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by

Javier Francisco León Quirós

2003

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**The Aestheticization of Tradition: Professional Afroperuvian
Musicians, Cultural Reclamation, and
Artistic Interpretation**

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**The Aestheticization of Tradition: Professional Afroperuvian
Musicians, Cultural Reclamation, and
Artistic Interpretation**

by

Javier Francisco León Quirós, M.Mus., B.A.

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Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

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Dedication

In loving memory of Carlos Alfonso Quirós Salinas, whose persistent, unwavering, and silent support made this dissertation possible.

Sadly, he was not able to see its final outcome.

January 24, 1916 – December 12, 2002

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For the last two decades, professional Afroperuvian musicians have had to ask themselves how to best maintain the musical legacy they inherited from an earlier generation of individuals who were invested in the rescue of traditions, many of which were at the verge of being forgotten. Today, contemporary performers move about a complex space, often crossing what appear to be conventional boundaries that differentiate between artists, academics, and culture bearers. The question then becomes, why and how is it that these individuals seek to assume these various roles and to what extent do these help further the development of musical practices that were in the process of being forgotten half a century ago? This is the central question that will guide this dissertation, a question that will most often be couched in terms of the different types of

strategies that are available to performers as they assume these different roles, the authority that each of these can afford, and the limitations and contradictions between them. To this end, I chronicle the various strategies that contemporary Afroperuvian musicians have inherited from their predecessors as the project of developing a new sense of Afroperuvian identity underwent its own historical and ideological transformation, from a modernist movement concerned with the delineation of cultural distinctiveness to a variety of strategies that invoke the notion of art as means of elaborating complimentary, although still imperfect alternatives. First, I will discuss the authority that musicians can still find in the invocation of culture, history and academic research and how these have informed social hierarchies within the Afroperuvian professional musician community. I will also focus on critiques by musicians regarding how the more recent institutionalization and commodification of Afroperuvian music has led to the reification of musical practice. Finally, I will discuss how reactions to the aforementioned process of commodification have led to the invocation of new strategies that invoke the notion of Afroperuvian music as an artistic endeavor that amount to more than the mere reproduction of revived musical practices from the past.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As I listened to [Susana Baca] describe her journey up and down the coast of Peru in search of Black musical expressions that were dying with the older generations, I thought about the similarities between art and ethnography.

—HEIDI FELDMAN

BASS LECTURE HALL. AUSTIN, TEXAS. FRIDAY, FEB. 23, 1996, 4:30PM.



Figure 1.1: Susana Baca and Bembón at her home in Chorrillos, Lima. 15 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

“Yo no conozco la ‘O’
me dicen que es redondita
mi madre tan pobrecita
que a mi no me la enseñó
yo no conozco la ‘O’”

[I do not know [the letter] ‘O’
they tell me that it is round
my mother was so poor
that she did not teach it to me
I do not know [the letter] ‘O’]

By singing this song text, first documented by bishop Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda (1737-1797) during one of his visits to his dioceses in the northern Peruvian coast, Susana Baca began her half of the talk that she and her husband, Ricardo Pereira had been asked to give for an African Diaspora conference at the University of Texas at Austin. The presentation had begun like many of the other papers presented during that week., However, the moment Susana took over from Ricardo's opening remarks and background history, the brief account of the cultural presence of the descendants of Africans in Peru wavered ambivalently, not quite a concert performance nor a conference paper. As the final paper for that afternoon, people appreciated the change of pace. Many were also thrilled to have been able to hear her voice for the first time. Only a few months after her appearance on a compilation of Afroperuvian music re-issued by David Byrne, this was one of her first public appearances as a celebrity in the American world music circuit. At this point many had heard about her but did not necessarily know her music other than the song "Maria landó" that appeared on the Byrne compilation. Susana had not been invited only because of her visibility as a performer. For a number of years she and Ricardo had been involved in the research and documentation of Afroperuvian musical traditions.

After the conference, I was invited to come along with Susana, Ricardo and the rest of the presenters to a dinner that was being held for them at a local Austin restaurant. During the drive, we casually discussed how the audience had received their presentation. Both Ricardo and Susana were pleased by all the

questions that they had received at the end. In particular, they were appreciative of Gerard Béhague's comments since he was one of the few people present who knew about the revival and reconstruction of Afroperuvian genres during the 1950s. Ricardo expressed his regret at not having been able to answer his question regarding the influence that Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz¹ had had on their own research. Unfortunately, he was unable to give the question the time it deserved since too many of the other individuals present were more fascinated by the realization that "there were black people in Peru." Nevertheless, both Ricardo and Susana were also very careful to answer these questions as best as they could. After all, they were fully aware that they were giving not only an exposition of Afroperuvian music but were acting as representatives of a community about which little was known outside of their home country.

We arrived at our destination about twenty minutes later and were escorted to a large private room in the back of the restaurant. During most of the dinner I acted as interpreter between Susana and Ricardo, and Olly Wilson, a former professor of mine who had been invited to speak at the conference in regards to African-American music. After dinner one of the speakers from Venezuela, a local activist and musician, started to prompt everyone to sing or recite some poetry from their home country. Having attended a number of conferences by then, I was familiar with this type of ritual. It was often an opportunity for people to step out of their academic shells and show that they

¹ The Santa Cruz siblings are two of the figures behind the revival of Afroperuvian music and dance in the 1950s and 1960s. Nicomedes is best known for his influential writings on the origins of Afroperuvian music and dance while Victoria is credited with having reconstructed a number of the choreographies that are now performed by many professional groups and taught at dance academies.

could also be performers. Different people stood up and led the others in song. At one point, at the request of some of the other conference goers, Dr. Wilson stood up and sang a couple of short songs from the Tin Pan Alley days. After that, our song leader's gaze set upon Susana as he began to sing "Toro mata," an Afroperuvian song whose salsa rendition had been popularized throughout Latin America by Celia Cruz and Johnny Pacheco. Many of the other people present recognized the song right away and turned to Susana, hoping that she would take the melodic lead. Much to my surprise, Susana quietly and respectfully declined the offer by shyly waving her hand and shaking her head. As other people around the room proceeded to lead everyone else in song, I pondered the irony of the role reversal that had just taken place. While professors and intellectuals sought musical performance as means of connecting to the realm of the experiential and the performative, the professional performer in the group declined the offer, a subtle commentary on her part that there was much more to Afroperuvian musicians than her ability to sing and dance.

For the last two decades, professional Afroperuvian musicians have had to ask themselves how to best maintain the musical legacy they inherited from an earlier generation of individuals who were invested in the rescue of traditions, many of which were at the verge of being forgotten. As the epigraph of this chapter and the above narrative suggest, contemporary Afroperuvian performers move about a complex space, often crossing what appear to be conventional boundaries that differentiate between artists, academics, and culture bearers. The

question then becomes, why and how is it that individuals like Susana Baca, among many others, seek to assume these various roles and to what extent do these help further the development of musical practices that were in the process of being forgotten half a century ago? This is the central question that will guide this dissertation, a question that will most often be couched in terms of the different types of strategies that are available to performers as they assume these different roles, the authority that each of these can afford, and the limitations and contradictions between them.

Broadly speaking, this aforementioned space can be seen as being delineated by the tension that exists between two different conceptualizations of music and the act of music making. The first is that of performance as a form of cultural expression, an affirmative process that seeks validation by establishing genealogical connections to a particular history and locality in such a way that it contributes to the delineation of a cohesive sense of cultural difference or identity among the participants. The second is that of performance largely as an interpretive endeavor, one that invokes the notion of artistic license as means of subordinating historical and local specificity in the name of aspiring to more than the affirmation of a certain sense of difference. For the purposes of this dissertation, these two ways of thinking about music and music making will generally be identified by the terminology used by most Afroperuvian musicians. In the case of the former, music is often associated to the concept of tradition, as a form of expression that is considered to be unique to the Afroperuvian community

and whose “authenticity” needs to be preserved and maintained.² In the latter, music making is generally identified, if not outright equated, with the pursuit of art for art’s sake, although this does not necessarily imply that Afroperuvian musicians subscribe to a prerequisite sense of bourgeois alienation in order for such pursuit to be successful. It does, on the other hand, draw on a limited sense on the belief on the autonomy of art as a means of transcending the local specificity of the aforementioned sense of music as being fully inscribed in the concept of tradition.

From an ethnomusicological perspective, it can be argued that such discretely bounded conceptualizations of music and music making are somewhat

² Heidi Feldman has very correctly pointed out that many Afroperuvian musicians “use the word ‘folklore’ to describe what they consider their most authentic cultural expressions. While ‘folklore’ initially entailed cooptation of rural traditions by the State, Black and indigenous performers proudly refer to their own cultural traditions as ‘our folklore’” (Feldman 2001, 267-268). This manner of speaking is particularly prevalent amongst professional musicians with Afroperuvian folkloric dance troupe and those who teach at folklore schools and dance academies. At the same time however, the usage of “our folklore” does not necessarily encompass urban musical traditions associated with Afroperuvians. When talking about the *marinera limeña*, the *amor fino*, or even *criollo* popular music genres like the *vals*, musicians are more likely to use the term “tradition” rather than folklore, given that there are no “folklorized” versions of these genres and the term is most often used in specific reference to dance. While in the 1970s the use of the word was more widespread, presumably because of the prominence that folkloric dance troupes at that time. Not surprisingly the term remains most actively used among dancers, dance instructors and musicians working with groups that predominantly focus performance of these folkloric dances. Individuals, who have come to object to the institutionalization and stylization of Afroperuvian dance practices in their process of “folklorization” consciously use the term “tradition” in its place. This is particularly the case among practitioners of the *marinera limeña* who do not wish to have their practices confused with what they deem as *marinera de academia* [*academy marineras*], another term for the stylized versions of the dance taught in academies and performed by folkloric dance troupes. For many other musicians however, the terms “folklore” “tradition” are more or less used interchangeably. In my conversations with the members of Grupo Teatro del Milenio I have noticed that different performers have different preferences depending in their own background. Not only that, upon review of my field interviews, I have noticed that some of them would amend their usage in response to the use of others present including myself. For the purposes of this dissertation I have chosen to use the term “tradition” and by extension the invocation of the above mentioned sense of the term “culture” so as to avoid confusion as to whether one is referring to that I will refer to as being associated with folkloric dance troupes.

old fashioned. Discussions regarding a dichotomy between art and culture are largely assumed to be moot given the more or less tacit consensus in academia that such oppositions constitute remnants of Western Enlightenment thought that are not relevant for the study of music in non-Western contexts. Raymond Williams for example, suggests “‘Art’ as a categorically separate dimension or body of objects; ‘the aesthetic’ as an isolable extra-social phenomenon: each has been broken by a return to the variability, the relativity, and the multiplicity of actual cultural practice” (Williams 1977, 153). Indeed, it is this emphasis on cultural practice that has interested ethnomusicologists for decades. At the same time however, ‘culture’ as an autonomous category of its own that can fully be understood by reason (as opposed to aesthetic experience) presents its own problems. In this sense, the construction of a sense of cultural “authenticity,” can be seen as being a pursuit that is reminiscent of the pursuit of the aesthetic, particularly due to its interpretive character. As Foucault points out, the apparent volatility of fields like anthropology or ethnomusicology when strictly conceived as sciences is due to an artificial divide between reason and aesthetic experience that Enlightenment thought has unsuccessfully tried to enforce.

The ‘human sciences’, their precariousness, their uncertainty as sciences, their dangerous familiarity with philosophy, their ill-defined reliance upon other domains of knowledge, their perpetually secondary and derived character, and also their claim to universality, is not, as is often stated the extreme density of their object; it is not the metaphysical status or the inerasable transcendence of this man of this man they speak of, but rather the complexity of the epistemological configuration in which they find themselves placed (Foucault 1994, 348).

The recognition of that complex epistemological configuration has led in turn to the reconceptualization of ethnography as an interpretive rather than objective

endeavor, what is often termed as the “reflexive turn” in anthropology and related fields. Furthermore, it can be argued that the influence of cultural studies and critical theory has had in recent years on ethnographic writing has led to a partial aestheticization of both ethnography and the people, places, and societies that it seeks to represent. After all, as Richard Bradford suggests, the critical tools that we have borrowed from these disciplines were devised “to define literature as a discourse and art form (Bradford 1997, 12),” thus suggesting that ethnographies too have become, in their own way, a form of artistic representation. In the process, arguments over the dichotomization between art and culture have become largely moot and most ethnomusicological writings now operate under the tacit assumption that these two realms are not mutually exclusive.

Nevertheless, for many Afroperuvian musicians the tension that exists between these two highly modernist ways of thinking about music and music making remains an important way in which professional performers negotiate what it means to be a culture bearer, professional musician, and artist in contemporary Lima. Today, music is the most prominent marker of the endurance of Afroperuvian culture in the midst of a society that has historically pressured members of various marginalized groups to self-identify only as members of an imagined community generically identified as *criollo*.³ While

³ The term *criollo* has had a long and complex history. Although the term is most generally associated with Spaniards born in the colonies, in Peru it has come to have several local meanings. In the context of this chapter, the term is used as short hand to label a variety of cultural practices from the coastal region. Most *criollos* (i.e. those Peruvians from the coastal region that identify themselves with the aforementioned cultural practices) are very conscious of the influences that other groups have had in the development of this coastal culture. Nevertheless, as it will be discussed below the use of the term *criollo* (as opposed to an alternative term that reflects the various processes of cultural contact in this area of Peru) points toward the subordination of these other ethnic and cultural influences to a predominantly European-based sense of cultural identity.

most *criollos* today recognize the impact that Afroperuvians have had in the development of coastal culture, they are less likely to consider most contemporary cultural practices as existing independently from their own. Studies by a number of historians suggest that most Afroperuvian cultural practices became inextricably entangled with those of other cultural groups located in the Peruvian coast due to the implementation of colonial (1524-1821) and early Republican (1821-1854)⁴ strategies of social control based on the assimilation into, rather than the segregation from, the dominant cultural hegemony. Bowser (1974) and Flores Galindo (1991) both point towards the Spaniard's predilection for acculturated slaves with whom it was easier to establish paternalist bonds that relegated slaves to the bottom of a social class rather than racial hierarchy. Although many artisan trades eventually became associated predominantly with Afroperuvians (Aguirre 1993; Blanchard 1992; Flores Galindo 1991; Harth-Terré 1971; Harth-Terré and Márquez 1961; Hünefeldt 1994; Stokes 1987), accounts of the earlier part of the colonial period suggest that a complex relationship emerged between Spanish and other minority groups. During the Encomienda period

The issue is further complicated by the fact that not all Afroperuvians construct their identities in opposition to that of being *criollo*. To many musicians, *criollo* and Afroperuvian are not necessarily deemed as mutually exclusive categories, but contextually constructed ones. For example, within a group that specializes exclusively on Afroperuvian genres, all musicians are generally identified as "black" even though some, by virtue of their background may qualify as *mestizos*, or *criollos* of European and/or Asian origin. Furthermore, when some of these musicians will perform in a group that combines both *criollo* and Afroperuvian repertoires, they are likely to identify themselves as *criollo*, even if these individuals are of African ancestry.

⁴ The Republican period stretches into the early part of the twentieth century. For the purposes of this dissertation, the early part of this period will be defined as the years in between the declaration of Independence, July 28, 1821 and abolition of slavery in 1854.

(1532-1560)⁵ Spanish artisans took on a number of black and *mestizo* apprentices (Lockhart 1994). Later, during the colonial period, the proliferation of free blacks and slaves that were contracted out to different trades by their masters led to the emergence of a number of skilled artisans of African descent that took on white, black and *mestizo* apprentices (Bowser 1974). Consequently, different cultural influences quickly blended into a variety of styles associated with Lima's working classes rather than with any one cultural or ethnic group.

In spite of this process, by the latter part of the twentieth century music would receive renewed attention by performers, audiences and researchers. At the turn of the twentieth century, most Afroperuvians living in the area of Lima had become a significant segment of the city's working class (Oliart 1995; Stokes 1987; Tejada 1995). Music making was a prominent activity in working class neighborhoods and a number of Afroperuvian performers and composers contributed to the development of a popular music style which would eventually come to be identified as *criollo* (Lloréns 1983; León 1997). Although musical genres predominantly associated with Afroperuvians in Lima were no longer performed in a daily life context, they continued to be taught and performed within families of musicians. The relative isolation of some rural Afroperuvian communities in the decades before president Augusto B. Leguía's (1919-1930) modernization reforms (Parker 1998; Stein 1980) also allowed for the maintenance of local musical traditions (Tompkins 1981). By the 1950s, a small number of performers and intellectuals became interested in the revival of some

⁵ This is the period of conquest and civil war that preceded the establishment of a colonial system of administration by the Spanish Crown.

of these traditions. Led by José Durand, the “Pancho Fierro”⁶ was one of the first groups to bring these reconstructed musical traditions to the professional stage. The group was also the training ground for a number of Afroperuvian performers like Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Abelardo Vásquez and Caitro Soto who went on to head revival projects of their own (Feldman 2001). As could be expected, the professionalization of musicians during this decade (Lloréns 1983; Vásquez 1982) led to the stylization and decontextualization of musical traditions that had at one point been a part of everyday life.

The professional stage became the new context in which cultural practice was inscribed and reproduced, a microcosm for the dissemination of knowledge about forgotten Afroperuvian cultural practices. In addition to the performance of music and dance genres, these presentations featured musicalized scenes depicting slaves working in the fields, bickering street vendors using song to promote their wares, maidens washing clothes, and other dramatizations of an Afroperuvian past with which most were unacquainted (Feldman 2001; Roel y Pineda 1964; R. Romero 1994; Tompkins 1981). As it may be expected, these images were far from unproblematic given that anyone’s access to the past was unavoidably mediated through representations crafted by the imagination of professional musicians. It is fair to suggest then that since the time of the Afroperuvian music revival movement, professional musicians have been fairly influential in the

⁶ As Heidi Feldman points out, there’s some controversy as to what the official name of the group was, different variant of it being cited by different former members and these differing from the name of the company when advertised in newspapers (Feldman 2001, 57-58). There were also a number of sub-groups and spin-off groups that would become popular in the years to come. To avoid confusion Feldman simply identifies the collective of performers as the “Pancho Fierro” company, much like most musicians do so today when speaking about it. This dissertation will follow the same convention.

shaping of various perceptions of the Afroperuvian community at the local, national, and most recently international levels. In this regard, performance has offered the opportunity to reconnect with a past and a culture that had been historically neglected by the dominant *criollo* cultural hegemony. At the same time, the new performance space has placed performers in an uncomfortable position. Music and dance genres, which were once a part of the daily life of various Afroperuvian communities throughout the Peruvian coast, are now performed at the hands of professionals and are directed towards audiences that are not a part of the Afroperuvian community. Because of this, professional musicians face what some consider the impossible task of accurately representing cultural expressions of the past that they did not experience directly. Nevertheless, many of these musicians, particularly those of older generations, are ascribed the role of culture bearers who are expected to preserve the continuity of Afroperuvian musical culture in a setting that unavoidably separates those expressions from the very social context for which these expressions were considered worthy of rescue. At the same time, performers face the equally challenging undertaking of creating something that will reflect their own experiences as part of this new context. As individuals influenced not only by local Afroperuvian forms of expression but also by jazz, art music, modern dance, theatre, and local bohemian poetry and song movements, these performers also seek to reinvent themselves as artists, the makers of aesthetic creations that should be valued and understood for their own originality, rather than because they are meant to be a loyal reproduction of the past. In short, performers are faced with

the challenge of negotiating objective concerns as keepers of certain cultural and performative norms that tie them to a particular cultural background and heritage with subjective concerns as artists whose work should transcend the local, historical and cultural moment.

