuy, where comparsa members were judged by non-campesinos who had been trained in the folkloric tradition of Ayacucho.

Concursos in Ayacucho

The emergence of the contemporary folkloric tradition in Ayacucho is attributed to two central figures by many Huamanguinos currently involved in folklore, such as dance teachers, concurso judges and organisers, along with directors of various folkloric institutions. The first is Juana Fernández, credited with being the first person to set up an
elenco (dance group) in the city of Huamanga. Affiliated with the INC (National Institute for Culture), and under Fernandez’s instruction this elenco incorporated many aspects of “Folklore” as described by Arguedas. Members of the group were required to learn and sing songs in Quechua, understand the origins and meaning of various dances and carry out scientific research. Each member of the elenco was required to carry out field research, travelling to remote communities and living with the people for a number of weeks to study and learn the songs and dances of the region.

Juana is well respected in Huamanga and everyone I met spoke highly of her contribution to the promotion and preservation of Ayacuchano traditions. Juana’s influence has left a powerful legacy in the world of folkloric dance in Huamanga and beyond. Willy Castro recalled, “when I danced with the INC elenco my teacher was Juana Fernández, she is practically the mother of folklore in Ayacucho.” A number of the early members who joined the elenco as teenagers in the 1970s are now dance teachers and directors of elencos in Huamanga and Huanta. Two such individuals are Willy Castro, the director and founder of the dance group Peru Ancestral, and Vidal Huamán, a teacher from Huanta who has become a controversial figure in Ayacucho due to his innovative choreography. While his choreography is highly creative and entertaining, Vidal tends to push the boundaries of ‘authenticity’. University lecturer Fermín Rivera was director of the university elenco in the 1980s when it competed in national and international competitions.

The second influential figure in contemporary folklore in Huamanga is the well-known singer and composer, Carlos Falconí. He was one of the first people to initiate song competition in the province of Huanta when he was working as a teacher; these competitions invariably included an element of dance, as music and dance are intertwined. As musician Qori Tanka explained, Carlos Falconí also directed the

54 Willy Castro, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010; Gabriel Quispe, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 23 September 2009; Vidal Huamán, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 27 November 2009; Fermín Rivera, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 15 June 2009.
55 Willy Castro, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.
56 Many dance teachers, organisers and judges referred to a dance that won Vidal a number of trophies. Although Vidal reported the dance was from a remote village in the north of the department, it was later discovered to be an “invention”.
57 Fermín Rivera, Ayacucho, 15 June 2009.
58 Gabriel Quispe, Ayacucho, 23 September 2009.
elenco which took its name from the pre-Columbian civilisation once thought to be the original inhabitants of Huamanga – Pocras.\footnote{Pocras were once considered to be the original inhabitants of Huamanga. While many Huamanguinos still believe this to be so, it seems they were an invention. For more information on the debate surrounding the Pocras, see Jaime Urrutia, \textit{La diversidad huamanguina: tres momentos en sus orígenes} (Lima: IEP, 1994).} According to Qori “All the members of Pocras were from the campo,” which he claims was the first elenco formed in Huamanga in 1973.\footnote{Qori Tanka, Ayacucho, 22 February 2010.} Although the members of Pocras were from rural communities, they also followed established folkloric methods of investigation, spending time in the field. Qori proudly told me, “We went to the campo to carry out investigations and do the work of collecting data. The grandparents were a great resource and helped us with our investigations.”\footnote{Qori Tanka, Ayacucho, 22 February 2010.}

All the dance teachers I spoke to – including Vidal Huamán, Willy Castro and Rubén Román – expressed the importance of fieldwork and spending time with a community in order to understand a particular dance. The investigations generally included being present during a fiesta, observing the dance and talking to the older members of the community in order to gain insights as to how the dance may have changed and how it used to be before. Willy Castro explained how folkloric research was conducted during the 1980s in Huamanga:

> We travelled to various pueblos close to Huamanga, we couldn’t travel very far because there was a great deal of terrorist activity, it was very, very fierce so for safety we didn’t travel out very often. But when we did travel out we experienced beautiful customs and very beautiful dances. … Then, I began to teach what I had learned and all that I had investigated.\footnote{Willy Castro, Ayacucho, 26 February 2010.}

Willy stressed that it was not possible to travel very far to conduct investigations during the conflict. This was in part presented as a type of apology because folkloric thought means the more remote a community is, the more authentic its traditions and costumbres. Once fieldwork had been conducted, teachers could then justifiably include the dance in the repertoire of their elenco and concurso performances.

Like earlier folklorists, dance teacher Rubén Román follows the established methods of investigation when “recovering” a dance from the campo. He explained that he recently
“recovered the Qachua [harvest dance] from a community in the north of Huanta.”\textsuperscript{63} In order to do so, he “travelled to the community a number of times and lived together [convivir] with the people, this is the most important thing.” Rubén stressed that the abuelitos were an invaluable resource of knowledge.\textsuperscript{64}

**Judging Folklore**

During the Hatun Tupanakuy Nacional, the stand for the master of ceremonies and the musicians was placed on the western perimeter of the arena, which became crowded by enthusiastic audience members as the day went on. A separate area had been erected for the judges, placed in the centre of the arena towards the southern end. The judges invited to evaluate the first Hatun Tapunakuy became the focal point for many comparsas. However, the separation of the two stands made it difficult for some comparsas to know which direction was the most effective to perform their choreography. Although all choreography for carnival concursos is designed to be viewed in a large open space and from all sides, most comparsas have a main direction from which certain choreographic patterns are afforded the best view. During the Hatun Tupanakuy Nacional some comparsas such as the Hijos de Chilcas and the Huaraqueros de La Mar chose to position their work with the judges’ stand as their ‘front’ while others such as the Claveles de Vinchos, chose the musicians’ stand and the spectators for their ‘front’. This meant that from the judges’ perspective the use of space during the performance could not be appreciated to its full effect and this led to the Claveles de Vinchos receiving a lesser mark than perhaps they otherwise would have obtained. Kilder Vásquez (the master of ceremonies) was incredulous as he read out the judges’ scores, remarking that this was a lower mark than the Claveles had received in recent years. Even before Kilder’s provocation, the audience began to boo and yell out, obviously unhappy with the judges’ assessment.

Many of the dancers seemed to be lacking the vibrant energy which had made them outstanding in the previous weeks, and from the perspective of the western stand where the judges sat, they did not take command of the performance space, leaving large areas directly in front of the judges completely empty. There is a commonly held expectation that comparsas with an established winning record in Ayacucho, Lima and/or

\textsuperscript{63} Rubén Romaní, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Huanta, 16 November, 2009.

\textsuperscript{64} Rubén Romaní, Huanta, 16 November 2009.
Andahuaylas will win or at least place highly each year. The prestige of winning past events often affords these *comparsas* a privileged position with judges before they even perform. However, the Claveles did not perform with the same level of power and energy as they had in the previous weeks.

In a display of self-determination, the members of FEDACWA invited four independent judges to adjudicate during the Hatun Tupanakuy. The change of judges reflected the dissatisfaction of the Federation while also demonstrating the independent and self-governing power of the Federation during this new event. During the earlier three weeks of *concursos* for Regional Carnival, members of the Multisectorial Committee had judged the competitions. Ironically, most of them had little or no experience as dancers, musicians or singers and some had been present at the meeting with FEDACWA which first prohibited the use of the Leoncio Prado Stadium. Members had been unhappy with this situation, as Rómulo expressed to me: “they don’t even know what they are doing. They don’t value our *costumbres*.”

The four judges chosen for the inaugural Hatun Tupanakuy Carnaval Nacional have a long history of involvement in the art and culture of Ayacucho and more specifically as judges, practitioners and teachers. Willy Castro is the director, teacher and chorographer of the *elenco* (dance group) Perú Ancestral. Gabriel Quispe Montes is a songwriter and has been involved in *concursos* for many years as a judge. Ernesto Palomino is a retired teacher. Gloria Soto is a singer and trained at the school for folklore Escuela Nacional Superior del Folklore José María Arguedas. Both Willy and Gloria were members of *elencos* in their youth and have competed in numerous *concursos*. All the judges were born in Huamanga and consider themselves Huamanguinos with the exception of Gloria Soto, whose parents are from Vinchos and who still own land there. All have received tertiary education.

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66 Pseudonym.

67 Gloria is the daughter of well-known musician Abilio Soto Yupanqui. Gloria moved to Huamanga with her family from Vinchos to escape the violence. She also spent time living in Lima.
This is in contrast with the majority of the performers and spectators for the Hatun Tupanakuy who hail from rural areas and/or maintain strong familial ties to a particular region as a result of recent migration. So although the members of FEDACWA aimed for self-determination, nevertheless, in a continuation of a long-standing folkloric tradition in Peru, they continued to look outside for ‘experts’ to judge how they performed their own culture. In Peru, educated elites are considered to be the experts in folklore. During my time in Ayacucho, I was often invited to judge concursos. This was, in part, because organisers knew of my experience as a dancer, teacher and choreographer. However, I was also asked to judge song competitions (where the songs were performed in Quechua). Although I was not qualified for the position my status as an educated outsider led to numerous invitations.