While explicit discourses regarding Afroperuvian music as an art form that can or should transcend the culturally specific have only become prevalent in the last decade or so, I wish to show that this recent innovation is not the result of a more recent globalizing and/or Westernizing of Afroperuvian music as musicians have begun to venture out into the international music arena. Instead, I suggest that the potential for such an explicit conceptualization was already an important aspect of the initial revival movement of Afroperuvian music and dance in the 1950s and early 1960s. This is not to suggest that Afroperuvian music as a folk and non-Western form of music should be conceived and evaluated from the vantage point of the very Western concept of ‘the aesthetic.’ Instead, I suggest that since the revival movement, Afroperuvian music making by professional musicians cannot merely be conceived as a discretely non-Western form of musical expression, even though much of the discourses regarding music and music making do conjure up this type of imagery. There is a parallel between art and ethnography, as the epigraph of this chapter suggests, one that stems from the aforementioned epistemological complexity named by Foucault, a complexity that encompasses both the realm of academia and that which academia seeks to represent in its writing. Afroperuvian musicians are by no means unaware of this and it is evidenced by the strong influence that both academic research and artistic

interpretation have had in the reclamation and reinvention of the surviving Afroperuvian folk music repertoire in the latter part of the twentieth century.

Over the last five decades, Afroperuvian music has undergone a process of aestheticization. In other words, there has been an increased conscious awareness by Afroperuvian performers that reconstructed and reinvented genres that now form part of “the Afroperuvian tradition” are not merely fixed markers of a static and discretely bounded Afroperuvian culture. More and more, performers of younger generations have come to point towards the subjective character of these revived music and dance genres as a means of asserting their own interpretive authority over contemporary performances of the Afroperuvian canon. Furthermore, this shift in how musicians conceptualize of what they do parallels a similar shift within ethnomusicological thought over the same half-century, the often-cited shift from the study of “music in culture” to a concern with “music as culture.” Unlike some ethnomusicologists however, Afroperuvian musicians have not chosen to move away from the dichotomization of art and culture. Williams suggests, “we can then see clearly the ideological function of the specializing abstractions of ‘art’ and ‘the aesthetic.’ What they represent in an abstract way, is a particular stage of the division of labour”(Williams 1997, 153). In the case at hand, I propose that Afroperuvian musicians have appropriated the notion art for art’s sake because they recognize the authority it can afford to those who invoke it and because this authority greatly resembles that which is derived from the invocation of music as an “authentic” form of cultural expression. Having said this however, I do not wish to suggest that such invocations are little more than

smoke and mirrors. Instead, I wish to suggest that the invocation of both of discourses of music as culture and music as art are primarily constitutive processes with which contemporary musicians negotiate issues of race, class, locality, and globality.

This dissertation focuses on the specific shape that both of these discourses have come to take shape during the second part of the twentieth century. The organization of the subsequent chapters mirrors the aforementioned process of aestheticization. It also chronicles how a new sense of Afroperuvian identity as mediated through music and dance underwent its own historical and ideological transformation, from a modernist movement concerned with the delineation of utopian categories such as those of “culture” and “tradition” to the invocation of art for art’s sake not as a redemptive strategy that throws out the concept of cultural “authenticity” altogether, but rather as an imperfect compliment, as limited as its counterpart. To this end, chapter 2 on the authority that musicians can still find in the invocation of culture, history and academic research and how these have informed social hierarchies within the Afroperuvian professional musician community. Chapter 3 deals with subsequent critiques by musicians of this invocation of cultural or traditional authenticity as largely prompted by the institutionalization and commodification of Afroperuvian music in the 1970s and 1980s. Chapter 4 examines how reactions to such a process of commodification led to the invocation of new strategies that began to invoke the notion of Afroperuvian music as an artistic endeavor. I use this as a means of arguing for what is perceived as a much-needed revitalization, not just reiteration

of musical genres that are perceived to be part of the Afroperuvian tradition. Finally, chapter 5 discusses how one particular group of contemporary Afroperuvian musicians has come to rediscover the role that theater had in the early part of the revival movement as a means of challenging, at least temporarily, the more conventional performing contexts of Afroperuvian music.

The first step in undertaking this task is to acknowledge that, for as momentous as the initial push towards the revitalization of Afroperuvian musical traditions has been, its genesis occurred neither in a social vacuum, nor only in direct reference to issues within the Afroperuvian community. This movement and its legacy need to be historicized in order to identify how various social, historical, political, and ideological processes that have come to inform its elaboration. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the effect that nationalist discourses regarding race and ethnicity, the historical role of Afroperuvians within coastal Peruvian society, and perceptions from without the Afroperuvian community regarding Afroperuvian experience, as important elements of the backdrop against which this project of cultural reclamation would take place.

Before doing so, however, it is also necessary to properly situate this dissertation in relation to the work of other ethnomusicologists who have come to write about Afroperuvian music in recent years. Much of the discussion in the following pages is not only the result of my own research interests but could not have been undertaken without the foundational work of my predecessors. Tackling any study regarding Afroperuvian music has been a daunting task due to the complexity of the issues that must be addressed. I have been fortunate that the

excellent work of Bill Tompkins, Chalena Vázquez, Raúl Romero, and Heidi Feldman has preceded my own in this regard. While there is much to be said about updating and re-addressing issues covered by colleagues in earlier decades, I have chosen to build upon the work of my colleagues rather than attempting to cover once again what is by now well-trodden territory. This is particularly the case when it comes to the work of Heidi Feldman, given that we both worked with many of the same individuals that will be discussed in this dissertation. This dissertation is largely the result of an academic division of labor between Feldman and myself, which at the same time tries to build upon on many of the issues first addressed by Bill Tompkins nearly two decades before. For this reason, the work of both Feldman and Tompkins will be cited extensively in the pages to follow. In those instances where I feel there is a point to be contended the discussion will focus on that particular issue. In most other cases however, my citation without such discussion is meant to indicate that I am in agreement with their assessment.

REINTRODUCING CULTURAL DIFFERENCE

As suggested above, one of the main intents of the revival of Afroperuvian music and dance was to maintain and expand upon a set of musical practices that, prior to the mid twentieth century, were generally regarded as a subset of *criollo* musical practices. As Raúl Romero points out:

[the reconstruction and revival of this repertoire] was initiated by local intellectuals interested in the revival and recognition of the contributions of blacks to Peruvian culture...One of the first requirements for this revival movement was the isolation of those genres associated with blacks, which in the past integrated the [criollo] repertoire of the Peruvian coast, and were sung by whites, mestizos, and blacks and performed intermingled with white [criollo] song genres such as waltzes, polkas and

marineras. Only since the 1950s, therefore, and due primarily to the efforts of the above-mentioned intellectuals, were those genres separated from the [criollo] repertoire and considered and labeled exclusively “Afro-Peruvian” (R. Romero 1994, 314).

There were several sources that inspired this perceived need for differentiation. As early as the 1930s, historical research into the Afroperuvian musical past was influenced by the methodologies of individuals in other parts of Latin America and the United States who had already begun to address similar research questions in their home countries. Most influential among them are the writings of Alejo Carpentier, Melville Herskovits, Fernando Ortíz, and Carlos Vega that are widely cited in articles published by José Durand,⁷ Fernando Romero⁸ and Nicomedes Santa Cruz and which they used to varying degrees, often by means of analogy, as a means offering hypotheses as to Afroperuvian musical practices in centuries past. In the case of Nicomedes Santa Cruz, his writings, particularly in regards to the origins of the *landó*, were also influenced by his contact with Brazilian scholars Jorge Amado, Edison Carneiro, and Luis de Cámara Cascudo (Feldman 2001, 213 and 219-220). Academia and academic research were not the only sources of inspiration however. As Feldman shows, ideological, artistic and literary movements were also a powerful symbolic source. Nicomedes’ own poetry reflects a concern with social and political struggles of not only Afroperuvians but of black communities in Latin America, the United

⁷ Durand was a folklorist and *criollo* and Afroperuvian music aficionado. His work with the “Pancho Fierro” company in the 1950s is considered to be by many one of the first moves towards the revival and dissemination of Afroperuvian musical traditions among Limeño audiences.

⁸ Romero was an influential historian who as early as the 1930s was writing articles, and later on monographs, regarding the slave trade in Peru and the survival of certain African cultural and linguistic traits in the Peruvian coast. His work will be discussed in more detail in the pages below.

States and Africa that place him as one of Peru's only *negritud* literary figures. Throughout the 1970s he wrote a number of *décimas*⁹ decrying not only local social problems but speaking out against segregation in the United States, Apartheid in South Africa and Yankee Imperialism in Peru (N. Santa Cruz 1971; 1994; 2000). Similarly, Victoria Santa Cruz drew part of her artistic inspiration from African-American choreographer Katherine Dunham and from her formal education in theater and choreography at the Université du Theatre des Nations and the École Supérieur des Études Choréographiques in Paris between 1961 and 1966 (Feldman 2001, 94 and 130-131). Today, the awareness that musicians have of what goes on outside of Peru, particularly in reference to members of other black communities, remains an important source of musical, political and ideological inspiration. Black leaders, musicians, and celebrities ranging from Martin Luther King Jr. to Bola de Nieve, Malcom X, Josephine Baker, Bob Marley, Don King, B.B. King, Pele, and Michael Jordan and the countless performers who regularly toured through Peru during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, although in many ways far removed from the day-to-day experience of most Afroperuvian musicians, remain important symbols of the types of social changes that are needed in Peru in order to give members of the Afroperuvian community the recognition they deserve.

These external sources of inspiration have provided Afroperuvian musicians and intellectuals with important ways with which to develop of a new

⁹ A *décima* is a ten line octosyllabic poetic genre of Spanish origin, but widely known in Latin America. In coastal Peru, the practice of the *décima* is generally associated with members of the Afroperuvian community. Santa Cruz is well known not only for being an accomplished *decimista*, but also because of his efforts to bring renewed attention to this genre during the 1970s and 1980s.

sense of identity around the act of music making that aimed to reintroduce the notion of distinct and independent Afroperuvian community. For as much as movements abroad were important due to their symbolic potential, the specifics of how such a project of cultural reclamation would take place had to be mediated through the lens of local social hierarchies and relationships. Of particular importance in this regard is the relationship between the proponents of this revival and the dominant *criollo* coastal culture from which they sought to differentiate themselves. As Anthony Appiah reminds us, the process of identity formation in a multicultural environment includes an accompanying need for acknowledgement and validation by the external power dynamic that often seeks to suppress this expression of difference, whether at the individual or group level. Because of this, discovering and defining a new sense of self is largely a dialogically constructed process that takes place both from within and without the group in question. Consequently, although identity is often constructed in opposition to other collective senses of self, it remains partially inscribed within the social matrix from which it tries to differentiate itself. Appiah explains in reference to his own experience: “dialogue shapes the identity I develop as I grow up, but the very material out of which I form it is provided, in part by my society” (Appiah 1994, 154). Given the effectiveness and pervasiveness of colonial policies of cultural assimilation that pressured many members of the Afroperuvian community to identify as a marginal segment of the dominant *criollo* culture, Appiah’s observation suggests that for the case at hand, the specifics of how the Afroperuvian revival movement came to be in the middle of the twentieth century

was partially shaped by the choices that were available to Afroperuvian musicians and intellectuals. At the time of the revival, a new potential avenue began to emerge, one that grew out of the need by certain sectors of Peruvian society to abandon the failed promise of a single and unified national identity as defined by the *criollo* oligarchy. At this point, it is necessary to briefly consider some of the ramifications that this failed national project had for Afroperuvian musicians.

During the early part of the twentieth century, nation-building narratives were firmly polarized along regional lines. This was the result of deeply ingrained political, cultural, and ethnic differences between the predominantly *criollo* coast and the largely indigenous and *mestizo* highlands. The most prevalent, and often eclipsing voice emerged from Lima. The Limeño elite, however, did not construct an imagined past by establishing links to a pre-Columbian legacy. After all, *mestizo* elite and intellectuals centered on Cusco had a more demonstrative historical, cultural, and geographic claim to that same legacy (Turner 1997, 8-12). As Marisol de la Cadena observes:

In the 1920s, when scientific politics loomed large, indigenistas contested this relationship [between coast and highlands], deploying their regionalist discourse against the dominant centralists [i.e. Limeños]. Cuzqueñista exaltation of ‘the Inca race’ and the past history of the country, as endorsed by scientific archeological studies, represented a challenge to Limeño modernizers (Cadena 2000, 64).

Consequently, in Lima the aforementioned scientific politics conflated, not always in completely agreeable ways, increasingly prevalent conceptions of race based on biological difference with late nineteenth century liberal thought. This was an attempt to find a solution to what *criollos* perceived as having been the worse of Spanish legacies: the degeneration of highly advanced pre-Columbian

culture and society. As Mark Thurner suggests, to the *criollo* elite of the nineteenth century, the indigenous population was perennially locked in a “primordial stupor which...in effect rendered them incapable of assuming the responsibilities and privileges of full citizenship” (Thurner 1997, 11).

This degeneration of racial purity was not reserved to just indigenous people. Gonzalo Portocarrero’s assessment of Lima’s racial politics during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (1995) shows the influence of racialized rhetorics that perceived all pure races, whether, Andean, African, Spanish or Asian as having some sort of a moral, cultural or biological flaw that prevented them from reaching the full potential needed to forge a modern Republic. Although not all intellectual circles in Lima subscribed to explicit tenets of these views, they did inform the development of a project of national integration that sought to “better” all this degeneration (whether social, moral, racial, or a combination of the three) by developing more advanced cultural and biological hybrids that would in essence strengthen positive qualities while eradicating negative ones. Given that, in spite of their own flaws, those of predominantly European descent were considered superior to other groups, this was a push towards the “whitening” of the imagined Peruvian nation. The idealized symbol of this integrated nation was a modern *criollo* coastal culture that was conceptualized in terms of capitalist progress and development. This progress and development would then be deployed against the highlands, thus bringing indigenous and *mestizos* in this region the means with which to

“educate” themselves and achieve national citizenship, a way of dealing with what is generally known as the *criollo* concern with “the indian problem.”

In the coast however, a counterpart concern with non-*criollo* groups appears to have been assumed to be moot. From early on, the voices of other marginalized groups, such as those of the Afroperuvian community, had been excluded from the nation-building debate under the rationalization that the only recourse left for these groups, if they were committed to the national integration project (and by extension their own edification), was to assimilate up the social, cultural, and ethnic hierarchy. Arguably, this absence of an Afroperuvian voice in the nation-building debate, compounded with the lack of an explicit policy of discrimination or exclusion, denied members of the Afroperuvian community of the time the necessary focus point against which an effective counter-narrative could be developed. This should not imply, however, that voices of dissent did not exist among the Afroperuvian community or that the nineteenth and early twentieth century descendants of Africans in coastal Peru had simply been coerced into passively accepting the dominant status quo. Quite the contrary, the work of historians Carlos Aguirre (1995), Peter Blanchard (1992), Frederic Bowser (1974), Denys Cuche (1975), Alberto Flores Galindo (1991), Christine Hünefeldt (1992; 1994), and Susan Stokes (1987) suggests that throughout the colonial and Republican periods members of the Afroperuvian community were able to devise various strategies with which to test the limits of and later challenge Spanish and *criollo* authority.

At the same time, the close social relationship between masters and slaves during these two time periods also allowed for Afroperuvians to greatly shape and influence the development of that coastal culture which later one would be exalted as a model for national integration. As Bowser (1974) and Stokes (1987) point out, slavery in Peru was a system of domination primarily located on the coast and largely as an urban phenomenon centered on the city of Lima. This is not to say, that there were no rural Afroperuvian communities throughout the coast. However, as Keith's description of the emergence of the *hacienda* system points out (1976, 81-92), the availability of a large indigenous and *mestizo* population prevented the emergence of a rural or agrarian-based culture of slavery as it happened in the United States, the Caribbean, or Brazil. Instead,

Una buena parte de los esclavos negros en el Perú negro colonial no vivían en grupos grandes y concentrados en las haciendas o plantaciones, sino dispersos entre poblaciones de cada clase y etnia, por ejemplo, dentro de la ciudad de Lima trabajando como sirvientes domésticos o como artesanos, y manteniendo un contacto con un círculo restringido de personas negras en las mismas condiciones que ellos (Stokes 1987, 178).¹⁰

Curtailing the possibility for members of the Afroperuvian community with each other appears to have been an effective strategy of the colonial system of administration to keep the slave population under control. Both Bowser (1974) and Tardieu (1997; 1998) show the emphasis that the colonial authority placed on the assimilation of the slave as a member of the lowest strata of Peruvian colonial society rather than his or her marginalization through segregationist policies.

¹⁰ [A sizeable part of black slaves in colonial Peru did not live in large groups and concentrated in the haciendas or plantations, but dispersed among populations of other classes and ethnicities, for example, within the city of Lima working as domestic servants or artisans and maintaining contact with a limited circle of black individuals in situations similar to their own.]

This close contact between members of different ethnic backgrounds and social classes appears to have directly affected some of the ways that the conception of the aforementioned *criollo* national integration model would be shaped. For example, the memory that African slaves not only came to Peru with the Spanish, but also greatly helped in the domination and administration of a hostile environment and accompanying indigenous population, has engendered a paternalist, rather than antagonistic, undertone that now characterizes *criollo* perceptions of Afroperuvians. In the twentieth century, this paternalism has become an important aspect of *criollo* nostalgia and collective memory construction (León 1997). It also has been naturalized in the *criollo* imagination as it is evidenced by the endurance of colonial sayings like “el negro es fiel, pero el indio es traicionero.”¹¹

In the 1950s, changes in the Limeño power structure begin to present new alternatives of identification for historically marginalized groups. After nearly a century of social control, the power of the *criollo* oligarchy began to wane, incapable of keeping up with the economic demands of the centralized form of government that allowed the *criollo* minority to maintain its monopoly. Slowly, the utopian model of integration became transparent enough to show all the social inequalities it sought to mask and new symbols and models for group identity construction became more attractive choices. As Raúl Romero observes, “[the] illusion was abandoned as soon as the imagined national identity failed and new alternatives appeared” (R. Romero 2001, 96). A particularly attractive alternative

¹¹ [the black man is loyal but the Indian is treacherous]

to different groups of musicians at that time was a push towards regionalism and local differentiation. There were many versions of this, but in order to better understand the specifics of the Afroperuvian revival, it is worth noting what was happening with other groups of musicians during that period.

At approximately the same time as Afroperuvian musical traditions were beginning to come into their own in terms of dissemination and recognition amongst other Peruvians, similar projects of cultural differentiation began to take place between Andean and *criollo* musicians in Lima. In the case of the former, the comparatively small number of migrants from different Andean geographic regions that had relocated to Lima in the first half of the twentieth century had been pressured to band together for mutual support in the midst of a social environment that generally saw them as a less than welcome addition to the Limeño social and cultural landscape (R. Romero 2001). When music was performed, it was a general amalgam of traditions from the different areas from which these musicians originated, all unified under the visual stylistic markers of the Cusco region and identified under the rubric of “Incaic” music (Lloréns 1983; R. Romero 2001). Beginning in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, a marked increase in migration from the Andean regions to Lima, compounded by the increased prominence of radio broadcasts, and a flourishing local recording industry, made it more advantageous for musicians in Lima to begin to abandon the model of a single Andean national culture as stylistically grounded in Cusco and the Inca past. In its place, Andean musicians in Lima

chose to emphasize their connections to musical traditions from their own localities.

As Andean musicians abandoned the promise of a single national identity in favor of regional identification, *criollos* in Lima also abandoned their own commitment to indigenist, neocolonialist, and Europeanist based models of a single national identity. Instead of favoring stylized versions of Andean music that were identified as “Incaic,” art music, or foreign popular musics from other parts of Latin American and the United States, the Limeño upper classes began to focus on the musical practices of Lima’s working class. Various forms of what would later on be identified as *criollo* popular music existed as early as the latter part of the nineteenth century (Collantes 1972; Lloréns 1983; Villanueva and Donayre 1987; Zanutelli 1999) but were largely dismissed by the upper classes during the earlier part of the twentieth century. While most studies about *criollo* popular music locate its golden age in the 1920s and early 1930s, during that time many of those musical practices were condemned as crass, vulgar and lacking the type of sophistication that members of the upper classes considered a prerequisite for any prototype of a “national” music. A few decades later, as increasing numbers of migrants began to arrive in Lima, Limeños from the middle and upper classes changed their perspective. They began to identify in *criollo* popular music and culture the source of the city’s cultural and aesthetic identity, a Peruvian counterpart to what Argentines had done with the *tango*, Mexicans with the *boleros* and *canciones rancheras*, Cubans with *rumba* and *son*, Brazilians with *samba*, etc. Given Lima’s positionality as the center of social, political, and

economic power, this did not become yet another counter-hegemonic narrative that privileged regional over national aspirations, but rather the ruling classes' preferred model of the Peruvian nation, an attempt at counteracting a perceived demographic and cultural invasion from people in the highlands (León 1997). In other words, *criollismo* became a populist and neocolonialist incarnation of earlier dominant discourses wielded by the *criollo* oligarchy that were based on ethnic stereotypes and their subordination to a coastal culture that was constructed as being primarily of European descent.

This emerging interest on local form of musical expression and their potential as symbols the development of new group identities also informed the resurgence of Afroperuvian music in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s. In this particular case however, this presented a challenge, given that up to that point, dominant *criollo* discourses of hybridity had gone a long way to naturalize certain perceptions regarding the formation of Peruvian coastal culture. To many individuals, including some Afroperuvian musicians, Afroperuvian musical practices were not considered as a separate, previously untapped source of musical material, but rather a rudimentary and relatively unimportant subset of the aforementioned unified set of coastal traditions. An interest in reviving Afroperuvian music and dance genres was the first step in what remains a continuing project reintroducing the sense of Afroperuvian cultural difference within Peruvian society. As Charles Taylor suggests, the emergence of such group identification stems from the thesis that “identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition [his emphasis] of others,

and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves” (Taylor1994, 25). The identification that members of the Afroperuvian community have with their counterparts in other places in the world and their struggle for political, social, and artistic recognition point towards the acknowledgment of that absence and the potential success that such a project of cultural reclamation could have in Peru. Furthermore, the fact that many of the aforementioned struggles captured international attention also brought about their acknowledgement by the dominant classes. Whether in support or opposition, the recognition by individuals from various segments that something similar could, or should, occur in Peru gave formerly ignored voices more exposure, authority, and the eventual platform from which to argue for a place in the national imagination. Finally, the failure of the promise of national integration that the ruling classes promoted in an attempt to maintain social control was tied to the acknowledgement of the types of misrecognitions that pushed subordinate groups in Peruvian society, among them Afroperuvians, to abandon such a project.

Having said all this however, it is necessary to point out that the reintroduction of a sense of cultural difference within the Afroperuvian community has been partially successful. As Raúl Romero points out, “the process of reconstruction in itself did succeed, but it did not help at that time to confirm a black identity in Peru” (R. Romero 1994, 323). While particular musical instruments, genres, and dance choreographies have become important

symbols of a reclaimed Afroperuvian cultural past, the project of cultural reclamation appears to not have been as successful or prevalent within other spheres of the Afroperuvian community. This is partly related to the aforementioned social pressure that have existed for members of various ethnic and cultural minority groups to assimilate and identify as a segment of a larger coastal culture, or more to the point, of Limeño society. In the absence of explicit discourses, policies, and agendas aimed exclusively at the members of the Afroperuvian community, it has been difficult for individuals and activist organizations to deploy effective counterstrategies since many of these, having been inspired by movements in other places where there is an explicit agenda of marginalization based on race and ethnicity, rely largely on the validation of a sense of cultural distinctiveness or autonomy that at times is not shared or recognized by other members of the Afroperuvian community. Even with musicians, the group that consistently has a more explicitly defined sense of “Afroperuvianess” this has been partly the case. In my early research in 1995, it became apparent to me that while younger generations of musicians were quite comfortable with speaking openly about the notion of blackness and how it related to their musical elaborations, many members of older generations tended to be more reserved, particularly if the discussion was not in specific reference to Afroperuvian music and dance. During one such interview with a musician in his late 60s, it became clear that, asking someone about what it was like to be black had a great deal of potential to be interpreted as a racist statement, given the belief that in an ideal society issues of race should not matter. In other words, while in

places like the United States asking about their cultural and ethnic background can often be interpreted as an indication that such differences are to be valued and respected, from the perspective of many older Afroperuvians, the same invocation can often be interpreted as being an attempt at reminding that individual that such differences make him or her inferior to those others who are exempt from such racialized identification.

These differences have presented a problem when talking about Afroperuvian identity as based in the concept of racial difference. After all, as suggested above, the absence of explicit segregationist policies regarding race in Peru have made it difficult to talk about both racial discrimination and the identification of racial difference as a source of identity formation. As Juan Carlos Callirgos suggests, the absence of an apartheid-like system in Peru have led many to suggest that racism, among them Gonzalo Portocarrero, does not exist in Peru (Callirgos 1993, 145-148). Portocarrero (2000) himself acknowledges that within this rigid conceptualization of racism, that is discrimination based on biological difference or the color one's skin, the concept of racism does not exist in Peru, a statement that is a little too heavy handed in my mind, particularly given Portocarrero's earlier discussions regarding the influence of this type of racist ideologies in nineteenth century Peru (1995). An alternative conceptualization could be based on the notion of ethnic rather than racial difference. As Peter Wade points out, "ethnicity has often been used in place of race either because the very use of the word race has been thought to propagate racism by implying that biological races actually exist or because, tainted by its

history, it simply ‘smelt bad’” (Wade 1997, 16). Political correctness aside, the term is useful because it points towards cultural rather than phenotypical difference and how the concept is often times intertwined with that of social class so that one largely contributes to the determination of the other. Nevertheless, members of the Afroperuvian community or those who have come to write about them rarely use the term itself. More often the term issue of ethnicity is largely implied in discourses that point towards the notion that Afroperuvians possess certain practices, among of them music, that are uniquely their and thus differentiate them from the dominant *criollo* coastal culture. Given the absence of an explicit mention of race or ethnicity for that matter, in the official Peruvian nation building discourse, particularly in reference to Afroperuvians, discussion about Afroperuvian traditions, and by extension the culture to which they are associated, have become a way of implying the concept of ethnicity. From this perspective then, I would like to argue that the revival of Afroperuvian music and dance in Peru has been a project, that although consistently referencing the notion of ethnicity, it has done so as couched in discourses regarding cultural distinctiveness, a discourse that was better suited, rhetorically and conceptually, for the challenging of the supposed existence of a single Peruvian coastal culture and demarcated by the *criollo* elite. Throughout this dissertation I will continue to use Afroperuvian ethnic identity as one rooted in the notions of a culture and traditions that differentiate this group from others in Peruvian society.

While the notion of cultural distinctiveness might have been successfully introduced into the realm of music and dance, as symbols that could be easily

incorporated into the national imagination as indicative of a cultural and heterogeneous Peruvian nation, the day-to-day reality of many Afroperuvian remains one in which discourses regarding social class, education, and moral decency have been used so effectively as justification for the marginalized status of a number of different groups that there has been little need to resort to more explicit exclusionary practices in terms of race. One particularly salient example of this was an interview that congresswoman Elsa Vega, the first black woman to have been elected to office in Peru, gave for the radio program *Paralipómenos* on July 12, 2000. One of the issues that the hosts of the program wanted to explicitly address was that of racism. The congresswoman gave a number of examples from her own experience, but each time, the words used by those who sought to discriminate against her were not based directly on race as verbalized in reference to the color of her skin, but rather on assumptions made about her social status: for example, the boyfriend that assumed that because she was black that she lived in a *callejón*,¹² or the security guard at her university who did not think that she was a student there because Afroperuvians rarely follow professional degrees. Furthermore, when generalizing from these experiences to talk about the issue of discrimination, both the congresswoman and the hosts of the radio program would quickly revert to using terms like “poor people” rather than one that explicitly referred to marginalization of one particular group within that social class.

¹² A *callejón* is an alleyway lined on both sides by single-room family dwellings. Throughout the late colonial period and well into the twentieth century, this was the primary type of residence occupied by members of the working classes in Lima, particularly by those of African descent (Joffré 1999, 111-131).

This ambivalence towards the issue of racial identification also comes to bear in how music is performed. While there are many groups that are made up largely of Afroperuvian performers specializing on Afroperuvian music and dance genres, it should be noted that there are many performers who have a more ambivalent role that often straddles the newly introduced divide between *criollo* and Afroperuvian musics. In the 1970s for example the oldest living institutions of both, the Afroperuvian and *criollo* music making realms were the Ascuez brothers; they were both of African descent. Similarly, during the earlier part of the twentieth century, many of the great *criollo* composers of the *guardia vieja*¹³ and subsequent golden age period, like Pablo Casas, Eduardo Marquez Talledo, Samuel Joya, were Afroperuvian. In fact, while siblings Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz are best know for their hand in the revival and re-Africanization of Afroperuvian musical traditions, their older brother César was considered one of the best foremost authorities performers and researchers on the *vals criollo*. Similarly, as large dance troupes and other performing groups that specialized exclusively on the Afroperuvian repertoire, a number of Afroperuvian performers like Esther Granados, Lucha Reyes, Arturo “Zambo” Cavero, Manuel Donayre, Fetiche, and Lucila Campos made significant contributions to the development of *criollo* popular music. Even well-known and highly influential performer Eva Ayllón, who in her recent incursions into the international music circuit has been identified as an Afroperuvian performer, is regarded by many Peruvians, including many Afroperuvian musicians (Santa Cruz 1995), as the best current

¹³ [*old guard*]

exponent of *criollo* popular music. Beyond pointing out gray areas or overlaps (in fact performers like Granados and Reyes did not generally include Afroperuvian songs in their repertoires), it is important to acknowledge these connections because, often times, significant stylistic changes and innovations in the realm of the Afroperuvian music making were largely informed by *criollo* musicians, some of African descent and some not. In spite of these ambiguities however, it is important to note that since the time of the revival, the most explicit sense of an Afroperuvian identity based on the notion of cultural and ethnic difference remains at the hands of musicians.

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS AS AGENTS OF CHANGE

Since the middle of the twentieth century, it has become apparent that most perceptions of the Afroperuvian community, both from within and without are largely mediated through the act of music making and the representations of therein. Not surprisingly, this has been partly due to the result of the relative success that the re-emergence of Afroperuvian music and dance since the time of the revival of Afroperuvian music and dance. In fact, it is sometimes striking to notice that, when speaking about the descendants of Africans of in decades and centuries prior to the 1950s, references to musicians are fairly scarce, both in primary sources, and by extension in those more recent accounts written about these time periods. Yet, since the 1950s music and musicians clearly dominate any discussion regarding the Afroperuvian community. This is so much the case that in the last twenty years other than myself, there have been four other ethnomusicologists who have researched the subject (Tompkins 1981; Vázquez

1982; Romero 1994; and Feldman 2001), and three of them have produced entire monographs out of their research. In contrast, recent non-ethnomusicological monographs are largely devoted to the colonial and early Republican past (Blanchard 1992; Bowser 1974; Aguirre 1995; Hünefeldt 1992, 1994; Tardieu 1997; 1998) and like the sources that they reference seldom speak about music or musicians. More recently there have been a number of short pieces written about other aspects of the Afroperuvian community, but these largely remain historical in nature (Panfichi and Portocarrero 1995; Rostorowski et al 2000). When it comes to contemporary Lima, music and music making remain the lenses through which all other aspects of Afroperuvian experience appear to be mediated both in the eyes of members of that community and in those of academia.

This however, is not due only to the visibility that the revival of Afroperuvian music and dance has been able to receive in the last half century. In spite of their limited presence in the official written historical record there is enough evidence to suggest that music and music making have been an important part of the Afroperuvian community for centuries. It is this continuity that has allowed for its more recent resurgence. In order to better understand the historical circumstances that made it possible for these musical practices to endure, it is necessary to give a brief account of how certain trades, like music making, became predominantly associated with members of the Afroperuvian community.

In their capacity as artisans and skilled craftsmen, African slaves and their descendants also had a particularly influential hand in the shaping the specifics of colonial coastal culture. Teaching slaves to be self-sufficient at trades such as

carpentry, masonry, and ironworks facilitated the aforementioned process of assimilation and provided a growing coastal economy with skilled labor. These however, were not trades specifically reserved for slaves and those descendants of Africans who managed to obtain their freedom from their masters. Bowser shows a much more intermingled set of interactions throughout the colonial period, where Spanish artisans not only taught but often apprenticed with black and *mestizo* masters (Bowser 1974, 125-146). Nevertheless, by the end of the colonial period, perhaps due to a system that denied upward mobility to members of particular minority groups, certain trades that had a deep impact in the material and aesthetic elaboration of what was to become *criollo* coastal culture became predominantly associated with members of the Afroperuvian community. By the turn of the twentieth century, many of these activities, or their twentieth century counterparts (construction work, domestic service, transportation, music and dance performance and instruction), remained the basis for subsistence for most members of the Afroperuvian community in Lima.

In spite of the radical changes that the city was experiencing during the first decades of the twentieth century, members of the Afroperuvian community appear to have remained at the fringe of these changes. As in other places in Latin America, industrialization and capitalist development brought about the collapse of a dual class system (poor vs. privileged) and the emergence of not only a middle class of white collar workers, but the availability of new avenues resistance through the emergence of a worker-class consciousness, and ability to affect the local politics and economy through strikes and by seeking membership

in increasingly active trade unions and similar organizations (Blanchard 1982; Parker 1998; Stein 1980). Unfortunately, Stokes points out that the same social and familial bonds that helped individuals maintain a relative degree of financial and social autonomy within the aforementioned trades in previous centuries became a mechanism that fostered the preservation of old labor structures. This compounded with unofficial, un verbalized, but nonetheless prevalent racial discrimination in other more upwardly mobile professions resulted in the continued marginalization of most members of the Afroperuvian community to the lowest strata of the emerging modern Peruvian urban society (Stokes 1987, 196-209). As Cucho also explains, a lack of access to formal education and a Peruvian society that largely opposed granting Afroperuvians equality in the eyes of the legislative and judicial systems made it so that the individual of African descent

en la Costa Sur, seguía siendo peón, de las plantaciones de caña, algodón o viña, sin que su suerte mejore. En Lima, formaba parte del “lumpenproletariado” de la ciudad, tratando de sobrevivir ejerciendo algunos trabajos que no eran sino una especie de “desempleo disfrazado” (Cucho 1975, 71)¹⁴

Well into the twentieth century and the turn of the twenty-first, the persistence of such a system has limited the number of trades or professions that can serve as a foundation for the promotion of the Afroperuvian community, not only as an accomplished group of people but as holders of practices that differentiate them from other members of Peruvian society. After all, while a

¹⁴ [in the southern coast, continued to be a peon in sugar cane, and cotton plantations and in vineyards, without improving his or her fortune. In Lima, he formed a part of the city’s “lumpenproletariat,” trying to survive by holding a few jobs that were little more than a form “disguised unemployment.”]

great majority of the Afroperuvian community may have experience working in carpentry, masonry work, undertaking, or domestic service, their relatively small number in proportion to all those other individuals who also practice these professions make it difficult to claim these traits as something uniquely Afroperuvian. There have been three notable exceptions however, all of which have been able to draw the potential for their authoritative voice from the visibility that these professions have been able to afford certain individuals: the culinary arts, the performing arts (in particular those involving the performance of a traditional repertoire), and, more recently, professional sports (most notably among them soccer for men, and volleyball for women). While all of these are specifically associated with the Afroperuvian community, their potential for challenging the perception of this community as marginal in the eyes of the dominant classes varies widely.

In the case of culinary arts, it appears that its very ubiquitousness may have been a hindrance rather than an asset. While all Peruvians recognize the strong influence that Afroperuvians have had on the development of Peruvian coastal cuisine, these practices continue to be embedded within the sphere of practices that *criollos* claims as forming part of their own identity. Consequently while many dishes are acknowledged as having introduced by Afroperuvians, and while most restaurants, caterers, and home owners seeking to feature “authentic” renditions of these culinary delights generally prefer to hire Afroperuvian cooks, the dishes that are produced are still claimed as part *criollo* menu. In recent years, there have been individuals who have tried to reintroduce culinary practices not

widely appropriated by the dominant *criollo* hegemony. For example, it has become more common for members of the Afroperuvian community to openly talk about their liking for cane alcohol, tripe, cat, or bat meats as a means of asserting their identity, often at the expense of queasy *criollos* and foreigners. In the late nineties, there were even attempts at starting social gourmet clubs that would specialize exclusively on such menus, but these did not last very long. Perhaps due to the close relationship between the culinary arts and domestic service Afroperuvian cooks, unlike musicians or athletes, have yet to find a space that they can claim as their own, at least in the eyes of those outside the Afroperuvian community. Furthermore, the food industry market is clearly controlled by *criollos* that have appropriated stereotyped images of Afroperuvians, particularly women, as a marketing technique that is not only reminiscent but most likely influenced by the iconography of American minstrelsy (Figures 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4), contributing to the impression by those in power that Afroperuvian influences in Peruvian coastal cuisine are desired but nonetheless mere stylistic identifiers of a *criollo* culinary tradition.

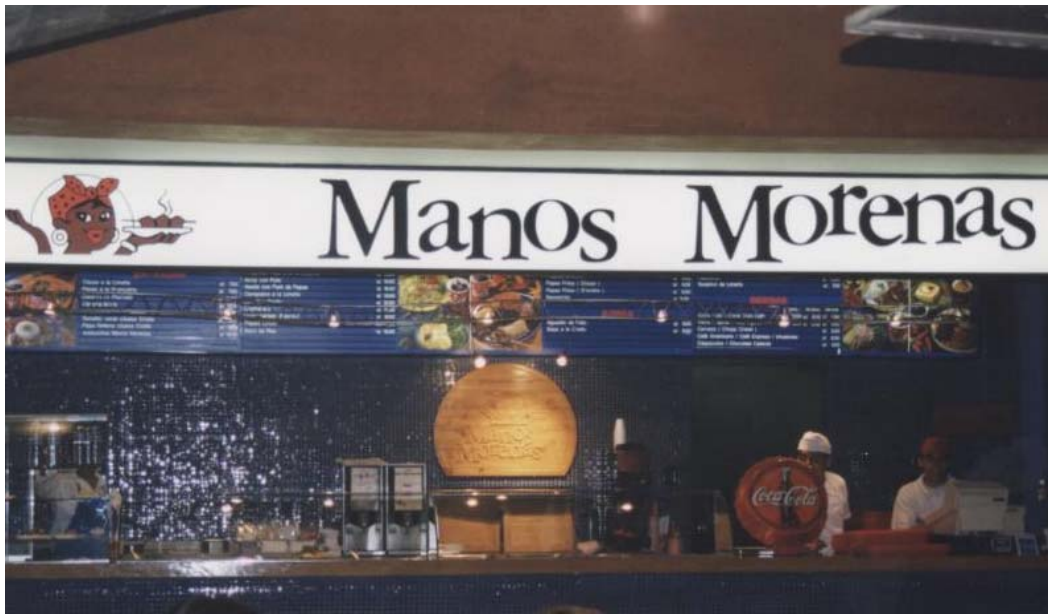


Figure 1.2: Banner for the well-know *criollo* restaurant *Manos Morenas* [*Brown Hands*]. Larcomar shopping center, Miraflores, Lima, 10 August, 2000. Photograph by the author



Figure 1.3: Grocery store product display for *Turrón de Doña Pepa*, a traditional dessert associated with the feast of the *Señor de los Milagros* [*Lord of Miracles*]. Both the feast and the *turrón* are historically associated with the Afroperuvian community, although both are also claimed as part of Lima's *criollo* traditions. Miraflores, Lima, 14 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.