*Comparsa* performances for Rural Carnival are expected to run for 12 minutes. If the performance is shorter or, as is more commonly the case if it runs over, they are penalised, with points deducted for each minute over the allotted time. There were six
main criteria for calculating the prowess of each *comparsa*. The winning score was out of a possible total of 100 points. The first category was the participation in the *pasacalle*, judged out of 10 points; the presentation of the *saludo* (greeting) was also judged out of 10; *originalidad* (this word translates as ‘originality’ or ‘authenticity’ – in *concurso* valuations in Ayacucho it more frequently referred to ‘authenticity’) of costume and ornaments was given a mark out of 20; as were the categories of overall authenticity; and composition of unpublished songs. Following the box for the calculation of total points, a space was left for the judges’ observations (photo. 74). The space, although small and seemingly insignificant, is symbolic of the complex and synergistic relationship between *comparsa* participants and judges.

In this small white space, the judges attempted to justify their often unpopular decisions and, in doing so, instructed the performers on how to better portray the traditional dance, song and identity of their region. One such observation made by Gabriel Quispe was the admonishment of one *comparsa* for using plastic bottles during their performance rather than traditional ceramics. He commented that they should respect and salvage the traditions of their artisans. Another criticism was for the use of short-sleeved shirts by the women in place of the more commonly accepted long-sleeved blouses: “This is not how the women from the *campo* dress.”

During *concursos* for Rural Carnival, each *comparsa* danced on and then stopped to make the *saludo*. Some marked out the first letter of their *comparsa* name or the region from which they came. For example, the Huarauqueros de La Mar formed a large H, while the members of Paqcha Varayuqkuna formed the shape of a large V. The *saludo* was awarded a score out of 10. As a result, each *comparsa* worked consciously to make their *saludo* unique and competitive. Some bowed in a circle as in the case of the Hijos de Fray Martin de Pukará, while others knelt to the ground, taking off the sombrero, remaining close to the ground and touching the earth in recognition of the *Pachamama*.

However, the use of choreographed dance steps performed in near perfect unison, which at times can resemble a military parade, is both respected and lamented by audience and judges alike. The spectacle of large groups dancing in unison is admired by the audience while the skill and rehearsal necessary to accomplish cohesive movement is generally rewarded by the judges. This is not the case, however, if precision comes at the expense

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68 Gabriel Quispe, interviewed by Michaela Callaghan, Ayacucho, 21 February 2010.
of a perceived authenticity which is valued above all other traits in the calculation of scores.

Photograph 72: Gabriel scores the last comparsa

As with all references to pre-Columbian cosmology, art or ritual during rural concurso, the move to honour pachamama was highly valued by the judging panel as being truly authentic and remembering the importance of ancestral connection. The judges viewed such moments as identifying a connection to the land, an element which is regularly considered the domain of the campesinos.

Comparsa members take these competitions very seriously. Their dance, music and dance/dramas are all representative of their collective local identity. When the concurso finished late at night, the judges the judges had found a winner. The importance of Hatun Tupanakuy and the prestige afforded the winners were apparent when the time came to announce the winners. The four judges had to be escorted by twelve security personnel to get them safely to an enclosed and locked room, where they awarded the prizes.

When the judges scores were tallied Los Hijos Renacientes de Paccha were awarded first place. The comparsa Los Ñietos de Culluchaca placed second, the Centro Cultural de Chilcas de La Mar came third and Pachca Varayukuna came in fourth place. Los Claveles de Vinchos had to share fifth place, to the obvious and vocal disappointment of
the crowd. Los Claveles de Vinchos are seasoned competitors and proven winners, placing in both Andahuaylas and Lima. The crowd had expected them to do be awarded a much higher place. However, the crowd and not the judges had been the focal point for their performance. This oversight, in combination with high expectations that were not met on the day, caused the judges to mark the Claveles down.

Although Ernesto awarded the Los Hijos de Fray Martín de Pukará, a score of 98 points out of a possible 100 points, they did not manage to win a place. The other judges marked the comparsa down in the areas of authenticity and song composition. Gabriel only awarded the the Hijos de Fray Martin the much lower score of 81 points. Gabriel noted, in the little white space allotted for comments, that the women’s dance was too regimented for carnival. The variation in the marks awarded to the Hijos de Fray Martin de Pukará demonstrates the subjective nature of the judging process.

The judges decided that the powerful dance of the Huaraqueros de La Mar was not enough to earn them a place. Although the Huaraqueros performed an impressive dance which dominated the large arena and included many of the elements considered to be authentic, they were marked down in the areas of authenticity. It is interesting to note however, that the comparsa was one of the few in which the performers that entered the judges’ space, both during the waranakuy and to hand the judges food – a pig’s snout and ears. The dancers’ powerful display of strength and courage during the wanakuy impressed the audience. Although the judges were also impressed by the display, the dancers’ commitment and aggression seemed to make the judges a little uneasy, or unsure of how best to categorise the comparsa.