Figure 1.4: Grocery store shelves stocked with line of cooking ingredients and instant mixes used in criollo and Afroperuvian cooking. Miraflores, Lima, 14 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

In contrast music and athletics appear to offer more promise. This is in part due to the status of celebrity that can be reached by individuals in these professions, a recognition that can simultaneously provide exposure to the artist (and in some cases acceptance by the dominant classes), a means of financial gain and the possibility to better provide for one's family and community, and a

mechanism for the dissemination of role models for other members of the Afroperuvians community. It should be no surprise then, that most individuals still wish themselves or their children to pursue these avenues in the hopes of becoming the next Eva Ayllón or Susana Baca (music), Nicomedes Santa Cruz (poetry and music scholarship), Victoria Santa Cruz or Ronaldo Campos (dance), Teófilo Cubillas (soccer), or Lucha Fuentes (volleyball). In fact, most families today are always looking to take advantage of such avenues to the fullest. For example, in the case of Juan Medrano Cotito's family, we find not only that Juan is a professional *cajón* player, best known for his work with Susana Baca, and Grupo Teatro del Milenio, but also that one of his brothers has also performed the *cajón* professionally, and that his son has been learning how to play the *cajón* since the age of five, has already composed a few songs and is looking forward to follow his father's footsteps in a near future. It should also be noted that Juan's mother is an accomplished poet, that another of his brothers is a retired soccer player for Alianza Lima, and that some friends and relatives are already encouraging one of Juan's daughters to take advantage of her height by pursuing a career in volleyball.

Music performance appears to have been particularly effective in confirming, both inside and outside the Afroperuvian community, that there are still cultural practices that make their members of this group different from the dominant coastal culture. In terms of financial success or visibility there appears to be little difference between professional musicians and professional athletes. From the perspective of a project of cultural reclamation however, the former

group of individuals are far more important due to their ability to establish connections to a past that needed to be recovered. Since music making is one of those activities that has been associated with members of the Afroperuvian community for centuries, it remains an effective symbol of the endurance of an Afroperuvian culture, even in midst of a social system that pressured members of this community to abandon other cultural practices in favor of the dominant status quo. Furthermore, as not just experts but culture bearers, the passing down of repertoires, performance practice skills, and knowledge of the history of these musical practices from one generation to the next makes them active agents in the maintenance and preservation of that culture.

Since the time of the revival, the notion that portions of the colonial and nineteenth century Afroperuvian repertoires managed to survive orally transmitted within families of musicians in rural and urban areas has been very important. In fact, during the time of the revival, the notion of fieldwork, as a means of gathering and documenting surviving traditions became an important aspect of the reconstructive efforts of professional musicians and intellectuals in Lima. These locations have become identified as “authentic” sources of Afroperuvian music and dance traditions and performers. Within Lima, the situation has been a little different, largely due to the fact that musical practices of members of the Afroperuvian community in Lima are largely intermingled with *criollo* practices, performers, and performance contexts.¹⁵ Unlike musical practices in the rural

¹⁵ It should be pointed out that most professional musicians, whether they were born and raised in Lima or relocated to the city later on in life from one of the coastal provinces currently live in this city. Generally speaking, all of these performers have an intimate knowledge of both *criollo* and Afroperuvian genres. However, when speaking of the issue of the roots or origins of Afroperuvian

areas where one can still find music and dance practices performed in largely Afroperuvian communities, by mainly Afroperuvian performers, and for a largely Afroperuvian audience, Lima offered a far more heterogeneous social fabric. Working class neighborhoods were generally ethnically and culturally mixed, and even in neighborhoods, like the former slave barracks of Malambo or the district of La Victoria, or multi-family residence complexes, like the *callejón*, that were predominantly black, social gatherings like the *jarana*¹⁶ included individuals from various backgrounds and social classes. As sociologist Alicia del Aguila suggests, “los jaraneros o bohemios ni siquiera pertenecían necesariamente al barrio. Grupo itinerante en busca de diversión, transitaban también los diferentes escalones sociales...hasta cierto peldaño (Aguila 1997, 105).¹⁷ Nevertheless, within these mixed social contexts, individuals of African descent continued to have an important performative agency as experts and keepers of musical traditions, some exclusively associated with members of the Afroperuvian community, some not. As Luis Tejada explains in the case of Malambo:

En la Pampas de Amancaes, cercanas a Malambo, se celebraban los famosos Bailes de Amancaes. Ellos duraron desde la época de la Colonia hasta bien entrado el siglo XX. Ahí se celebraba, el 24 de junio, la fiesta de San Juan y los malambinos invadían las Pampas para bailar el *londú*, el

musical traditions, these are most often identified as being located outside of Lima in the rural hinterland.

¹⁶ A *jarana*, literally meaning “celebration,” is the term for the turn of the twentieth century social gatherings among the Limeño working class. Usually, in the occasion of a birthday, anniversary or other momentous occasion, individuals would spontaneously gather in a private home to sing, dance, eat and drink into the early hours of the morning. In some cases, if a *jarana* was particularly good, the hosts were known to lock the doors from the outside to keep the celebration going, sometimes as much as a two or three days.

¹⁷ [the *jaraneros* [those who engage in a *jarana*] or bohemian did not even necessarily belong to the neighborhood. An itinerant group in search of diversion, it moved about the social ladder...to a certain step.]

vals de aguas y la zamacueca, entre otros. En este lugar se reunían todas las clases sociales de Lima, pero los malambinos tenían el honor de ser los maestros del baile y los músicos. La profesión de maestro de baile era ejercida sólo por negros y zambos (Tejada 1995, 155).¹⁸

Because of these roles both in urban and rural contexts, the close and active connections that musicians seem to have to the past have become an important source of inspiration for other members of the Afroperuvian community. There are many individuals of African descent who, in spite of belonging to families that are originally from rural areas like Chíncha, Cañete, Acarí, Aucallama, Morropón, Zaña, or Limeño neighborhoods like Malambo, Abajo del Puente, Barrios Altos, La Victoria, have not had much musical experience. Nevertheless, some of these individuals have gravitated towards music making, both because of the authority that being a professional musician can afford within and without the Afroperuvian community, and because of a desire to be closer to those who are generally recognized as being the most knowledgeable, both in terms of history and experience, of the Afroperuvian past. The following excerpt from an interview with Maria Molina, a close friend and supporter of Grupo Teatro del Milenio^{19, 20} show the importance that she places on

¹⁸ [In the Amancaes pampas, near Malambo, the famous Dances of Amancaes were celebrated. These lasted from the colonial period well into the twentieth century. The feast of San Juan was celebrated there, on June 24, and the malambinos [residents of Malambo] invaded the pampas to dance the *londú*, the *vals de aguas* and the zamacueca, among others. All of Lima's social classes gathered in this place, but the malambinos had the honor of being the masters of music and dance. The profession of dance master was only practiced by blacks and *zambos* [colonial term for the mixture of African and Indigenous heritages].

¹⁹ [Group Theater of the Millennium]

²⁰ This is a relatively new group that is interested in not only learning and performing the revived Afroperuvian repertoire, but in using new performance techniques to expand that repertoire and further explore the issue of African ancestry in Afroperuvian music. The specifics of their project will be discussed in chapter 5. At this point it suffices to say that Molina partly became interested in the group's activities due to their interest in researching and leaning more about the Afroperuvian past, rather than simply emulating it because someone else claims it to be authentic.

groups such as Milenio and the reason why she wants to be involved with them in spite of her not being a professional musician:

Yo creo que tengo algo de bailarina frustrada. Años atrás—tengo mi comadre, que he estudiado con ella. Ella pertenecía al Conjunto Nacional de Folklore de Victoria Santa Cruz. Y la primera vez que yo fui a que me probara Victoria, de plano me rechazó. Me dijo que no: “No chiquita, tu no eres para esto.” Bueno, pasó el tiempo, pasaron creo que como seis, siete años y volvieron a convocar gente para el Conjunto Nacional de Folklore. Pero ya fue en la época de que Victoria ya estaba por dejar el grupo. Creo que ensayé con ella por dos meses nada más. Así entonces siempre he sido una bailarina frustrada.

Bueno y ahora te digo, me interesa lo del proyecto [Milenio] porque es averiguar sobre nuestras raíces. Muchas veces nosotros no sabemos, solamente tenemos esa idea de los negritos que vinieron de Chincha. En mi caso, mi abuelo era de Cañete, mi abuela limeña, el padre de mi padre Limeño, su mamá Chinchana. Pero a Chincha pues habré ido durante toda mi vida cinco veces. No sé mucho de la familia por parte de mi padre. De mi mamá; bueno, mis tías. Y tampoco no ha habido, en la casa tampoco había eso; nunca habían escuchado música negra...Yo me criaba con mi abuela, no escuchaba música negra. No la he visto bailar tampoco nunca, por ejemplo. A través del grupo [Milenio] me empezó a interesar; ¿de dónde descendemos? ¿de dónde venimos realmente? ¿cómo llegamos nosotros los negros aquí (Molina 2000)?²¹

²¹ [I feel that I am a bit of a frustrated dancer. Years ago—I have my good friend with whom I studied. She belonged to Victoria Santa Cruz’s Conjunto Nacional de Folklore. And the first time I went for Victoria to try me out, she flatly rejected me. She said that: “No little girl, you are not for this.” Well, time passed, six or seven years went by and they made another call for people for the Conjunto Nacional de Folklore. But that was the time when Victoria was about to leave the group. I think I rehearsed with her for only two months. In that way I’ve always been a frustrated dancer.

Well, no I tell you, I am interested in [Milenio’s] project because it is about finding out about our roots. Many times we do not know, we only have that idea that blacks came from Chincha. In my case, my grandfather was from Cañete, my grandmother from Lima, my father’s father from Lima, his mother from Chincha. But to Chincha I might have gone five times throughout my entire life. I do not know much about my father’s side of the family. [In] my mother’s side—well, my aunts. And there never has been, at home there was not any of that; they had never listened to black music. I have never seen her dance, for example. Through the group [Milenio] I started to become interested; from where do we descend? where do we truly come from? how did we black people get here?]

In short, the historical longevity that music-making has had within the Afroperuvian community, combined with the opportunities that such performers managed to find in the latter part of the twentieth century as professional performers, celebrities, and experts on all matters Afroperuvian, have contributed to musicians being able to retain a prominent role that community, not only as role models of professional success, but as keepers to the key for the continued re-evaluation of what it means to be a descendant of Africans within contemporary Limeño, and by extension, Peruvian society. Having said this, however, it should be noted that the performative representation of Afroperuvian experience has been informed from a variety of different sources, both from within and without the Afroperuvian community. As it was the case with the intermingling of *criollo* and musical practices in Lima, the complex set of cross relationships that have informed the representation of Afroperuvian experience has often been overshadowed by the assumption that in every case musical representations about Afroperuvians by Afroperuvians are the creation of a discretely bounded and culturally autonomous community. While this may be the case in some instances, such isolationist overemphasis appears to be a side effect of the reintroduction of a sense of cultural difference in the second part of the twentieth century. In the process, important connections between the musical representation of Afroperuvian experience and similar representations in the realms of literature and academia are sometimes overlooked.

THE AESTHETICIZATION OF AFROPERUVIAN EXPERIENCE

In the 1970s, the group Perú Negro incorporated the song “El payandé”²² as one of their signature pieces. Usually identified as a *danza canción* or *lamento*,²³ the song is a slow ballad with a guitar ostinato accompaniment set to a *habanera* rhythm (Figure 1.2), and it is considered by many to capture the spirit Afroperuvian experience (Various Artists n.d.):



Figure 1.5: Guitar accompaniment pattern for “El payandé” as performed by Nicanor Lobatón and Gente Morena (Various artists n.d.).

Nací en las playas del Magdalena, bajo la sombra de un payandé. Como mi madre fue negra esclava también la marca yo la llevé.	[I was born in the shores of the Magdalena ²⁴ underneath the shadow of a <i>payandé</i> . Because my mother was a black slave I also bore the mark.
Ay, suerte maldita llevar cadenas y ser esclavo de un vil señor	Oh, damned luck to bear chains and to be slave to an evil master.
Por la mañanas cuando amanece salgo al trabajo con mi azadón. Como a tasajo [y] plátano asado	In the mornings when the sun rises I come out with my hoe. I eat jerked beef and roasted bananas

²² *Payandé* is the name of a tree indigenous to Colombia.

²³ [*lament*]

²⁴ the name of a river.

riego la tierra con mi sudor.

water the ground with my sweat.

.....

.....

Si yo pudiera tomar mi lanza,
vengarme airado
de mi señor.
con gusto viera yo arder su casa,
y le arrancara yo el corazón.

If I could take my spear,
angrily take vengeance
on my master.
I would delighted see his house burn
and I would rip out his heart.

Many of the themes evoked in “El payandé” are common of many of the songs that become to part of the Afroperuvian canon in the second part of the twentieth century. In some cases, the references to slave experience, often in the rural context of a plantation, is the result of contemporary composers who identify this institution, although rooted in the past, as one of the central themes upon a renewed sense of Afroperuvian identity should be built. In others, as is the case with “El payandé,” there is a more direct connection, given that the sources for the lyrics date from the late colonial and early republican periods, times during which the experience of slavery was still very much a part of many members of the Afroperuvian community.

In spite of “El payandé” dating back to the nineteenth century—the song was first published in 1892 in a popular music song compilation in the southern city of Arequipa (Zanutelli 1999, 89)—the now “classic” rendition by Perú Negro presents a number of alterations from the text as published in 1892. Even though it dates from the nineteenth century, the song was not written by a member of the Afroperuvian community, but rather by two upper class *criollos* of European descent, Vicente Holguín originally from Colombian who wrote the lyrics, and Luis Eugenio Albertini, who wrote the music. Manuel Zanutelli Rosas, who gives

a brief chronicle of Holguín, Albertini, and “El payandé,” takes up issue with the discrepancies in the lyrics between the 1892 version and that of commonly performed by contemporary groups. The chorus and one of the verses of this 1892 version are worth noting below:

Ay, suerte la mía
 cargar cadenas
 y ser esclavo
 de un vil señor

Oh, my luck
 to carry chains
 and to be slave
 to an evil master.

.....

.....

Cómo pudiera lograr
 la entrada
 para vengarme de mi señor,
 cómo yo viera su cara airada
 yo le arrancare su corazón.

If I could gain
 the opportunity
 to take revenge on my master,
 if I were to see his angry face
 I would rip out his heart.

In this version of the chorus the opening line is slightly more neutral in terms of its indictment of slavery simply stating that being a slave is large a matter of fate without really lamenting or decrying the harshness or the situation. Similarly the verse that speaks of taking revenge on one’s master is far more vague, only wishing for the opportunity to do so and without speaking of taking weapons or burning down his residence, and only resorting to violence if the master were to show anger at the act of defiance. To Zanutelli, these changes in the chorus, “se apela al patetismo huachafo²⁵”²⁶ (Zanutelli 1999, 89). Similarly, the revisions

²⁵ Limeño slang used to identify anything or anyone who is perceived as being in bad taste. It was originally used by the upper classes during the early part of the twentieth century as a means of identifying and continuing to marginalize those individuals who, as one of their social climbing strategies would attempt to emulate the so-called high breeding of the upper classes. According to popular belief, the word was an adaptation of words White Chapel, which some Limeños appropriated after a couple of prostitutes from the famed London working class neighborhood pretending to be members of high society visited Lima, causing much scandal among the elite.

²⁶ [in bad taste it appeals to the pathetic]

seem to suggest to Zanutelli a more melodramatic reinterpretation that does not respect the original intent of the composer, “un hombre de ideas avanzadas [que] estaba en contra de la explotación de los negros”²⁷ (Zanutelli 1999, 89). Clearly, the critique reflects the author’s distaste for what she sees as the lack of respect that contemporary performances have for the original lyrics and composer’s intent. Given that the song has been known among musicians for more than a century, and the fact that contemporary recordings do not cite an author, or simply identify the song as “traditional,” makes it difficult to ascertain whether this is in fact, a survival of an alternate version of the same song, whether some of the lyrics slowly changed over time due to the process of oral transmission, or whether this was a more concerted and politically informed modification by a contemporary group of performers.²⁸ Furthermore, the dismissal of contemporary versions as melodramatic and in bad taste, negates the possibility that, whether conscious or not, these changes over the song’s 111 year history may constitute an appropriation by Afroperuvian performers seeking to politicize lyrics that although sympathetic, remain neutral and caught up in its own sense of romantic paternalism. In this sense, whether the actual moment of modification can be ascertained or not, it is important to recognize that such revisionism has been an important part process of the reconstruction of Afroperuvian music and dance in

²⁷ [a man of advanced/sophisticated ideas [who] was against the exploitation of blacks.]

²⁸ If this latter possibility turns out to be the case, it is likely that Perú Negro may have been responsible for these alterations since they seem to have been the group responsible for reintroducing the song into the contemporary canon. After all, most contemporary renditions emulate the Peru Negro arrangements of the song.

the latter part of the twentieth century.²⁹ Further more, such polarization between “authentic” and “distorted” mask many of the similarities between these different versions of the song.

In spite of these different interpretations, both versions of “El payandé” share much in common, particularly in their nostalgic remembering of past. As artistic representation of Afroperuvian experience, both of these renditions share much in common with literary depictions of the Afroperuvian community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A figure of particular mention in this regard is writer, poet and scholar Ricardo Palma (1833-1919) whose *Tradiciones Peruanas* are considered among the most influential in terms of their elaboration and naturalization of what is now generally identified as *criollo* nostalgia. Among other things Palma is credited with having been the creator of a new literary genre, the *tradicción*, a combination of *costumbrista* sketches, and romanticized historically situated narratives, most often centered in colonial Lima. Like *costumbrismo*, Palma’s *tradiciones* were largely written in the form of short vignettes, often resorting to fictionalized anecdotal tellings and satirical

²⁹ A similar process of revision can be seen in of the contemporary reconstructions of Afroperuvian dances that are based on the paintings of nineteenth century painter Pancho Fierro (c. 1809-1879). Two notable cases are those of his renditions on the *son de los diablos* and the *zamacueca* (some of the reproductions of these two dances are included in Figures 2.1 and 2.3 in the next chapter). While there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the *son de los diablos* was mainly associated with the Afroperuvian population in Lima, Fierro’s paintings denote participants that are not of Afroperuvian descent which have been omitted from contemporary reconstructions. Most notable among them is the absence of the harp, an instrument that is generally associated with *mestizo* musical traditions in the Peruvian highlands and the northern Peruvian coast and which in the Fierro paintings is being performed by an individual whose dress (particularly his hat) is also associated with the mode of dress of *mestizos* during that time period (see Figure 2.1). Similarly, although the dance genre the *zamacueca* is generally identified as an Afroperuvian precursor of other coastal genres like the *marinera*, Fierro devotes several paintings to this and other similar dances where the participants are not only of African descent, but *mestizo* and even members of the *criollo* upper classes (Cisneros 1975).

commentary as a means of bringing characters and situations to life. Unlike *costumbrismo* however, the *tradiciones* were historically based and rooted in the past rather than the present. In this sense the *tradiciones* lacked the immediacy of the social commentary that characterized the writings of *costumbristas*, who often made use of the editorial pages of local newspapers as a means of polemics in reference to their critiques of contemporary society (Cornejo Polar 2001, 25-28 and 45-46). Instead, Palma's romanticized retelling of the past, at times mimicking the transient temporal character of *costumbrismo* resulted in the creation of seemingly timeless snapshots of an idealized colonial past that never was.

While this romantic and historicized *costumbrista* tendencies are evident in a number of *criollo* and Afroperuvian popular songs of the late nineteenth and twentieth century, there are two other authors who also merit brief mention due to their representations of Afroperuvian experience. The first is Enrique López Albújar (1872-1966), whose novel *Matalaché* holds the distinction of being the first and still the best known novel to feature a protagonist of African descent. *Matalaché*, first published in 1928, tells of the doomed love affair between mulatto slave José Manuel and his master's daughter María Luz. Set in the early nineteenth century in the northern department of Piura, where Albújar was raised, the novel uses the forbidden love affair between José Manuel and María Luz as a means of exploring the issue of freedom, justice and the equal value of all individuals. The close of the novel brings many of these ideas to light, as his master, who has learned about the relationship between José Manuel and María

Luz, and that the latter is with child, jails and tortures José Manuel. Before being tossed into one of the large vats of scalding hot water in the *hacienda's* soap factory, José Manuel indicts his master for his cruelty and arrogance, and suggests that putting him to death is a far more shameful act than bringing forth a child that due to his mixed blood will most likely be more generous and noble than his grandfather, the slave owner (López Albújar 1996, 162-165).

Matalaché also exhibits a romantic character that is rooted in the past, in this case an idealized Piura that existed three generations before López Albújar spent his childhood there. Although far more tragic in tone than Palma's stories, it also shares the notion that all characters are either accepting of or bound to abide by their social condition. At the same time however, the movement for independence that serves as background for the story underscores a hope for the future that rests on José Manuel and María Luz's unborn child. The death of José Manuel and the subsequent and inexplicable closure of the soap factory that provided his master with his wealth and power not only point towards the demise of the slave, but to the collapse of the system of colonial domination that sustained and validated the institutions of slavery. The implosion of that social order leaves behind an innocent young mother about to give birth to a child whose mixed heritage is, not only a reflection of López Albújar's own European and African ancestries, but the embodiment of the emerging modern and hybrid Peruvian nation. Because of this, *Matalaché* is not always considered exclusively a *costumbrista* novel, although many of the vignettes and characters sketches throughout the novel are very much evocative of that genre and are also

prominently featured in some of López Albújar's other work such as the semi-biographical *De mi casona*³⁰ and his essay *Los caballeros del delito*.³¹

The second author that deserves mention is José Diez-Canseco (1904-1949) due to his collections of *Estampas mulatas*.³² In some cases, Diez-Canseco draws more explicitly from the *costumbristas* in the sense that his stories are very much set in the present. At the same time, he also exhibits clear element of realism, his characters not always passively and melancholically accepting their social condition but often engaging in and embracing less utopian culture of crime and violence. In this sense, it can be argued that depictions such as that of Diez-Canseco can also be found in musical representations of Afroperuvians. In fact, it can be argued that Zanutelli's critique of the contemporary versions of "El payandé" not only constitutes a reaction to a more intentioned, and therefore less "authentic," adaptation of the original lyrics but a predilection for a more romantic and less realist depiction of the Afroperuvian experience. In some cases, these realist tendencies can also be projected into the past as it the case in the *festejo* "El mayoral,"³³ where the antagonistic challenges of the plantation foreman eventually met by a violent retaliation by the slaves (Campos 1995):

Que dolor siento en mi pecho
cuando está de madrugada'.
El mayoral con su reto
no nos deja descansar'.

[What pain I feel in my chest
when it is dawn
The foreman with his defiance
does not let us rest.

³⁰ [*Of my Manor*]

³¹ [*The lords of misdeed*]

³² [*Mulatto Sketches*]

³³ [*The Foreman*]

A las cuatro ‘e la mañana
cuando el sol se va a ocultar’,
el mayoral con su reto
no nos deja descansar’.

At four in the morning
when the sun has gone into hiding,
the foreman with his defiance
does not let us rest.

.....
Saca tu machete, Cipriano,
Afila tu lampa, José.

.....
Take out your machete, Cipriano
Sharpen your shovel, José.]

More often, we find that much like in some of Diez-Canseco’s writings, both romantic and realist tendencies tend to co-exist within a song, placidity and passivity attempting to balance anger and violence. Such is the case in the *festejo* “Don Antonio Mina,” whose opening verse describing an incident of domestic violence does not seem to fit the rest of the lyrics with vague speak of singing, dancing and eating sweets. As Rafael and Octavio Santa Cruz explain in regards to the meaning behind their rendition of this song, “la tragedia de una familia termina siendo bailada al no ser dramatizada”³⁴ (Los Hermanos Santa Cruz 1995).

Don Antonio Mina
mató a su mujer
con un cuchillo de palo
caramba, del tamaño de él

[Don Antonio Mina
killed his wife
with a wooden knife
my gosh, as big as he

a trilalalá, a trilalalá
a trilalalá, desde Pisco
a Lunahuaná
un jarro de agua, un dulce
el turronero me lleva.

oh, tra-la-la-la, oh, tra-la-la-la
oh tra-la-la-la, from Pisco
to Lunahuaná³⁵
a jug of water, a sweet the
*turrón*³⁶ vendor brings to me.

³⁴ [a family’s tragedy ends up being danced after not being dramatized.]

³⁵ Pisco and Lunahuaná are two towns in the southern coast. The reference is identifying these places as the outermost limits near the areas of Cañete (Department of Lima) and Chincha (Department of Ica) that are generally identified as having the largest concentration of Afroperuvians in this part of the country.

³⁶ a traditional Peruvian dessert made of cookie dough, molasses and hard candies generally associated with the Afroperuvian community.

This discussion should not be taken to imply that the subject matter of Afroperuvian lyrics is always tied up or related with that of other particular literary movements that were unfolding in the Peruvian coast at the turn of the twentieth century. In some case, this may very well be the true, as it could be argued for the 1892 version of “El payandé” given that both of its creators did belong to the literary and artistic intelligentsia of the time. In many other cases, it is much more difficult, if at all possible, to establish such causal chains. As it will be discussed in chapter 3, many of the songs that make up the contemporary Afroperuvian canon are a combination of surviving song fragments, supplement by new compositions as well as more recent creations that try to aesthetically emulate the themes of the aforementioned fragments. Given how contested the issue of ownership is in regards to many of these song, it is impossible to claim any one rendition as more “authentic” than the rest. Instead, I would like to suggest that many of the parallels between these versions can be interpreted as being the result of different groups of individuals, Afroperuvian or not, musicians or not, sharing certain aestheticized visions of Peruvian society that have been an integral part of how many Limeños of different classes and backgrounds have come to see and critique the social environment that envelops them.

To Sebastián Salazar Bondy much of this shared vision constitutes an endemic embrace of a culture of nostalgia that, at least in the realm of literature, can be traced to Ricardo Palma’s *Tradiciones Peruanas*. In reference to Salazar Bondy’s influential essay on the subject, literary critic Peter Elmore explains that “la requisitoria que propone *Lima la horrible* se funda en la minuciosa crítica del

discurso dominante, que Salazar Bondy compendia en la formula de la Arcadia Colonial”³⁷ (Elmore 1995, 290). As discussed above, this dominant discourse was characteristic of the elaboration and critiques of the *criollo* sense of the Peruvian nation as centered on the city of Lima and its inhabitants, one that advocated the successful development of a hybrid Peruvian race through an agenda of modernization while at the same time yearning for an idealized colonial order that subordinated indigenous and African influences to the European ones. Given the prevalence of this world views in all aspects of Limeño society, even in the city’s own architectural and civil morphology, as Salazar Bondy suggests (1964, 48-51 and 79-90), it should not be surprising that this aestheticized worldview would also come to inform some academic writings that have sought to represent different aspects of Afroperuvian experience.

The recent work by historian José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu is worth mentioning here. Del Busto is a prolific writer with more than forty publications to his name that span from biographical studies of colonial figures to anecdotal accounts of places and characters from when he was growing up in the district of Barranco. As he describes it, his *Breve historia de los negros en el Perú* (2001)³⁸ seeks to begin to fill a noticeable void in regards to the very noticeable absence of Afroperuvian from the official historical record. The book however, follows an unconventional approach that significantly parts company with the work of all the above-mentioned historians who have written about Afroperuvian slavery in

³⁷ [the challenge proposed by *Lima la horrible* is based on the close critique of the dominant discourse, which Salazar Bondy epitomized in the prescription of the Colonial Arcadia.]

³⁸ [*Brief History of Blacks in Peru*]

centuries past. Rather than following a chronological approach, del Busto, in a way that is reminiscent of a *costumbrista*, or perhaps more to the point of Palma's *Tradiciones Peruanas*, provides short vignettes focusing on various aspects of Afroperuvian life from the time of the conquest to the present. Using headings such as "El esclavo y el amo,"³⁹ "Los cimarrones,"⁴⁰ "El negro de la ciudad,"⁴¹ "El negro del campo,"⁴² "El atuendo,"⁴³ "La comida y la bebida,"⁴⁴ "Los negros en la Patria joven,"⁴⁵ "La música,"⁴⁶ "El baile,"⁴⁷ etc. the author gives brief historical sketches, summarizing and condensing what other sources have said in regard to these matters. Although the information contained in these brief sections is thoroughly documented and researched, the more literary organization of the book leaves the reader with a far more "impressionist" view of the Afroperuvian past, most often echoing those images already familiar from music and dance performance, paintings and *constumbrista* influenced narratives. Occasionally, the author strays from his usual academic rigor in order to provide some musings and extrapolations on the subject being discussed. A particularly notable one comes from the opening section of the book where he traces the genealogy of blacks in Peru not to Africa but to any group of individuals who in classical literature have been stigmatized by the darkness of their color of their

³⁹ [The Slave and the Master]

⁴⁰ [Escaped Slaves]

⁴¹ [The Black [Man] in the City]

⁴² [The Black [Man] in the Rural Area]

⁴³ [Manner of Dress]

⁴⁴ [Food and Drink]

⁴⁵ [Black in the Emerging Nation]

⁴⁶ [Music]

⁴⁷ [Dance]

skin. Citing sources ranging from The Holy Bible to Aristotle, Ptolemy, Marco Polo, and even including references to the aboriginal peoples of Papua New Guinea and Australia, del Busto uses similarities and parallels as means of extrapolating and expanding his narrative outside of the boundaries of historical fact and into the realm of a timeless and unknowable past.

At first glance, del Busto's episodic approach may appear very different from many of the other above-mentioned academic writings regarding Afroperuvian experience. Nevertheless, it is fair to point out that from time to time most researchers, lay or academic, will resort to some degree of artistic license of their own. One such case is the reasons given for the dramatic demographic decrease of the Afroperuvian population in the Peruvian coast from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Musicians, writers, and researchers on Afroperuvian matters, generally acknowledge the effect that the pressure for assimilation into the dominant coastal culture, social and economic marginalization, disease, the various factors that brought about the twentieth century population explosion in the city of Lima largely due to the migration of indigenous and *mestizo* individuals from the highland region, and other factors documented in academic literature, have had in the attrition of the Afroperuvian community. At the same time however, these individuals also extrapolate from these to point towards an agent of that attrition process that is consistent with the romanticized notion of members of the Afroperuvian community passively accepting their social condition, incapable of taking steps to change it. Namely,

most of these narratives suppose that most descendants of Africans, out of despair, simply committed suicide or chose to no longer have children.

Attempts such as these to “fill-in” the gaps in the Afroperuvian past are quite common and varied. In fact, as it will be discussed in the following chapters, the idea of using some form of artistic license to flesh out some aspects of the Afroperuvian past that lack in historical detail has been an important aspect of Afroperuvian musical performances since the second part of the twentieth century. The work of Bill Tompkins (1981), Raúl Romero (1994), and Heidi Feldman (2001) show how ethnomusicologists have become increasingly interested in discussing and by extension validating the legitimacy of the type interpretive agency that allows performers to borrow elements from Brazil, Cuba, and an imagined Africa as a means of “re-Africanizing” Afroperuvian forms of musical expression. These strategies, however, have also been a hallmark of academic research on Afroperuvian matters, even though it is not as directly addressed in our own writings. Aside from the aforementioned example in del Busto’ book, it can be argued that all writings about Afroperuvians, including this dissertation, have at some point or another resorted to this strategy, particularly at times where there has been a need to establish or validate particularly genealogies. This is particularly the case when reconstructing within the academic record, a history of Afroperuvian experience that can be connected all the way to Africa. The subsequent chapters will discuss at length some of genealogies are established in direct reference to music and dance. At this point however, it is worth dwelling on the work of historian and linguist Fernando

Romero as a means of illustrating how this artistic license has often manifested in academic writing.

In the late 1980s Romero began to publish monograph-length works devoted to various aspects Afroperuvian experience that are elaborations of shorter pieces, some of which date as early as the 1930s. His first two books are centered on the issue of language, namely on the survivals of various African linguistic elements in Peruvian coastal speech and the processes that facilitated what he terms a process of linguistic transculturation (F. Romero 1987, 1988). As the author himself points out, much of his work was inspired by similar work conducted by Nelson Senna, Nina Rodriguez, João Ribeiro, Mario de Manoquin, Renato Mendoza, and Joaquin Ribeiro in Brazil, Fernando Ortiz in Cuba, and Melville Herskovits in the United States (1987, 19-20). The main problem faced by Romero in these two publications is connecting words and expressions associated with the Afroperuvian community and in some cases with Peruvian coastal speech—his data, with theories that did not take into account the Peruvian case. In those cases where linguistic theory alone is not able to provide a clear connection, Romero interpolates by making use of assumed cultural, and therefore, linguistic similarities with similar sounding cases in other parts of the Americas. In spite of his self-imposed rigor however, his dictionary of *afronegrismos* (1988) goes beyond that which can be linguistically to the West African languages most likely to have been spoken by the forefathers of contemporary Afroperuvians. Romero's collection of 471 terms includes words (for example, *jarana*) whose etymological lineages can be traced from Peru, to

Spain, to the Arab world and by extension to North Africa, even though there is little evidence to suggest that many slaves originally came from these areas.⁴⁸ He also includes what he terms “ideological *afronegrismos*,” words from other linguistic roots that have nonetheless become associated with the Afroperuvian community. Similarly, in his history the Peruvian slave trade (1994), Romero not so much establishes clear connections between Peru and Africa as much as provides clear and detailed histories in both continents, leaving the reader to interpolate and surmise the connections between the two.

Fernando Romero is by no means the only individual faced with these acts of interpolation. As suggested above, all writers academic or not, are at some point or another faced with the need and/or desire to perform such interpolative exercises in our efforts to “fill-in” potential gaps in our knowledge. These also point towards there being a similarity in strategies used as a means of “filling-in” the gaps by both musicians and those who have come to write about them. In my mind, this is evidence that the role overlap between these two groups is not only the result of recent late capitalist process that have begun to collapse Enlightenment-based modernist dichotomies such as such as those of art and culture, aesthetic and reason, artist and academic, and of the influence of critical theory in fields like musicology, ethnomusicology, and anthropology. It is also

⁴⁸ Blackburn suggests that in the first few years of the colonial period some slaves were brought over from the Iberian Peninsula and the Canary Islands (1997, 135) and there is a possibility, although slim, that some of these individuals may have been from some parts of North Africa or the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, as Both Blackburn (1997) and Bowser (1974) point out, from the time the Portuguese consolidated their monopoly on the slave trade in the middle of the fifteenth century, the great majority of slaves were forcibly removed from various areas of West African and West Central Africa. According to Bowser, “Guinea supplied some 55 to 56 per cent of the slaves exported to Peru between 1560 and 1650, other West African areas 11-12 per cent, and Angola, the rest” (Bowser 1974, 39).

one that has been embedded in the imagination of various members of Limeño society for more than a century. As Salazar Bondy would argue, this potential for the aestheticization not only of Afroperuvian experience, but in a more general way, of social relationships, events, and individuals as a means of naturalizing them as part of a performative elaboration of a particular worldview can be a powerful, seductive, and at times dangerous thing. The following chapters will discuss the various ways in which Afroperuvian musicians continue to use these strategies, as a means of furthering elaborating on the goals and aspirations of their predecessors during the second part of the twentieth century, sometimes succeeding, at other times reproducing the system of social marginalization that they wish engage and deconstruct. To this end, the subsequent discussion will begin with an examination of how an aestheticized invocation of the concept of culture has managed to afford musicians and those who have come to write about Afroperuvian music, with a certain performative authority over their representations of the past.

Chapter 2: The Authority of History and Culture

*Zamacueca, marinera, festejo,
ritmos negros de mi tierra.*⁴⁹

—CARLITOS MEDRANO

**LOCALE OF GRUPO TEATRO DEL MILENIO. SAN MIGUEL, LIMA. TUESDAY,
AUGUST 8, 2000, 6:00PM.**

I had arrived at Milenio's locale around 4:45pm, about fifteen minutes after the time when rehearsal was supposed to begin to discover that, aside from Lucho Sandoval, the director of the group, I was the first one there. Over the next forty-five minutes, the rest of the members began to find their way to the rehearsal. This was not all that uncommon given that all the performers had other professional and personal obligations outside of the group. As soon as the first dancer arrived, Lucho proceeded to work on polishing the step combinations of one of their dance routines. The remainder of the members continued to arrive, some offering reasons and apologies for their delay, others entering quietly, hoping no one would notice that they had just gotten there. Once everyone was present, and after briefly joking about the fact that, since I had been the first one to arrive, that perhaps I should be the one learning the choreographies, the group sat down to discuss the more pressing issues regarding tour schedules, upcoming performances and changes in personnel. This evening, Lucho had invited Jaime Zevallos, a former member of the group, to the rehearsal in order to talk about the

⁴⁹ [*Zamacueca, marinera, festejo*
Black rhythms from my country]

possibility of rejoining them since another member was leaving to become an artist in residence at a university in Belgium.

Jaime had brought with him a CD of a UK based group called Adzido, a pan-African dance ensemble, which he had picked up while in London. He had just returned from England and mentioned that he missed seeing the group perform live because his plane was leaving the same afternoon as the event. Lucho put the CD in the boom box and we began to listen. As we did so, Jaime explained that he had bought the CD for the members of Milenio because he thought that the type of work that they were doing was important. According to him, they had traveled repeatedly to West Africa and collected traditional masks, dance choreographies and music from various countries and incorporated them into what he saw as modern theatrical interpretations.⁵⁰ From the way he spoke about it, it was clear that Jaime was drawing parallels between the types of activities pursued by Adzido and those in which a number of dance troupes have been engaged since the time of the Afroperuvian revival period. It was also clear that what was important about the group wasn't so much that their explorations of the African continent allowed for an accurate reproduction of these African traditions. Rather, it was the perception that these were individuals of African descent used these collected forms of cultural expression as basis for their own artistic creations and interpretations of Africa, a pursuit with which Jamie and some members of Milenio identified quite explicitly. As Lucho had pointed out

⁵⁰ Adzido's mission statement reads as follows: "Adzido seeks to promote the richly diverse heritage of cultural groups in black Africa by presenting dance and music together with contemporary theatrical design. This combination allows the authenticity of Africa to be presented with integrity and relevance to Western cultures" (Adzido 2000).

to me during a conversation the previous week, traditional repertoire should serve as source of material and inspiration for new forms of artistic expression that remained tied to that legacy.

Eventually, the conversation subsided and we shifted our attention to the music emanating from the speakers. After listening for a while, different people began to comment on the music. In spite of all the aforementioned parallels drawn between Adzido and Milenio, the overall consensus in the room was that the music of the former sounded very different to that of the latter. Lucho explained, “¿Ves?, tiene un swing distinto al nuestro.”⁵¹ Another member explained further, “para ellos, lo importante son las voces pero para nosotros es todo—cajón, guitarra, danza, voz...”⁵² Everyone agreed, this particular musical representation of Africa was situated far from what Africa meant to performers of African descent in Peru. As if to underscore the foreignness of the sound, a couple of people began to joke around by imitating the short, rhythmic vocal interjections in the recording. Very quickly, these imitations became parodied shrieks and squawks of birds and other animals, stylized markers of a place that geographically and conceptually seemed very remote. Ironically, this exercise on highlighting difference rendered these sounds into something familiar, a musical representation of an Other that was characteristically Afroperuvian.

⁵¹ [See? It has a feel that is different from ours]

⁵² [to them, the voices are what is important, but to us it is everything—cajón, guitar, dance, vocals...]

Episodes like the one mentioned above point towards an intricate relationship between history, culture, performance and the interpretive space that lies in between. To the members of Milenio, like to many other performers, referencing the past and, by extension a particular cultural heritage that is anchored on that past, should form an integral part of contemporary performance. Afroperuvian professional musicians have come to conceive of their music making activities as symbolic markers of a vital, vibrant and extant Afroperuvian culture that is connected to musical practices of the past. In other for this to happen however, genealogies need to be established, genealogies that in the Afroperuvian case have rested greatly on the gathering and interpretation of both musical and historical material and information regarding the past. Knowing, maintaining, uncovering and constructing new connections to that past has remained one of the main preoccupations of contemporary professional musicians, an agenda that is perhaps the strongest ideological legacy of those who sought to revive and re-popularize Afroperuvian musical practices starting in the 1950s. In this sense then, it can be argued that contemporary musicians use the act of performance to simultaneously maintain and redefine what Eric Hobsbawm would identified as an invented tradition, “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour and by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm 1983, 1).