Both the Claveles de Vinchos and the Huaraqueros were obviously very popular with the audience. The crowd demonstrated their appreciation during both performances through raucous cheers and attempts to join the dancers as they performed. Then when neither comparsa was awarded a high score the crowd showed their disapproval as they jeered and moved in on the judges. This situation, where the predominately campesino audience appreciates certain comparsas and yet the judges mark them down, demonstrates the complexity of folklore that is also Folkore in Ayacucho. Although FEDACWA are working towards self-determination in the context of a national concurso, they still look to ‘outsiders’ as adjudicators of the authenticity of their own folklore.
The Ñietos de Culluchaca hail from the altiplano of Huanta in the north of the department. Their dance, dress, and song were distinct from any of the other comparsas competing in 2010. The costume was bright and the dance was joyous, earning them a well-deserved second place. Although the comparsa Ñietos de Culluchaca is from the department of Ayacucho, in the absence of any truly national comparsas, it was afforded the status of a ‘national’ comparsa due to the remoteness of the community and the distance members had to travel to compete. Participants, organisers, spectators and judges alike considered them to be the most authentic comparsa competing. In an echo of folkloric discourse, the Ñietos were considered to be more authentic because their community is more remote.

However, it is important to note that members of the Ñietos de Culluchaca were also highly respected by the participants, organisers, judges and particularly by spectators due to all that they had endured during the years of violence. The respect and empathy for the people from Culluchaca was evident at the close of the event. After proudly receiving the trophy the winners, Los Hijos Renacientes de Paccha, handed the trophy to the capitain of the Ñietos de Culluchaca. The captain of the Renacientes de Paccha gave a speech, stating: “We respect our brothers for their authenticity and all that they have endured.”

It was an unexpected gesture which showed respect and solidarity between rural comparsas and an understanding of the difficulties endured by those who lived in the altiplano of Huanta during the violence.

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69 Captain of the Huaraqueros, acceptance speech, Hatun Tupanakuy, Ayacucho, 22 February 2010.
Conclusion

Most participants, organisers, audience and judges expressed a desire to salvage the inheritance of the ancestors and to reclaim what was interrupted and eroded during the years of violence. To this end and as a means of reclaiming control over their identity and cultural heritage, the delegates from FEDACWA initiated a national Rural Carnival *concurso*. As Rowe and Schelling have shown in Peru, “For the performers of music and dance, the classification ‘folkloric’ meant an offer of recognition within the national arena, making it possible for them to give new signification to their products or performances.”

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It is our memory which allows us to locate ourselves in time. It is due to our ability to remember as individuals and as a collective that we are aware of ourselves in time. 71 This chapter has demonstrated that the cultural identity of rural communities in the department of Ayacucho is contained in the dances and dance/dramas performed during Rural Carnival in the city of Huamanga. As participants perform the carnival dance of their region the history and the collective memory are enacted. As the previous chapter showed, the very act of dancing steps which have been performed by past generations and which recall homeland through somatic memory affords carnival participants an embodied experience and expression of a collective cultural memory.

In the city of Huamanga, the campesino federation of FEDACWA aimed to redress discrimination, marginalisation and exploitation through the cultural expression of Rural Carnival, not merely through the practice of carnival but also by taking control and managing all aspects of Rural Carnival and carnival competition. Concursos are now being run by campesinos for campesinos, many of whom experienced trauma and discrimination during the years of violence. Motivations to take part in the concursos for Rural Carnival vary and many participants do not consciously think of what they are doing as the retrieval of memory. Most do, however, see it as a continuum of a communal history and the inheritance of their ancestors.

While some scholars such as Turino lament the impact of the folklorisation of campesino culture, which has led to a type of self-parody by campesinos in Peru, I argue that campesinos are now using humour to their advantage. Certainly, most comparsa groups engage in some level of self-parody during concurso performances. However, this is done with a conscious awareness of how campesinos are perceived by a non-campesino audience and with a view to what will bring a winning score. While it may be possible to argue that the performance of identity as portrayed during concursos is an idealised version or a parody of campesino culture; this view only elicits a superficial understanding. Rather, as one moves deeper into the dance, spends more time with the performers and physically engages in the event that is Rural Carnival concurso, further layers of understanding and meaning are revealed.

The members of the Federation are acutely aware of the national value of their carnival and that it was due to the colour, diversity of dance styles and perceived authenticity of Rural Carnival that Carnival Ayacuchano has been declared Cultural Heritage of the Nation. This has given them a new confidence and a renewed sense of pride in their cultural heritage. It has also inspired them to claim control over the organisation and the financial benefits generated by the event. As Kilder pointed out, Rural Carnival has become highly politicised over the past 25 years. As a result, campesinos are now battling with municipal authorities and private entrepreneurs to reclaim control over their cultural practices. For Porfirio and the members of FEDACWA, Rural Carnival has become a space in which to redress the cultural exploitation they have experienced for years and to remember, maintain and practise their cultural heritage.