The idea that Afroperuvian music and dance have been recently invented, or rather re-invented, is by no means new. In fact, more recent generations of

musicians are very aware of the degree of constructedness behind those musical practices that they themselves identify as traditional and the symbolic power behind such constructions. This is the reason why individuals like the members of Milenio are interested in the way in which other performers, both in Peru and abroad, have come to conceptually and methodologically deal with concepts such as tradition and cultural authenticity. When Afroperuvian musicians express interest in the musical representations of groups like Adzizo, or Afrouban latin jazz band Irakere, or a Brazilian samba school, or the people involved with Buena Vista Social Club, the emphasis is not so much on how accurately these individuals reproduce musical practices that are perceived to be “authentic” *a priori*, but rather on how these performers are able to assert the authority necessary to redefine the very concept of the authentic. After all, Afroperuvian musicians today see themselves as being engaged in very similar endeavors and they are always interested in finding new alternatives that can supplement the types of authoritative strategies that have been available to them for the last half-century. Before discussing the specifics of the strategies however, there is a need to reflect on what is meant by an invented tradition.

MUSICIANS AND THE REINVENTION OF A HISTORICAL PAST

To Hobsbawm, the concept of tradition needs to be separated from that of what he identifies as custom. The difference between them is one that is simultaneously inspired by and seeks to account for perceived oppositions between form vs. substance, style vs. content, symbol vs. meaning, static vs. changing, seemingly old and unchanging vs. seemingly recent and transformative.

By use of the following analogy he explains that “‘Custom’ is what judges do; ‘tradition’ is the wig, robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualized practices surrounding their substantial action. The decline of ‘custom’ inevitably changes the ‘tradition’ with which it is habitually intertwined” (Hobsbawm 1983, 2-3). This definition of tradition as a collection of fixed symbolic markers that differentiate between imagined past and ethnographic present is well suited for the analysis and critique of Western modernist utopias such as the late colonial empire, the nation-state and some of its post-colonialist counter-narratives. These are, in fact, the types of symbolic systems addressed by Hobsbawm and his collaborators (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) and their analyses are consistent and dovetail effectively with the work of Anderson (1991), Bhabha (1990a, 1990b), Brennan (1990), Renan (1990), and Said (1994).

This particular conceptualization of tradition does present some problems for the case at hand. First, there is the idea that makers of tradition are fixed and unchanging, only being abandoned or transformed at those times where there cease to be compatible with contemporary needs. Consequently, the demise of old traditions and the genesis of new ones is generally perceived as sudden, drastic and often radical, the causal effect of a major shift in ideology, for example, or the triumph of a particular counter-hegemonic agenda. There is no denying that such “moments” of invention can occur, particularly in situations when particularly powerful groups and institutions are capable of formally introducing and promoting a new set of traditions. Yet, it is also worth noting that as drastic and as sudden as some of these changes may appear on the surface,

these new constructions remain linked to and continue to reproduce pre-existing social processes and relationships.

Furthermore, in spite of the close association that musical performance has to the maintenance and generation of a sense of cultural cohesion or identity within the Afroperuvian community, it would be reductive to suggest that there is a single way in which this authenticity is constructed. As recent ethnomusicological and anthropological literature on the Peruvian highlands suggests (Cadena 2000; Cánepa Koch 1998; 2001; Mendoza 2000; R. Romero 2001), performative spaces provide opportunities to symbolically construct and debate competing histories, memories and genealogies. In this regard, there are some parallels between the role that traditional performance has in the Afroperuvian community and the role and other marginalized cultural groups in Peru. The emphasis the all of these groups place on the past and the recovery of a history that was partially or completely erased by those in power reminds us, as Raul Romero has so aptly observed, that contemporary performances of traditional music are sites where “conflicting pasts are represented in one single image in order to reinforce cultural continuity, transcending the conflicting representations of history...a negotiation of different cultural projects directed at a common objective: the protection of cultural difference” (R. Romero 2001, 3).

Finally, it is also necessary to challenge the assumption that the performance of Afroperuvian music and dance is merely an affirmative cultural activity. Hobsbawm associates invented traditions with ritual practices that are largely peripheral to what he identifies as “substantial action.” Following this

argument, it would be relatively easy to assume that the way in which Afroperuvian culture is represented on the performance stage amounts to little more than a mere stylized reproduction of cultural practices of decades and centuries past, performances that are more important for their static representation of an imagined past than for their ability to actively transform the present. It may be true that vendors may no longer wander the streets promoting their products in song, that some genres and repertoire may have been partially or completely forgotten, or that some traditional dances are more likely to be performed by professional performers for non-Afroperuvian audiences rather than as a non-specialized activity within a particular community. To do so however, would be to ignore the constitutive agency that Afroperuvian musicians and more recently anthropologists ascribe to performance. As Zoila Mendoza points out, performance is not merely a “‘reflection’ or ‘inversion’ of a fixed system of meanings or the enactment of preexisting text,” but a space that is a “part of the ‘very construction and interpretation’ of social life” (Mendoza 2000, 31).

Over the last fifty years, the performance of Afroperuvian music and dance has been the main avenue available to members of the Afroperuvian community to reclaim and promote a past previously denied to them, to appropriate and transform old stereotypes, and to challenge pre-existing social hierarchies. In their dual roles as culture bearers and artists, musicians simultaneously replicate, interpret and transform not only the content of their performances but the space in which those performances takes place, and the social context in which these are inscribed in turn. The fact that performance can

offer more than one path through which to pursue this should be reminder that “social memory is almost necessarily a contested one, since it pertains to hundreds or thousands of individuals” (R. Romero 2001, 4). It also reinforces the notion that these are sites where various attitudes and perceptions regarding music, music making, and their perceived significance within the Afroperuvian community are locked in a perpetual debate that shapes more than just the performative “moment.” They constitute the active realization of cultural projects that continually seek to reinvent the very social relationships and hierarchies of which they form a part.

As a counter-hegemonic project, the reintroduction of Afroperuvian music and dance has involved the construction of a tradition independent of those of other groups within Peruvian society. However, hegemony is a process which reproduces itself, one in which counter-hegemonies are constructed in opposition to and therefore mirror some of the strategies of the dominant position. In this sense then, it can be said that the success of this project has been in part due to its ability to assert itself as its own form of hegemony, one which seeks to recover previously erased links to a particular cultural legacy. Or, to partially paraphrase Raymond Williams, as a means of developing the authoritative strategies with which to introduce, promote and maintain “a version of the past which is intended to connect with and ratify the present” (Williams 1977, 116). Over time, some strategies have proven more effective than others. In fact, as Appiah would suggest (*see* discussion on chapter 1), those most effective have been those that have sought to reinterpret pre-existing concepts, values, and

notions regarding culture, history and tradition and their relationship to music making in such a way that it has provided musicians with a greater degree of autonomy. As it may also be expected, many of these strategies find their genesis around the time of the Afroperuvian revival.

CULTURE BEARERS, INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT, AND “AUTHENTICITY”

In the beginning, the resurgence of interest on Afroperuvian musical practices grew out of a *criollo* interest in “rescuing” cultural practices of the past, a means of validating a genealogy that, as Heidi Feldman points out, “[relegated] Black cultural identity to the past, as an important ‘contribution’ to *criollo* popular culture” (Feldman 2001, 90). Nevertheless, these endeavors could only succeed thanks to the active input and creative participation of Afroperuvian musicians. While it may be true that the cultural and artistic projects led by *criollos* like José Durand and, to a lesser degree, Rosa Mercedes Ayarza and Samuel Márquez can be pinpointed as having provided the blueprint for a number of dances choreographies, and songs arrangements that would become considered part of the traditional repertoire, it is their further elaboration, refinement, reinterpretation and expansion at the hands of their Afroperuvian successors that would validate this repertoire as a distinct symbol of Afroperuvian identity. Individuals like the Santa Cruz siblings, the Vásquez family, and later on those of performers associated with Perú Negro who in the 1950s started as “contributors” in someone else’s artistic project soon developed independent and influential voices as authorities on Afroperuvian tradition.

The apparent change in status from contributor to expert that many musicians experienced during this time period is linked to the reconceptualization of these individuals not as just mere performers but as culture bearers. The 1960s is a time when the notion of a national folkloric landscape divided into several regional traditions begins to take shape (Durand 2000). There was a new emphasis on regional and cultural diversity, which when compounded with the creation of institutions for the study and teaching of these traditions, and the support of popular performers by influential intellectual figures, such as José María Arguedas, recast musicians as active agents in the contemporary creation of traditional music and culture. After all, these individuals were not mere performers but their performances were the contemporary embodiment of musical knowledge that these individuals managed to receive from older generations, thus establishing a strong link to the past. This link was important because it represented an unbroken connection to a history that many deemed to have been lost while in pursuit of a single imagined national community.

Throughout the 1960s, this revalorization of the role of the musician in Peruvian culture begins to afford Afroperuvian groups a more authoritative voice. In 1964 for example, ethnomusicologist and composer Josafat Roel y Pineda recorded the group Gente Morena de Pancho Fierro, one of the later incarnations of the original troupe of musicians who had collaborated with José Durand to reconstruct a number of Afroperuvian genres (Feldman 2001, 49-66) to include as part the growing collection that he was compiling for the Escuela Nacional de

Danzas y Arte Folklórico.⁵³ Since the 1950s, Roel y Pineda had been taking advantage of musicians from different parts of the country coming to the Escuela to obtain certification as professional musicians (R. Romero 1995, 14-15) to document various regional traditions. As a close collaborator of José María Arguedas, Roel y Pineda's interest in recording these individuals appears to have stemmed from his belief that they represented, in some form or another, a link to tangible and extant cultural traditions that had remained ignored or marginalized up to that point. The fact that Gente Morena de Pacho Fierro, was recorded as part of this project, points towards the interest that Roel y Pineda had on this particular group of Afroperuvian musicians as representatives of one such cultural group.

The recognition of this group as well as many of its successors as important symbols of the endurance of Afroperuvian musical traditions went beyond the aforementioned music scholars. Among subsequent generations of performers, many of these early groups became important sites where aspiring musicians could learn the traditional repertoire, often times serving as focus points where different oral traditions could be consolidated and then disseminated beyond just a single line or family of performers.⁵⁴ The practice has continued to the present day. Like their predecessors, many prospective Afroperuvian musicians of recent generations have continued to learn by their induction into one of these groups. Although many musicians emphasize that oral transmission

⁵³ [National School of Folk Dances and Art]

⁵⁴ In many ways, the various "Pancho Fierro" groups served as prototypes for this, given the emphasis that they placed on gathering musical materials from different sources and regions of the Peruvian coast and combining them all into a collective set of songs, dances and genres that would be identified as Afroperuvian.

still exists outside of these professional groups, many musicians from younger generations have come to feel that they only have partial or fragmentary knowledge of Afroperuvian musical tradition and of the past. In this regard, Jaime Zevallos for example, whose family is originally from the Afroperuvian community of Acarí in the Department of Nazca, comments on his family's musical background:

A mi papá le gustaba mucho tocar [la] guitarra. Le gustaba muchísimo esa expresión y zapateaba a veces. Y mi familia también, le gustaba mucho la música Afroperuana y la música criolla, pero muchas cosas no tenían definidas. Como que estaba, que está ahí, pero no hay una enseñanza, no alguien quien te guíe: “Oye, las cosas fueron así, así y asá.” Si tocaban, digamos cajón, tocaban de oído y la tocaban...como le llaman? [ad libitum] O sea, la tocaban así, por sentir que es su esencia, después [ésta] ha ya sido tecnicada (Zevallos 2000).⁵⁵

Consequently, apprenticing with professional groups, particularly those whose founding members are identified as culture bearers becomes both an effective way of learning “the right way” of performing Afroperuvian music. Percussionist and dancer Percy Chinchilla comments on the influence that Perú Negro had on him even though, at the time he came to the group, he had already been performing professionally:

Mas que todo me inicié como percusionista. Un día [los de Perú Negro] me invitaron a ensayar...Entonces, poco a poco, me fui metiendo en lo que era la danza y, pucha, que me encantó, pues. Me encantó porque fue algo que yo no lo había experimentado. Entonces, poco a poco, fui agarrando

⁵⁵ [My father loved to play the guitar. He loved that [form of] expression very much and also danced the zapateo at times. And my family also, they really liked Afroperuvian and *criollo* music, but did not have many things [clearly] defined. As if it was, it is right there, but there was no instruction, no one to guide you: “Listen, things were like this, like this and like that.” If they played, let’s say cajón, they played by ear and they played...what do they call it? [ad libitum] That is, they played it like that, by feel, which is its essence, which later has been technically developed.]

confianza en mi cuerpo y confianza a [que] si hago las cosas, las hago bien. Entonces, de ahí parte todo. Ya con Perú Negro más me profesionalicé mucho en lo que es la danza negra y la percusión. Ahí es donde aprendí muchas cosas, como a bailar, a tocar como se debe tocar, a zapatear como se debe zapatear, en que tiempos (Chinchilla 2000).⁵⁶

Even musicians who do not necessarily have a background in professional performance recognize the importance of learning from groups and individuals that are considered to be culture bearers and/or authorities on Afroperuvian music.⁵⁷ Lucho Sandoval explains in relation to his own efforts to seek out this knowledge:

A pesar que siempre en mi familia habíamos bailado, habíamos practicado la música, nunca yo como músico porque yo no sabía tocar un cajón, yo no sabía bailar, me movía no más. Y entonces empecé a aprender. Me busqué maestros, Lalo Izquierdo fue mi primer maestro de zapateo, Juanchi Vásquez fue mi maestro de danza, Esperanza Campos, todo los que habían formado, digamos los que habían estado en toda la historia de la danza del Perú. No estaba Victoria Santa Cruz, no estaban los maestros más viejos, eran ellos a los que había que recurrir. Con ellos empecé a aprender y a descubrir toda esa gran sabiduría y el gran conocimiento que estaba oculto en las danzas y la cultura Afroperuana (Sandoval 2000).⁵⁸

⁵⁶ [I mainly had my start as a percussionist. One day [Perú Negro] invited me to rehearse... Then, little by little, I started to get into what was the dance, and I loved it. I loved it because it was something that I had not tried. Then, little by little, I began to gain confidence in my body and confidence in that if I do something, I do it well. Everything comes from there. Once with Perú Negro I was further professionalized in terms of what is black dance and percussion. That is the place where I learned many things: how to dance, to play how it should be played, to do a zapateo how a zapateo should be, to know the right rhythmic meters.]

⁵⁷ It is important to note that the master that Sandoval sought out were members of a second generation of culture bearers since the time of the revival of Afroperuvian music and dance. In fact he makes reference to the fact that at the time he was seeking that instruction (in the early 1980s) many of the older masters were no longer available for instruction.

⁵⁸ [Even though in my family we had always danced, we had practices music, I never did that as a musician because I did not know how to play a cajón, I did not know how to dance, I just moved. And then I began to learn. I sought teachers, Lalo Izquierdo was my first zapateo teacher, Juanchi Vásquez was my dance teacher, Esperanza Campos, all those who had formed, let's say those who had been present in the history of dance in Peru. Victoria Santa Cruz was not there, the older masters were not there, and they [Izquierdo, Vásquez, Campos, et al] were the one to whom you

Similarly, Clara Chávez, having received her dance education in the more formal setting of the Escuela Nacional de Folklore José María Arguedas, remarks on how that career is what made her into a conscientious performer devoted to traditional practice:

Tuve que leer al respecto e informarme a través de mi carrera para saber realmente que era lo tradicional y que no. Fue realmente penoso caer en conciencia, en esa conciencia de que—Dios, hay un montón de gente que maltrata y pisotea lo tradicional sin ningún reparo. Si quizás yo nunca hubiera decidido estudiarlo y tomarlo como algo serio en mi vida, ahorita estuviera quizás haciendo lo mismo...Hay muchos “bailarines” (entre comillas) que se hacen llamar danzarines y que en el fondo nunca han leído o no saben nada respecto a las danzas negras (Chávez 2000).⁵⁹

Within the realm of professional music making in Lima there are a number of aesthetic and stylistic lineages or “dynasties” that can be identified, many stemming from the aforementioned process of apprenticeship with groups and/or individuals that are considered authorities in such matters. One of the most notable of these is Perú Negro, whose visibility that can be attributed to the group’s commercial success, its longevity, the sheer numbers of individuals that at some point or another have been a part of the Perú Negro family, and the fact that this group more than others has captured the attention of audiences and researchers as representative for their specialization on dances and repertoire that

needed to resort. With them I began to learn and to discover all that great wisdom and great knowledge that was hidden in Afroperuvian dances and culture.

⁵⁹ [I had to read about it and inform myself through my career in order to really know what was traditional and what was not. I was truly painful to realize, in that realization that—God, there are many people that mistreat and tread on tradition with out a care. Perhaps if I had never decided to study it and take it as something important in my life, perhaps I would be doing the same thing right now...There are many “dancers” (in quotations) [from the word *baile* meaning informal dance] that call themselves masters of dance [from the word *danza* meaning formal or traditional dance] and that deep inside they have never read [about] or know nothing in regards to the black dances.]

is exclusively associated with Afroperuvian musical traditions. In spite of the groups having been the formal training ground for many professional musicians, the strong familial bonds within the group also allows some members to include themselves as part of a genealogy of culture bearers that predates the formal existence of this group as a professional institution. Oscar Villanueva for example, nephew of Caitro Soto and Ronaldo Campos, both founding members of Perú Negro, traces his first musical inclinations not to the group where he received most of his training, but to his grandmother, the matriarchal figure responsible for the eventual existence of Perú Negro:

OV: Yo comencé de muy temprana edad. No puedo decir a que edad. Pero la influencia que yo tengo es directamente de mi abuela. Mi abuela para mí ha sido la impulsadora de lo que yo hoy en día puedo manifestar dentro de la cultura afroperuana. Ella ha sido también, de la misma forma, la que dio los primeros pilares al grupo Perú Negro.

JL: ¿Quién fue tu abuela?

OV: Lucila de la Colina, mamá del director de Perú Negro [Ronaldo Campos] y mamá de mi madre.

JL: ¿Pariente de Caitro [Soto] por de la Colina?

OV: Claro. Mi abuela crió a Caitro, ha criado a mi tío Ronaldo, su hijo. Ella los crió acá en Lima. Ella vino primero y ellos se quedaron en Cañete: Ronaldo, Caitro, Orlando, y otros tíos que no son muy famosos pero que también tenían esta manifestación cultural danzaria, cantada, musical...Mi abuela fue el pilar fundamental para que tanto el director de Perú Negro como yo, después de muchos años yo, [tuviéramos] esta forma de [expresarnos] (Villanueva 2000).⁶⁰

⁶⁰ [OV: I started at a very early age. I cannot say at what age. But my [musical] influence comes directly from my grandmother. For me, my grandmother has been the impulse behind what I can express today within Afroperuvian culture. She has also been, in the same manner, the one who gave the group Perú Negro its first [founding] pillars.

JL: Who was your grand mother?

Although perhaps more visible than the others, Perú Negro has not been the only such musical lineage. Many of the individuals who originally worked with José Durand, and/or the Santa Cruz siblings have had their own lasting influence among professional musicians. While many of the members of Perú Negro are directly or indirectly associated with communities in the Southern Coast of Peru like Cañete and Chincha, the Vásquez family comprised of its patriarch Don Porfirio, his sons Vicente, Abelardo, Pepe and Oswaldo, and more recently, Abelardo's son Juan Carlos, represent the legacy of what is sometimes referred to as the “norte chico,”⁶¹ the rural areas just north of Lima in communities of Aucallama and Chancay (A. Vásquez 1995; 1996; J. Vásquez 1996).

The explicit connection of these lineages to communities in rural areas is not coincidental. During the revival, these rural areas became of particular importance given that, unlike in Lima and other large urban centers in the coast, it was possible to find relatively discretely bounded Afroperuvian communities. In places like Lima there was a great deal of overlap between the musical practices of Afroperuvian musicians in Lima and those of *criollos* and *mestizos* with whom they often interacted, often making it difficult to ascertain, as in the case of the *canto de jarana*, to what degree certain parts of the repertoire could be identified as uniquely Afroperuvian. In contrast, the musical repertoire gathered from rural

OV: Lucila de la Colina, mother of Perú Negro's director [Ronaldo Campos] and my mother's mother.