While the importance of carnival as a political space was a central motivating factor for many of the FEDACWA organisers and participants, it did not overshadow the centrality of the dance, music, alegria and celebration of carival. In fact, as we have seen in the previous chapter, it is the desire to reclaim and maintain cultural heritage which motivates campesinos to defend and politicise their cultural practices even during concursos.
Conclusion: Continuing the Dance in Ayacucho

The inhabitants of the department of Ayacucho have paid a high price during two decades of internal armed conflict and not only in the number of human lives that were lost. Although the fighting has now ceased for the most part, Ayacuchanos continue to deal with the socio-cultural and political ramifications of the conflict on a daily basis, both individually and collectively. As I have shown, Ayacuchanos face an ongoing struggle as they attempt to deal with the repercussions of two decades of violent upheaval and fighting entre prójimos, be they rural campesinos, campesinos displaced by the violence or urban Huamanguinos, exemplified by the stories and lives of so many Ayacuchanos.

The conflict had a profound impact on the ability of Ayacuchanos to celebrate fiestas and perform dances. During the violence, Ayacuchanos felt particularly vulnerable to attack during fiestas. As a result of the threat posed by both SL and the armed forces (and even CACs), campesinos were forced to abandon numerous fiestas, dances and rituals. As I have demonstrated, however, it is difficult to draw sweeping generalisations about how dance and fiesta were prohibited, appropriated or abandoned during the violence. In some areas inhabitants managed to maintain certain fiestas and dances throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Nevertheless, all fiestas in Ayacucho were subject to some form of alteration, due to changes introduced by SL or restrictions enforced by the military to prevent large group gatherings along with curfews. Huamanguinos living in the capital city also experienced the horror of war. They too believe that their costumbres have been stolen or forgotten as a direct result of the conflict and that they have lost their values, particularly the value of reciprocity.

Rural and urban Ayacuchanos are now reinstating fiestas, songs and dances that were lost or distorted during the two decades of internal conflict. This may not at first seem like a priority when so many lives were lost and many thousands of people were displaced. Moreover, the search for the bodies of the disappeared continues and the struggle for reparations and criminal justice is ongoing. For instance, as recently as 20 January 2014, Abimael Guzmán appeared in court, along with ten others, to face
charges relating to a bombing in Lima in 1992. In addition, countless less high-profile cases are still awaiting investigation and trial.

As I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, it is crucial for Ayacuchanos to ‘salvage’ and restore the fiestas and dances that were lost, prohibited or appropriated during the internal conflict. Ayacuchanos perceive their dances and fiestas to be direct victims of the internal armed conflict. In Ayacucho, dance and fiesta are spaces in which social values are enacted and reinforced. During the years of violence, the values of trust, respect and reciprocity were eliminated, as family members, neighbours and friends turned against one another and official forces sent to pacify were indiscriminate in their attacks on those they were supposed to protect.

The loss of costumbres has had a profound effect on the inhabitants of Ayacucho, especially in the provinces where Sendero was initially able to take control. For Ayacuchanos, the restoration of lost costumbres is a means of rebuilding fractured communities and restoring a portion of the dignity that has been lost as a result of the violence. This is because dance, along with all elements considered folklore, is directly related to the construction of identity.

Following two decades of brutal violence and with the release of the TRC Final Report in 2003, the Peruvian nation was faced with serious questions: how to remember those who were killed and how to prevent such horror from occurring again. On a national level, this has led to further questions of what should be remembered and how. Given the complex nature of the internal conflict in Peru, it is not surprising that questions such as these have generated a diverse range of memory sites and practices that examine, remember and commemorate different concerns. In 2014, nearly 14 years after the TRC was first commissioned, the struggle continues, as afectados continue to work for recognition, reparations and justice.

Dance has not been considered in the larger memory discourse in Peru until now – perhaps because it has only recently begun to include any overt protest or record of the violence. Nevertheless, as I have shown, in Ayacucho dancing is a powerful mnemonic practice. My research suggests that dance operates as memory in different ways, recalling land, ancestors and social values. Dance in Ayacucho often performs the shadow side of memory. It is regularly used as a means of forgetting the recent years of brutality, distrust and fear, as it recalls a pre-violent past.
Dance is a non-verbal form of knowledge, particularly in the Peruvian Andes, where it remains a mnemonic process central to the transmission of knowledge. The failure to appreciate the importance of dance within the scholarship on memory is part of larger theoretical and methodological issues within the academy in which the body in movement has historically been overlooked and dance has remained on the margins. This is changing and dance studies are now considered a legitimate area of research. The acceptance of dance within the academy has an important flow-on effect, because it goes some way in redressing the violence against the indigenous population, in which the written word has historically been used as tool of oppression and deception.

Throughout this thesis, I have examined the dances involved in four different types of fiesta and one concurso celebrated in the department of Ayacucho. In bringing together understandings gleaned through this research on dance and fiesta as memory-making practices, certain similarities have emerged. However, I do not contend that the dances or fiestas are the same throughout the department or that dance holds the same meaning for inhabitants of the city as it has in the campo. It is important to remain cognisant that dance and fiesta are used throughout the region of Ayacucho to articulate regional difference. Dance is a dynamic practice which is continually being adapted by dancers to incorporate socio-cultural influences and political changes.

Fiesta and dance are celebrated on the land, in the open air, under a wide-open sky in which nearby trees, mountains and waterways form the venue. In more urbanised settings, fiestas are still celebrated in the open and streets and the town plaza form the stage. For this reason Andean dance is deeply connected to place and homeland. As I have shown, Andean fiestas operate in a cycle of connection. Fiestas are connected to other fiestas and through time to past celebrations of the same fiesta. Each year, a given fiesta is celebrated in the same place on the same tract of land, celebrating and connecting to the deities and ancestors related to that land and place. As dancers slap and stamp the earth while dancing out the rhythm of the huayno or their local dance, they physically connect to the land. In addition, the deep connection to the land that many Ayacuchano campesinos feel means that the land acts as a tacit memorial for those who live with the land.

Andean dance also involves an intimate connection to other human beings, both physically and emotionally. As fiesta goers celebrate and dance, they join together,
holding hands in circles of two people or circles that include over 20. As participants
dance in circles, they bump up against other circles and the circles often blend and
merge. Paerregaard has convincingly argued that returning for fiesta is important to the
majority of Andean migrants because the fiesta cycle creates a rural – urban bridge.¹
This is also true for Ayacuchano migrants. However, I argue that for Ayacuchanos who
have been displaced by the violence, returning for fiesta takes on an additional
importance in which the embodied experience of connection creates a bridge to the past.
During fiesta, ancestors, loved ones and land are all remembered. For those who were
displaced by the violence, returning for fiesta evokes memories of past fiestas and the
ancestors, along with friends and family members lost during the conflict.

As I have demonstrated, indigenismo in Peru has resulted in indigenous cultural
practices and pre-Columbian history being valued, while the indigenous people
themselves remain marginalised and politically disenfranchised. The legacy of
indigenismo also means that many Peruvians consider ‘traditional dance’ a valuable
asset belonging to the nation and a part of the collective national identity. Campesinos
living in the urban setting of Huamanga continue to use their dance and fiesta as a means
of maintaining connection to their homeland and to their regional identities. By
employing the memory of valiant warriors and drawing on their connection to pre-
Columbian history and costumbres, Ayacuchano campesinos are now using this legacy of
indigenismo to their advantage. Campesinos who regularly experience discrimination
in the city are reclaiming control of their dance as a means of projecting an identity of
strength and unity to the nation and reaping some of the financial benefits generated.
While Ayacuchano campesinos are not the only Andeans to employ their dance in this
way, I suggest that their motivation to do so is directly related to the two decades of
internal conflict. During rural carnival concursos held within the city of Huamanga,
Ayacuchano campesinos promote a positive self-image to the nation which acts to
counter the perception that all Ayacuchanos are terrorists.

The study of dance as memory provides a macro view of Ayacuchano reality, revealing
political agendas, collective struggles, aims and aspirations. In addition, the
examination of dance reveals it to be a multi-faceted mnemonic practice which allows
communities to connect to homeland and dance the past into being and/or to forget the

¹ Paerregaard, “The Dark Side of the Moon,” 379-408.
recent years of violence. Dance in Ayacucho has always been linked with political aspirations, social structures and values, as well as religious and spiritual matters. Dance in Ayacucho connects dancers and participant-observers to the past, to land, to the ancestors, to identity, to political agendas and to aspirations for the future.

The separation from place and homeland caused by migration and displacement during and since the conflict has led to forgetting in which the human scale of things is forgotten and common meaning is lost. As I have demonstrated, the people of Ayacucho are using dance and fiesta as a means of remembering and reclaiming what Connerton calls the “human-scale-ness of life”.\(^2\) They are also using the restoration of their dances as a means by which to create the future they want to inhabit, along with the identity they wish to project to the rest of the nation.

As Ayacuchanos continue to dance, reclaiming the past and local identity, they demonstrate to themselves and the nation that they are survivors. As they dance and celebrate fiesta, they reveal and remember that they have not been defeated, despite the modernising ideology of SL or the violence of SL and the armed forces, or the fear and distrust engendered by years of fighting entre prójimos. As I have shown, this is particularly important for Ayacuchanos who have lived through such “difficult times”.