JL: Related to Caitro [Soto] by [the last name] de la Colina?

OV: Of course. My grandmother raised Caitro, has raised my uncle Ronaldo, her son. She raised them in Lima. She came here first and they remained in Cañete: Ronaldo, Caitro, Orlando and other no so famous uncles who also that this danced, sung, musical cultural expression...My grandmother was the fundamental pillar so that the director of Perú Negro, as well as I—I after many years—could have this way of expressing ourselves.]

⁶¹ [the near north]

areas could often be linked to individual communities, something that must have indicated to many of the individuals involved in the reconstruction project that these areas, perhaps because of their relative isolation, managed to retain musical practices that had already disappeared in urban centers such as Lima. While this is likely, it is also worth pointing out that this stance also reflects the belief that the location of cultural authenticity is within a space that is imagined as remote, timeless, and untainted by the homogenizing effects of modernity. As a result, certain assumptions have been made about the primacy of rural sources of musical repertoire, which gave musicians from these areas a more authoritative voice. In turn, we find that most groups that specialize exclusively in Afroperuvian music and dance usually belong to lineages that trace their heritage to these aforementioned rural areas. On the other hand, musicians who were born and raised in Lima or who trace their influences to individuals who grew up in the old *criollo* and Afroperuvian working class neighborhoods in this city have a more fluid sense of an Afroperuvian musical identity and often perform with groups that feature both *criollo* and Afroperuvian performers and repertoires.

There are other implications to the inclusion of Gente Morena de Pancho Fierro in Roel y Pineda's recording project. It also points towards the complex relationship that developed in Peru between performers, researchers and governmental institutions, with each often validating the efforts of the others. This recording was not merely an acknowledgement of the aforementioned group as presenting an "authentic" representation of Afroperuvian musical traditions, at least as perceived by Roel y Pineda and others involved in the

project. It is worth noting that the recording was done in the context of those musicians seeking to earn their certification as professional performers, thus earning a different type of “authentic” status not only as culture bearers but also as professionals. The construction and conflation of authenticities, culture bearers and professional musicians, as mediated often times by their recognition by institutions like Escuela Nacional de Danzas y Arte Folklórico (or more recently the Instituto Nacional de Cultura), has increased the authority of these individuals. On the one hand, their authority as professional musicians is enhanced by the connection that these musicians have to traditional cultural practices that are perceived to exist outside of that professional realm. On the other, the status of the same performer as a professional artist points to both a skill in execution that is perceived to be more sophisticated and polished than counterpart musical practices as performed by individuals that, in spite of being recognized as culture bearers, are still also perceived as “amateurs.” Furthermore, the status as professional artists also gave performers the room to experiment with “the tradition,” often under the justification that as both professionals and culture bearers these individuals are the best qualified to strike a delicate balance between musical innovation and the preservation of tradition.

To many Limeño audiences, *criollo*, Afroperuvian or otherwise, their perception of “authentic” Afroperuvian music has been largely shaped by the musical style of a number of influential performers from the 1960s and 1970s, most notably among them Perú Negro. It may be argued that a great deal of this is tied to the commercial success and dissemination that such groups had in Lima

during those decades in terms of recordings, regular appearances in radio and television broadcasts, and performances at local venues. However, groups like Perú Negro also made a lasting impression because of the lineage of some of its members. In many instances, acknowledging that certain performers belonged to families of musicians whose intimate knowledge of traditional repertoire and performance practice could then be brought to the professional stage, a fact that was routinely mentioned during performances⁶², also influenced the longevity of their stylistic legacy. Furthermore, in the process of reconstructing musical traditions, many of these musicians were able to introduce and validate their own artistic reinterpretation of surviving musical material as part of what was deemed to be, by those external to the process of reconstruction, as the “authentic” traditional style.

In later years, this notion of an authentic musical tradition, as stylistically embodied by groups of the 1970s and 1980s, was further validated by the institutionalization of both repertoire and performance practice. Many of individuals involved in the revival began to establish themselves as teachers and educators of Afroperuvian traditions to a largely lay (and *criollo*) public that had been captivated by this music. Whether in the context of governmental institutions like the Escuela Nacional de Folklore José María Arguedas (a.k.a. La Escuela), college-level music and dance workshops like the ones overseen by

⁶² In live, radio, and television performances in particular, it became common for the performers or another individual closely associated with them to comment on the source and nature of the music that the audiences were about to see. In this context it was common not only to mention that a particular song or genre was from a particular community of the Peruvian coast but to “personalize” the performance by pointing out which members in the group were originally from those communities and had grown up performing that particular part of their repertoire and in some cases introduced it to the other members of the group.

ethnomusicologist Rosa Elena Vásquez at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, or through lessons at private guitar and dance studios, musicians have been able to further affirm their status as masters of Afroperuvian tradition, a status that is defined, from the perspective of those who hire them, by the perceived ability of these performers to conflate their experiences as culture bearers and professional artists within the context of formalized music education. Given that most effective educators teach what they know and what is part of their experience, these institutional contexts have become spaces where musicians have been able to use their authority as a means of promoting the Afroperuvian repertoire to broader sectors of the Limeño society as well as legitimize many of their own reinterpretations of the same as “authentically traditional.” Consequently, when students come to La Escuela to learn “the right way” of dancing a *festejo*, they are not taught some basic movements that can then be used as basis for what historically has been a dance-genre with a relatively free choreography (Tompkins 1981, 247-248). Instead, they are taught a simplified variant of the specific step-by-step *festejo* choreography that Lalo Izquierdo originally developed for Perú Negro and which is prevalent in this *academia* setting given that many of the instructors, including Izquierdo himself, are or have been members of the Perú Negro family. Similarly, many *cajón* and guitar players formerly associated with Perú Negro, the Vásquez family, the Santa Cruz siblings, and other prominent groups from the late 1960s and 1970s have gone on to teach at these institutions, thus promoting—sometimes actively, sometimes by

means of assumptions made by those with whom they interact—their particular ways of playing Afroperuvian genres as being the most appropriate.

As it might be expected, this interrelationship between performers, institutions, and the formalized music education market, is not always an easy or welcome by all those involved. Marxist critiques regarding the commodification of music making in this particular setting are quite prevalent both at the hands of scholars who have come to write about it (Lloréns 1983) as well as musicians and audience members. In all cases there is the open acknowledgement that the professionalization of the culture bearer as well as the institutionalization of music education in *academias* has changed the context of performance. After all, it is difficult to deny that in generations past, musicians did not learn in a classroom or workshop settings where prospective musicians would be evaluated through exams, be introduced to some basic Western music theory, and classified in terms of beginning, intermediate and advanced skill levels, often necessitating a student to pass a final exam or performance in order to be advanced to the next level. Most teachers acknowledge that they are not necessarily teaching individuals at these *academias* in the same way they would in the context of a professional group. In fact, the great majority of professional performers continue to receive their training outside this *academia* setting, thus legitimizing their status as professional because they learned “en la cancha,”⁶³ as teacher and professional dancer/percussionist Juanchi Vásquez once put it (J. Vásquez 1996). Nevertheless, for many teachers *academias* do provide other types of

⁶³ [in the playing field]

opportunities including a setting in which others openly recognize the importance of what they do, increased visibility outside of musicians circles as experts on Afroperuvian tradition, an additional source of income, and the possibility of establishing relationships with patrons of the arts, government officials, and other individuals who can in turn help securing performance dates, recording contracts, and financial backing for research projects, special events, international tours, etc. This leads to a far more ambivalent relationship between professional musicians and these institutions, although the concept of certain individuals “selling out” does appear to crystallize from time to time, particularly in reference to those individuals who due to a lack of experience or reputation do not have easy access to these authority-affirming teaching opportunities.

Labels such as “traditional” and “authentic” have also provided musicians with particular rhetorical tools with which to engage and critique the activities of their counterparts in an effort to assert the viability of their own musical renditions. When evaluating the achievements of a particular group or performer, professional musicians often like to point to the lack (more often than to the presence) of understanding that these exhibit as a means of stressing they are not as intimately acquainted with Afroperuvian music as they should. This is also a way of suggesting that there is an inherent difficulty to the performance of Afroperuvian music that only those truly “in the tradition” are able to grasp. At the local level, musicians often employ a variety of metaphors to explain how contemporary musical practice needs to maintain an explicit connection its

cultural heritage otherwise attempts at innovation are doomed to fail. Dancer

Jaime Zevallos explains the situation in the following way:

Es como un árbol. Un árbol tiene una semilla y tiene un tallo. Ese tallo va a tener ramas, pero las ramas nunca pueden ser más grandes o más gruesas que el tallo porque sino ahí viene el desbalance. Entonces a ver cuando estamos en rama y cuando estamos en tallo y saber que el tallo viene más cercano a la raíz. Si queremos innovar, tratar de innovar en lo posible del tallo, no de la rama (Zevallos 2000).⁶⁴

Dancer Clara Chávez also uses the roots metaphor to explain the reasons why a deeper historical and empirically based connection to the past is needed:

Lo que queremos es tener, sobre una verdad, sobre una base cierta poder trabajar de ahí para adelante, pero no parados en la nada o en algo que recién ha aparecido. Sino, tener como raíces fuertes la realidad, los orígenes que es muy importante porque de que me serviría a mí construir sobre algo que ha aparecido en el 1980 y que se me va a desmoronar después, porque quizás en el 2004 aparece otra cosa y esto se me desmorona (Chávez 2000).⁶⁵

Clearly, determining who can successfully achieve an appropriate balance between preserving traditional practices and introducing innovations is a subjective exercise that favors he or she who makes the evaluation in the first place, more so if this individual is perceived as a culture bearer or authority when it comes to Afroperuvian musical matters. Yet, in spite of the often cited criticisms against the deployment of totalizing rhetorics such as that of

⁶⁴ [It is like a tree. A tree has a seed and has a trunk. That trunk is going to have branches, but the branches can never be bigger or thicker than the trunk because then you have an imbalance. Therefore, [we should] know when we are on the branch and when on the trunk and know that the trunk is closer to the root. If we want to innovate, if possible try to do so from the trunk, not the branch.]

⁶⁵ [What we want is to, over a truth, over a base of certainty, be able to move forward, but not standing over nothing or on something that has just appeared. Rather, to have what is real as strong roots, the origins, which is very important because for what purpose would I build over something that appeared in 1980 and that is going to crumble later, because maybe in 2004 something new will appear and this will then crumble.]

authenticity, many of which are shared by Afroperuvian musicians, particularly of younger generations, it is undeniable that such strategies have proven helpful in the creation and justification of boundaries around a body of musical practices that can now be identified as uniquely Afroperuvian. Even amongst those musicians who are fond of pointing out that those involved in the Afroperuvian revival often promoted their own innovations and interpretation as part of “the tradition” resort to this strategy from time to time. For example, one night in 1996 while talking with several *cajón* players at Abelardo Vásquez’s *Peña Don Porfirio* (see the opening section of chapter 3 for more details about this event) we came to talk about a favorite topic amongst Afroperuvian percussionists, the Cuban jazz band Irakere. All present praised and respected the members of this band for their ability to appropriate and interpret a variety of genres Latin American genres and fuse them with jazz in order to develop something new and uniquely theirs and wished that more musicians in Peru were engaged in that kind of innovative work. Nevertheless, when I asked if they would like to see Irakere incorporate Afroperuvian genres into their music, they all confidently declared that such attempts would fail. It was their view that Afroperuvian music would resist such manipulation, even at the hand of these musicians. After all, they all could tell of numerous anecdotes in which foreign musicians, some of them even Cubans, had attempted and failed to grasp the intricacies of Afroperuvian music. Stories like these are quite common and often play an important role in affirming a musician’s identity as it is evidenced by the following observation made by guitarist Roberto Arguedas:

Yo creo que siempre el problema es rítmico...yo sé que es bien difícil. Yo he tratado de tocar con otras personas extranjeras que quieren tocar junto conmigo y no la pescan. Los mismos cubanos o brasileros—que yo he estado en Brasil y en Cuba—y no podían. Sin embargo, yo sí puedo tocar un son cubano (Arguedas 2000).⁶⁶

Given that most Cuban and Brazilian musicians are highly respected by professional musicians in Peru for their musical skills and knowledge, observations such as this become an important source of validation. They give local performers a precedent with which to assert that their music is not merely a local variant or manifestation of music from other parts of Latin America or the African diaspora.

ACADEMIC RESEARCH AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO INHERITED KNOWLEDGE

Belonging to a seemingly unbroken line of culture bearers, either by birth or induction is not a given for many contemporary musicians. With the rise in popularity of Afroperuvian music, many individuals who have not necessarily had direct experience with these genres, nor the opportunity to apprentice with one of the great masters, had to develop alternative strategies with which to legitimize their own status as experts on Afroperuvian tradition. To this end, the idea of acquiring specialized musical knowledge through research has become extremely important. This is so because of the perception that research can afford access to certain aspects of Afroperuvian music making that are not necessarily learned by the process of becoming a professional musician.

⁶⁶ [I think that the problem is always a rhythmic one...I know that it is very hard. I have tried to play with foreigners who wanted to play with me and they don't get it. Even the Cubans or Brazilians—I have been in Brazil and Cuba—and they couldn't do it. Yet, I can play a Cuban son.]

Since the time of the revival movement, academic research has been key in how performers have maintained a strong connection to the past. In fact, discussions regarding the Afroperuvian revival movement (Feldman 2001; R. Romero 1994; Tompkins 1981) suggest that, since that time, many performers have been engaged in activities that are reminiscent of ethnomusicological research. As suggested above, much of the process of reconstruction involved fieldwork and the gathering of musical material from various rural communities. In addition to collecting, there were also interviews with individuals who had first hand knowledge of these traditions and who could provide key information regarding the performance context. Some individuals also published extensively on Afroperuvian musical traditions of the past in the form of newspaper and journal articles, both aimed at expanding, interpreting and legitimizing the reconstructed genres that were taken to the stage. José Durand Flórez (1925-1990) and Nicomedes Santa Cruz Gamarra (1925-1992),⁶⁷ perhaps the two most prolific of such scholars, have had a great impact in the furthering of Afroperuvian research and its promotion of Afroperuvian musical traditions amongst Limeño audiences in the decades that followed the initial revival period. Furthermore, their investigations and publications have become the foundation for contemporary Afroperuvian music research and have been extensively drawn upon by ethnomusicologists like Tompkins, Vásquez, Romero, Feldman, and most recently myself.

⁶⁷ For an extensive discussion the contributions of both José Durand and Nicomedes Santa Cruz see ethnomusicologist Heidi Feldman's recent dissertation (2001, chapters 1 and 3 respectively). Also, for a detailed biography on Santa Cruz see Mariñez (2000).

Today, both field and historical research figure prominently in the activities of many performers including Susana Baca, Grupo Teatro del Milenio,⁶⁸ Perú Negro⁶⁹ and Los Hermanos Santa Cruz.⁷⁰ Interest on research and publication has continued into the present and many musicians are well acquainted not only with the work of Santa Cruz and Durand but also with writings ranging from those of Peruvian scholars such as Fernando Romero, Alberto Flores Galindo, Rosa Elena Vásquez and Manuel Aguirre to foreign scholars such as Carlos Vega, Fernando Ortiz, Alejo Carpentier, Robert Stevenson, and more recently, and perhaps most importantly, Bill Tompkins. The creation of Susana Baca's cultural center Negro Continuo⁷¹ was inspired by the need for musicians to further engage in these types of research activities. Although presently Baca's successful recording career has temporarily overshadowed her other projects, Baca and her husband Ricardo Pereira are still committed to furthering the academic understanding of Afroperuvian music as well as making it available to younger generations of performers. Their home in Lima currently has the ability of doubling as a research center which includes a library, audio and instrument collections, a space with musicians can reconstruct and reintroduced instruments mentioned in the historical record but that have fallen in disuse, a space for lectures, receptions and small conferences, and guest quarters for foreign scholars interested in working with their materials (Baca and Pereira 1995; 1996).

⁶⁸ [Group Theater of the Millenium]

⁶⁹ [Black Peru]

⁷⁰ [The Santa Cruz Brothers]

⁷¹ [Black Continuum]

More specifically, the notion of research has also come to inform how many musicians develop their interpretations of the Afroperuvian repertoire. Members of Grupo Teatro del Milenio, for example, have arrived at their rendition of the *son de los diablos*⁷² emulating the methodologies of people like Tompkins. In this case, members of Milenio interviewed some of the last generation of people to have performed the *son de los diablos* in a secular context. Paul Colínó, Milenio's, who the masks used by group based on the watercolors by 19th century painter Pacho Fierro (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2), recalls the research process:

La idea era rescatar la danza antigua, la música antigua. Entonces, me pareció perfecto [el] agarrar las imágenes de Pancho Fierro porque es el testimonio que queda. El son de los diablos es de este tiempo. Los únicos testimonios que tenemos [son] la pintura[s] de Pancho Fierro...Ellos [los miembros de Milenio] han investigado también, han hablado con gente que ha sido diablo mayor antiguamente, han conversado con gente que han bailado el son de los diablos (Colínó 2000).⁷³

⁷² *Son de los diablos* literally means the *son of the devils*, a recreation of a masked street dance associated with Carnival season (January 6 through Ash Wednesday) that was popular in Afroperuvian communities in Lima during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although Tompkins suggests that the *son de los diablos* died out during the 1920s (Tompkins 1981, 260), Feldman points to other sources that have dated performances as late as 1958 (Feldman 2001, 70). Interviews with the members of Milenio appear to confirm these later dates. Both Paul Colínó (2000) and Roberto Arguedas (2000) pointed out that in July of 2000 they had the opportunity to meet and interview several individuals who had performed in the aforementioned dance when they were young (probably the 1940s or 1950s). Colínó also seems to recall that one of these individuals served in the role of *diablo mayor* [main devil] even though most people suggest that the last *diablo mayor*, Don Francisco Andrade, died in the 1920s thus leading to the disappearance of the dance (see quoted passage above).

⁷³ [The idea was to rescue the old dance, the old music. Therefore, I thought it perfect to use Pancho Fierro's images because that is the reference that remains. The *son de los diablos* is from that time period. The only references that we have are Pancho Fierro's paintings...They [the members of Milenio] have also done research. They have talked with people that used to be *diablo mayor* in the old days. They have talked to people who have danced the *son de los diablos*.]



Figure 2.1: “Danzando al son de los diablós.” Watercolor by Pancho Fierro, reprinted from Cisneros, *Pancho Fierro y la Lima del 800* (Lima, 1975), Pl. 1.



Figure 2.2: Performance of the *son de los diablós* by Grupo Teatro del Milenio. Larcomar shopping center, Miraflores, Lima, 10 August, 2000. Photograph by the author

Similarly, like other groups, the members of Milenio have also used the Pancho Fierro watercolors to inform the costumes and choreography used when dancing the zamacueca (Figures 2.3, and 2.4).



Figure 2.3: Watercolor by Pancho Fierro , reprinted from Cisneros, *Pancho Fierro y la Lima del 800* (Lima, 1975), Pl. 4.

To Lucho Sandoval, director of Milenio, research about the traditions that they present was an alternative way of gaining the type of specialized knowledge that was disseminated through the professional groups like Perú Negro and various dance academies. Having grown up in the district of Comas with a background in theatre, Sandoval did not have ready access to the professional music-making realm as many of his counterparts. According to Sandoval, dance academies were

costly, located far away from his home, provided watered-down version of the dances performed by professional groups, and with few notable exceptions did not produce too many performers that were successful in the professional arena.



Figure 2.4: Clara Chávez and Oscar Villanueva dancing the *zamacueca*. *La Vieja Taberna*, Barranco, Lima, 4 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

Although born and raised in Lima, he also did not belong to one of the musical clans that in the 1980s had come associated with most professional performing groups, thus making his access into them more difficult (Sandoval 2000). Presented with these difficulties, and becoming familiar with the activities of some of the individuals associated with the revival of Afroperuvian music and dance in previous years, independent research into these traditions became an

alternative way of gaining some of the authority necessary to be perceived as a professional musician, a strategy that he shared with other individuals when he founded Milenio.