Ayacuchanos work to remember, ‘salvage’ and restore the *costumbres*, fiestas and dances that they believe were taken from them – or, in the words of Rubén Romání and Daniel Huamán, that SL tried to “kill”. They are thereby not only remembering a pre-violent past and/or forgetting the recent violence, but are also engaging in a form of justice in which they are the ultimate survivors. As Ayacuchanos continue to dance, they prove they are survivors with a rich cultural identity and history. They are then survivors and, to use Gabriel’s word, “heroes”.

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Gabriel Quispe, male 55-65, Huamanga, 21 March 2010

Conversations Recorded in Field-notes:
Carlos, male 45-55, Luricocha, 3 May 2009
Nelida Silva, female 35-45, Lima, 6 February 2009
Blanca Herrera, female 45-55, Lima, 15 February 2009
Marco, male 25-35, Luricocha, 3 May 2009
Mansuet Silvera, male 35-45, Luricocha, 3 May 2009
Rubén Romaí, male 35-35, Huanta, 21 May 2009
Alfredo López, male 60-70, Huamanga, 9 June 2009
Carlos Falconí, male 65-75, Huamanga, 25 May 14 June, 2009
Chanela Vasquzá, Huamanga, 14 June 2009
Abilio Soto Yupanqui, male 60-70, Huamanga, 14 June 2009
Aníbal D Lisare Dávalos, female 45-55, Cangallo, 7 January 2009
Jorge Sáez Mayora, male 45-55, Cangallo, 7 January 2009
Señora Ayala Esquivel, female 60-70, Cangallo, 7 January 2009
Elena and Isabel, females 45-55, Ayacucho, 6 February 2010.
Printed Primary Sources:

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## Appendix 1: Fieldwork Schedule – Time, Place, Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| January to March 2009 | Lima      | **Interviews (formal and informal) with artists:** Edilberto Jiménez (Ayacuchano retablista and anthropologist), Nelida Silva (40 year old dancer from Huaraz), Blanca Herrera (50-year-old dancer)  
**Interviews (formal and informal) with academics:** John Earls, Gisela Cánepa Koch, María Eugenia Ulfe, Ponciano del Pino, Martin Scurrah, Luis Millones.  
**Participant Observation:** Dance classes and performances at San Marcos University.  
**Secondary data collection:** PUCP library, IEP, Museum  
**Archival research:** APRODEH and the Defensoría del Pueblo  
**Mesa Verde:** IEP, Joanna Pietpaszczyk  
During March I returned to Australia for two and a half weeks following the Black Saturday fires |
| April 2009            | Huamanga  | **Participant observation:** Semana Santa  
**Interviews:** (informal) with fiesta participants including, María Vásquez (pseudonym), 65-year-old Huamanguina.  
**Secondary data collection:** ANFASEP Museum |
| April 2009            | Lima      | **Interview:** Carola Falconi (director COMISEDH: Lima), Javier Torres (director SER-Lima)                                                                                                             |
| May 2009              | Luricocha | **Participant observation:** Fiesta de las Cruzes  
**Interviews:** with dancers (*chunchos*) including Mansueto Silvera (41 year old dancer) and fiesta participants – Carlos and Marcos |
| May 2009              | Huamanga  | **Participant observation:** Two days of concurso, Colegio de Fatima (as assistant judge).  
Noche Cultural at UNSCH, performances by AMDA (Association of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 2009</td>
<td>Huanta</td>
<td>Participant observation: Three day concurso as official judge at Colegio María Auxiliadora. Attending meetings with dance teachers, elenco directors and dancers including key informants Rubén Romání and Vidal Huamán. Interviews (informal): Rubén Romání, dance teacher from Huanta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2009</td>
<td>Luricocha</td>
<td>Interviews: (formal) Ambrosio Silvera, retired chuncho and father of dancer Mansueto Silvera, (conducted in Quechua. Gabriel Quispe translator)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2009</td>
<td>Huamanga</td>
<td>Archival research: St Francis Cathedral. INC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Putis</td>
<td>Participant observation: Travelled with convoy for the reinterment of victims from Putis. Organised by EPAF. Commemoration held along the journey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2009</td>
<td>Huamanga</td>
<td>Participant observation: Chimaycha dance and music (from Chuschi) performance at the Cultural Centre during the Seminar <em>Interculturalidad y los Indígenas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2009</td>
<td>Huamanga</td>
<td>Interviews: (formal) Lorenzo Huisa, archaeologist INC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2009</td>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>Attended: Conference at the PUCP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Participant observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2009</td>
<td>Huamanga</td>
<td>Día de los Muertos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2009</td>
<td>Huanta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2009</td>
<td>Santo Tomas</td>
<td>Commemorations and reburial of victims of the violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2010</td>
<td>Huamanga</td>
<td>Bajada de Reyes concurso. Meeting of the Mayordomía del Señor de Pascua de Resurrección. Bajada de Reyes by residents from Lucanamara. Bajada de Reyes by residents from Vilcanchos. Bajada de Reyes by residents of Cangallo. Rehearsals for Dia de los Compadres (as dancer and choreographer). Bajada de Reyes by members of AJOVISOP. Attending FEDACWA meetings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Los Hijos de Chilcas. Rómulo Bautista, migrant from Vinchos, captain of Los Claveles de Vinchos and president of AJOVISOP. Carmén de los Ríos, director of Loyola Centre. (informal) Rolando Bellido Aedo and Martha Camasca Sáez, Mayordomos del Señor de Pascua de Resurrección 2010.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event/Methodology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 2010</td>
<td>Huamanga</td>
<td><strong>Participant observation:</strong> Rural Carnival, Carnival Huamanguino, (as dancer in comparsas), Hatun Tupanakuy. Performed with Perú Ancestral. <strong>Interviews:</strong> (formal) Key informant: Gabriel Quispe. Vladimir Paralta, resident of Lima and member of <em>comparsa</em> Hamanga Tunante. Marlene Muñoz, resident of Huamanga and dance captain for Huamanga Tunante, Kilder Vásquez, master of ceremonies for Rural Carnival. Willy Castro, director of <em>elenco</em> Peru Ancestral.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| February    | Huanta   | **Participant observation:** Carnival *concurso*  
**Secondary Data Collection:** Museum of Memory |
| March 2010  | Huamanga | **Interviews:** Porfirio Guisante, president of FEDACWA. Saturnino Marcelo, FEDACWA member. Qori Tanka, musician and resident of Huamanga. Gabriel Quispe. |
Appendix 2: Ethics Clearance

To: Prof Klaus Neumann/Ms Michaela Callaghan, ISR, FLSS

Dear Klaus and Michaela

SUHREC Project 0708/264 The Dance of Memory and Resistance: Recalling Identity in the Andes of Peru Prof K Neumann FLSS Ms Michaela Callaghan Approved duration: 11/09/2008 To 22/07/2011

I refer to the ethical review of the above project protocol by Swinburne's Human Research Ethics Committee (SUHREC). Your responses to the review - as per your email of 8 September 2008 in relation to hardcopies of revised consent documentation submitted some days earlier - were put to a delegate of SUHREC for consideration. You will have also seen a separate email sent by me today regarding a copy of the Spanish version of the revised consent information statement needed for the record.

I am pleased to advise that the project (as submitted to date) may proceed in line with standard on-going ethics clearance conditions here outlined.

All human research activity undertaken under Swinburne auspices must conform to Swinburne and external regulatory standards, including the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and with respect to secure data use, retention and disposal.

The named Swinburne Chief Investigator/Supervisor remains responsible for any personnel appointed to or associated with the project being made aware of ethics clearance conditions, including research and consent procedures or instruments approved. Any change in chief investigator/supervisor requires timely notification and SUHREC endorsement.

The above project has been approved as submitted for ethical review by or on behalf of SUHREC. Amendments to approved procedures or instruments ordinarily require prior ethical appraisal/ clearance. SUHREC must be notified immediately or as soon as possible thereafter of (a) any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants and any redress measures; (b) proposed changes in protocols; and (c) unforeseen events which might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.

At a minimum, an annual report on the progress of the project is required as well as at the conclusion (or abandonment) of the project. A duly authorised external or internal audit of the project may be undertaken at any time.

Please contact me if you have any queries about on-going ethics clearance. The SUHREC project number should be quoted in communication.

Best wishes for the project.
Yours sincerely
Keith Wilkins
Secretary, SUHREC

*******************************************************************************
Final Ethics Clearance

To:
Ms Michaela Callaghan, FHAD

cc Prof Klaus Neumann, SISR/FHAD

Dear Michaela

SUHREC Project 0708/264 The Dance of Memory and Resistance: Recalling Identity in the Andes of Peru
(Thesis Title: Dancing at the Corner of The Dead: Remembering and Forgetting in Post-conflict Ayacucho, Peru)
Prof K Neumann, FHAD; Ms Michaela Callaghan

I confirm receipt of the progress/final report on 30 November 2012 on the human research activity conducted for the above project in line with ethics clearance conditions issued.

Best wishes for your higher degree submission.

Yours sincerely

Keith

---------------------------------------------------------------------
Keith Wilkins
Secretary, SUHREC & Research Ethics Officer
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Fax +61 3 9214 5267
Publications:


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