This strategy has also become key to Milenio's identity since it allows them to better understand the meaning of something that most other professional musicians simply learn by rote. In this sense, academic research is not merely a source certain repositories of knowledge whose reference can legitimize the historical accuracy of a particular contemporary musical performance. The very process of research is taken to be an exploration of what it means to be a contemporary Afroperuvian, a means of finding material that can be interpreted and transformed to address the needs of the present while maintaining a strong connection to the past. In this sense, there is a performative aspect imparted to academic research that rests on the interpretation of facts. While this has been the case, since the beginning of the revival movement, the folklorization of traditional music in the Peru during the 1960s and 1970s, as well as positivist national and academic discourses of the time masked this interpretive potential in favor of the concept of a reified authentic. In recent years, with the passing of some of the patriarchs Afroperuvian revival, the waning of the institutional, mass media and record industry support that promoted their reconstructions, and the interest that ethnomusicologists such as Heidi Feldman has expressed in documenting the activities and contributions of many of the key figures of the revival movement, younger generations of musicians, among them the members of Milenio, have come to rediscover the interpretive agency that can be afforded by academic

research. In other words, with the recent and more open acknowledgement of the role that research had during reconstruction of Afroperuvian musical practices in the 1950s, younger generations of performers have come to recognize that academic research can legitimize their reinterpretations of the Afroperuvian repertoire, even when these deviate from older standards of what is perceived to be “authentic.”

In the case of Milenio, the importance that they placed on the act of performing research rather than on the simple accumulation of factual information became particularly apparent during one of their performances of the *son de los diablos*. In August 10, 2000 members from another local group came to observe Milenio’s performance (see Figure 2.2). The visitors came to the performance with notepads in which they wrote down the details of the choreography as well as sketched the costumes used by Milenio. Afterwards, they came up to the group to say hello, to examine the costumes up close, and to ask to borrow some of the outfits. They also wanted to get duplicates of the photographs that I had taken so that they could hire a tailor to copy them. There was an urgency to their requests, which stemmed from the fact that they would be performing the same dance in few weeks for an INC sponsored event and it was rumored that Victoria Santa Cruz was going to attend. The visitors were obviously concerned that the famed matriarch would scrutinize their performance with a critical eye and sought to do everything in their power to provide a rendition that she would find acceptable.

The members of Milenio were very flattered and wanted to be supportive of the interest that these visitors had in deepening their understanding of this

particular dance. Nevertheless, there were some concerns that if they were to simply hand over their costumes, these visitors would fail to benefit from the research process and the subsequent artistic interpretation that brought their rendition of the *son de los diablos* to the stage. In their mind, to simply copy something without understanding the reasons behind their particular interpretation was miss the point of a historically informed performance. From Milenio's perspective, the authenticity of the performance was not to be found in the facts that were referenced but in how the performers' artistic interpretation had made those facts relevant in the present. In the end, the members of Milenio offered to provide them with a list of the books and sources that they had consulted so that their colleagues could also use academic research as a means of empowerment.

THE POLITICS OF HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The interest that musicians have on scholarship has also led on occasion to the collaboration between performers and scholars as colleagues rather than as one being the subject of research of the other. For example, in 1991 Susana Baca, along with Francisco Basili and Ricardo Pereira, conducted a research project regarding the contributions of Afroperuvians to Peruvian coastal culture that included the participation of ethnomusicologist Rosa Elena Vásquez. The resulting CD and book publication (Baca *et al.* 1992) not only contributed to foster renewed interest in Afroperuvian music with Limeño audiences in the early 1990s, but also resulted in the recognition of their efforts by some members of Western academia. Baca and Pereira are proud to list under their recent accomplishments the praise they have received from musicologist Robert

Stevenson (Baca and Pereira 1995; 1996), and the invitations to speak at various international conferences as authorities on Afroperuvian matters. Peruvian scholarship has also come to see performers as active contributors in the realm of academia, something that is evident from recent publications that include the perspectives of leading figures in the Afroperuvian community, most of them musicians, alongside those of academically trained anthropologists, historians and sociologists (Lumbreras et al. 2000; Rostorowski et al. 2000).

Academic research, and perhaps more to the point, relationships with academics themselves, also has been instrumental in the affirmation of the authority of the musician's voice. Part of what has made such collaborations possible, has been the tacit consensus that all those involved are engaged in the further understanding of musical traditions and cultural practices of the past. Despite similarities and overlaps, this shared space is one that is continually contested by musicians and researchers alike. As it should be expected, interactions between different individuals with different intent can at times result in politically charged encounters between musicians and academics. Generally speaking, the differences between both groups stems from the relationship that each has with their object of research.

From the perspective of academic researchers, there is often a sense of frustration that emerges from the perception that lay scholars often times manipulate factual data to support their own political ends. Ethnomusicologist Bill Tompkins, for example, tells of the time when he was invited to a televised cultural program organized by Pepe Durand to introduce a song that he had

collected from a rural community in the southern coast. The song was going to be performed by a core of well know professional musicians that often collaborated with Durand on these programs in the 1970s. However, just as the performers introduced the song in question, the lead singer of the group, a well know and respected individual in the Afroperuvian professional community, decided not to give credit to Tompkins but rather claim that he had learned such song from his mother when he was young (Tompkins 2001). In this way, the singer was able to connect himself to an unbroken oral tradition that validated his own performance as a culture bearer rather than someone who had recently learned a previously unknown part of the repertoire from a foreigner, something that would undermine his authority as an expert on Afroperuvian tradition.

Although this is somewhat of an extreme example, the political agendas that can fuel academic research and the establishment of connections to the past has been a part of the Afroperuvian music-making realm since the time of the revival in the 1950s. Durand's creation of the group Estampas de Pancho Fierro,⁷⁴ which started as a site for the rescue of forgotten and nearly forgotten coastal genres, resulted not only in the revival of a number Afroperuvian traditions but in the conceptualization of these as at least partially independent from *criollo* traditions. However, this project could not be achieved through the means of academic research alone. Tompkins, Romero and Feldman have all pointed out that, in spite of the emphasis on collecting and consolidating knowledge from primary sources, there were a number of lacunae that were filled

⁷⁴ [Scenes of Pancho Fierro]

in by many of the professional musicians that collaborated with Durand. Consequently, many of the present day styles of accompanying or arranging Afroperuvian genres that later on would be disseminated by folklore academies and the mass media as traditional can be traced to innovations introduced by individuals that participated in these collaborations. At the time, the fact that ethnographically informed (by virtue of having culture bearers among the participants) academic research was the motivating factor behind these musical reconstruction downplayed, if not outright masked, the creative and, more to the point, interpretive aspects of such endeavors.

The legitimizing power of academic research extended beyond the early Durand projects. Pancho Fierro, also became the place where individuals like Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Caitro Soto, and Abelardo Vásquez became acquainted with the process of research and reconstruction, a skill that they continued to use and develop as they became members of other Afroperuvian music and dance troupes. These groups took a different direction than Durand and Pancho Fierro. In many cases, the introduction of new musical material and performing techniques went beyond those instances in which there were gaps of available information. Some of these groups began to re-Africanize Afroperuvian traditions by borrowing elements from other places in Latin America where they felt local music exhibited a more explicit connection to the African continent, most notably among them Cuba and Brazil. In this manner, the supposed objectivity or neutrality that is often assumed to be the hallmark of academic research simultaneously masked and legitimized interpretive acts, thus

contributing to the naturalization of certain versions of the Afroperuvian musical past.

Figures like Durand came to criticize these performers for using their role as culture bearers to promote inaccurate representations of the past in order to support personal political agendas. This criticism suggests that people like Durand drew a line between constructions that were deemed historically plausible and those that, from their perspective, were considered to be little more than outright inventions. The distinction is by no means new or unique to the situation at hand. Similar arguments have been used in a variety of contexts to discern between history and legend, fact and fiction, objectivity and subjectivity. In the case of Durand and those others who have criticized the constructions of figures from the latter part of the Afroperuvian revival movement, it can be argued that one of the intents behind such criticism was to legitimize one mode of knowing over another. From the perspective of someone who is supposed to be a scholar and not a performer, academic research was conceived as an objective form of knowledge that is ultimately more authentic than the promotion of myth, however powerful and important others may deem the latter. Yet, the rather marked overlap between researchers and performers also allowed the power of academic research as an agent of legitimization to be within the grasp of those who were the target of these criticisms.

Nicomedes Santa Cruz's own extensive publications regarding the history and origins of Afroperuvian musical traditions, often drawing on many of the same bibliographical sources as those of Durand, went a long way to transform

myth into fact. A good example of this is Santa Cruz's suggestion that the Afroperuvian *landó* is directly connected to Angola via the Brazilian *lundú*. Tompkins, Romero have all pointed out that this assertion is more based on etymological similarities than on the availability of extensive empirical evidence. Nevertheless, its continued citation over the several decades by performers, researchers and audiences in a variety of oral and written contexts have transformed something that could be plausible into an incontrovertible fact. Some individuals can even provide skeptics with bibliographical citations of pieces written by Santa Cruz and a number of other journalists, researchers and musicians who draw extensively on Santa Cruz and his writings as a means of countering the criticism that such connections were merely invented. Ironically, in the later years of his life, Santa Cruz would rescind his position in relation to these types of extrapolations. As Feldman observes:

Like Dr. Frankenstein, Nicomedes had given life to Black folklore, and he could not control its manipulation by Black Peruvian artists, the culture industry, the military government, or the upper class Limeños and tourists who formed its audience (Feldman 2001, 244).

Views like those of Durand advocate a standard of research and dissemination of knowledge that others appear to have crossed, or distorted. Yet Santa Cruz's ability to reach a similar level of legitimacy by using more or less the same types of strategies as those of Durand should bring into question whether the views of the latter are any less constructed and influenced by political agendas of their own.

SUBJECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF OBJECTIVITY

Having said all this, it becomes apparent that the perception of academic research as the objective pursuit of knowledge is large a political construction aimed at legitimizing those voices that are able to familiarize themselves with its language. By extension, this also means that the persona of the researcher is also constructed with such intentions in mind. This is particularly the case for figures like Santa Cruz, Durand and many of the other individuals who over the second part of the twentieth century straddled the divide between those who write and those who are the subject of these writings. The more recent entry of ethnomusicologists as actors in the Afroperuvian music-making realm has contributed to the further affirmation of the idea of research as being objectively neutral. This has been largely aided by the fact that ethnomusicologists and other academic researchers (e.g. historians, anthropologists—both foreign and Peruvian) are generally perceived by musicians as outsiders to varying degrees.⁷⁵

In some ways, the ascription is quite correct. For example, all five of us ethnomusicologists who have researched Afroperuvian music, Rosa Elena Vásquez, William Tompkins, Raúl Romero, Heidi Feldman and myself, are perceived as outsiders for a variety of reasons. All of us came to the topic in the aftermath of the Afroperuvian revival, so it is often assumed that we have a relative degree of distance from the various feuds and controversies of the time. Vásquez and Tompkins did conduct their research at a time when figures like

⁷⁵ How much of an outsider and what type of an outsider often depends on a given ethnomusicologist's background, the time and location of their research, their research methodology and the types of relationship that he or she has developed with certain individuals.

Nicomedes Santa Cruz and Pepe Durand were still actively engaged with the topic. Nevertheless, both of these ethnomusicologists' chosen areas of emphasis did not deal extensively with the constructions of the Afroperuvian past by professional performers, something that gave them a relative degree of isolation from many of the debates and controversies regarding the accuracy of representation in the professional stage.⁷⁶ We all have also been formally trained, partially or completely, as ethnomusicologists in academic institutions located outside of Peru, and hold degrees to that effect.⁷⁷ Furthermore, in spite of the relationships that we have all developed in the process of our research, none of us can claim to have been a part of the Afroperuvian music-making environment. Unlike Durand, the Santa Cruz siblings or a number of other performers and researchers, we did not grow up in families of musicians (Afroperuvian, or *criollo* for that matter) nor learned about this type of music as a first hand experience. In this sense, it can be argued that academic researchers are perceived as generally being interested in the "pure" pursuit of knowledge, as individuals whose authority is drawn, as Horkheimer and Adorno would say, from being able to "purchase the increase in their power with estrangement from that over which it is exerted" (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 6).

⁷⁶ Vásquez focused on musical practices in El Carmen, a small town in the primarily rural area of Chíncha, south of Lima. Tompkins addressed primarily Afroperuvian musical practices of the past and their survivals into the present, but generally avoided discussion of how these fragments were transformed by some of the performers since the Afroperuvian revival movement.

⁷⁷ Vásquez was trained at La Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú in Lima and at the Instituto Internacional de Etnomusicología y Folklore (INIDEF) in Venezuela, Tompkins and Feldman in the University of California, Los Angeles, myself at the University of Texas at Austin, and Romero at La Universidad Católica, INIDEF and Harvard University.

In this light, many musicians generally welcome the presence of ethnomusicologists within the music making environment since our perceived attention to detail and eagerness to “get things right,” has the potential to bring to light other forgotten aspects of Afroperuvian musical tradition that can then be reincorporated into contemporary musical practice. Furthermore, there are also those who hope that a more objective evaluation of Afroperuvian music will eventually result in the dissolution of myths that certain local performers and researchers continue to maintain in order to promote themselves as authorities. Clearly, this is not an indication that Afroperuvian musicians have a naïve or overly simplified view of the role of the ethnomusicologist as an impossibly impartial figure. While it is true that most musicians may not be familiar with the Frankfurt School’s critiques of Enlightenment, the relationship that these individuals seek to establish with academia, points not so much to a blind belief in the “truth” that can be uncovered in the process of such endeavors as much as to the mythmaking power of such narratives. That is to say, there is an awareness that, beyond the collecting of factual information and their subsequent presentation in print, academic narratives can construct certain version of the truth that are more difficult to contest, largely because of its reliance on factual knowledge, its apparent distance from its subject, and the assumption that because academic endeavors are in the business of dispelling myths, that they cannot be a mythical construction of their own.

Ascribing academic researchers a certain degree of impartiality is usually an authoritative strategy that is projected outwardly, usually in retrospect and at

the point when the researcher has managed to put something in print. Within the context of the interactions between researchers and musicians in the field, the latter are very much aware of the agency that they can have as culture bearers (i.e. primary sources) to influence the former. That agency also hinges on the supposed objectivity that is imparted to the academic researcher. In this context, it allows those who are “in the know” to attribute and dismiss the actions of someone like myself as being the result of ignorance or misunderstanding. Several times during my research, for example, musicians of older generations would gently reprimand me for not coming to them first rather than spending so much of my time with younger performers. From their perspective, they were the keepers of tradition while younger musicians, either out of ignorance or lack of respect for the as elders, were engaged in musical practices that they generally saw as suspect for one reason or another.

Obviously, neither researchers nor musicians simply abandon their own views and opinions regarding a particular aspect of Afroperuvian music making. This is rather an ongoing process of negotiation that ultimately informs both groups of individuals but does not necessarily dissipate the possibility of potential conflicts of interest. All ethnomusicologist who have done research on Afroperuvian music over the last three decades can attest as to the challenges of researching the specifics of post-revival period without deconstructing the mythologies that have given many musicians and other researchers, for that matter, so much authority as experts on Afroperuvian musical matters. In many ways, the aforementioned “reflexive turn” in anthropology, that has also

influenced ethnomusicologists, has made it possible to integrate such oral histories and mythologies as part of our ethnography rather than something that needs to be disclaimed or dismissed. Nevertheless, the overlap that exists between musicians and researchers has politicized this activity and made it more difficult for ethnomusicologist to adopt a comfortable and neutral ethnographic gaze.

Conversely, for as much as interactions and collaborations with academic researchers are often welcome, in certain contexts, musicians are aware of the possibility of conflicts of interest and how these can undermine their authority locally. Probably the most extreme case of this sort is the now legendary episode of the foreign researcher who was admonished by a group of prominent musicians to stop inquiring as to the validity of their claims regarding the Afroperuvian past or they would be forced to denounce the researcher to the Peruvian government as an agent of the CIA.⁷⁸ Clearly this is and extreme case and not a common occurrence. Yet, it is worth mentioning because it clearly points to the deference that musicians pay to their own interests over those who over the years have come to represent them in their writings. This prioritization, which also takes place in a variety of less extreme contexts in which musicians interact with researchers, is not merely prompted out of self-interest, but rather out of the musician's awareness of academic researchers earn their own authority. Given the ethnographic nature of our research, the process of gathering information directly

⁷⁸ This incident is well know among a number of musicians and researchers although it is seldom mentioned openly out of concern damaging the reputation of those involved. After talking to some of the individuals involved in this incident, it was agreed that it was necessary to mention such an encounter in this dissertation but to still protect the anonymity of those involved, therefore no names have been mentioned.

and indirectly from individuals that we define as important voices within their community allows them to envision their own perspective as being ultimately more important. In this regard, Lucho Sandoval once observed that being friends with both researchers and performers at times placed him in the awkward position of having to reconcile differing opinions regarding a particular aspect of Afroperuvian performance practice. When such circumstances arose, he would generally defer to the latter since he felt that professional musicians were the ones who lived Afroperuvian music while researchers learned what they know by observing and analyzing what someone else did.

The close relationship that musicians have with academic research and researchers has also allowed them, on occasion to assert their authority outside of the field research context. While in the context of the field setting the construction of the researcher as an outsider allows him or her a certain degree of agency with which to move about that space, it is generally assumed by academic researchers that the same is not the case in those situations in which the tables are turned—i.e. when musicians have the opportunity to engage with researchers in an academic setting. In these cases, the degree to which musicians are perceived to be able to move through the academic space is often limited by the assumption that, in this context, they are passive figures about whom academic discourse is about, but not necessarily with whom it is actively engaged. Afroperuvian musicians however, have been able to assume a more active role and at times even assert their own voice as equal to that of those people who in these other contexts are prioritized as experts. Guitarist Félix Casaverde, for example, tells of

an experience that he had with a noted Peruvian anthropologist. Casaverde, along with a number of other individuals were invited to a radio talk show to speak about Afroperuvian music and culture. Throughout the program, the anthropologist in question, who was also an invited guest, continued to use the old and somewhat politically charged label “música negroide”⁷⁹ to refer to Afroperuvian music. This offended Casaverde since he felt that an anthropologist should know better than to use such an outdated term, so he decided to point this out while on the air. Rather than apologizing, the anthropologist tried to resort to his authority to argue that words and categories in it of themselves were neutral, unless someone (in this case Casaverde by implication) chose to interpret them in a negative light. As the anthropologist saw it, there was no intentional bias in his usage of the term, so he saw no need to refrain from doing so. Given this response and holding him to his own rhetorical constraints, Casaverde asked the anthropologist to then use the term “blancoide” when referring to *criollo* traditions, which the latter did in order to not lose face in front of the listening audience (Casaverde 2000).

⁷⁹ A relatively adequate translation would be “negroid” or “blackish” music, although such an adjective does not have the same connotation as it once did in the United States. Similar to the way in which people have adopted the use of the term “Asian” instead of “Oriental” in the United States, people’s awareness of the potential negative meaning of the word “negroide” has led to the adoption of the more neutral term: “música negra [black music].” While some people may occasionally still use the term “música negroide,” most often it is assumed that the person is unaware of the change in terminology rather than assume any sort of racial bias. In those instances, it is assumed that people will refrain from its use at a later time if they are made aware of the negative connotations associated with the term.

MONOPOLIES ON HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

The above discussion suggests that belonging to certain genealogies of musical families, gaining recognition official institutions that broker the sense of authenticity and folklore in Peru or from academia, and becoming involved more directly academic research have an impact on the status of a particular musician. In all of those cases, that status has been directly associated with the acquisition and possession of specialized musical knowledge. This however, does not mean that all professional musicians have the kind of access to this specialized knowledge. There is a hierarchy amongst musicians based not only on the degree to which they are able to successfully deploy the above mentioned strategies but also on how these strategies are further reinforced by the monopolization of some forms of specialized knowledge. Some of the symbolic power of these monopolies resides in the access to and dominion of texts, material objects that can tangibly signify the vastness of knowledge that certain individuals can collect.

As with the other strategies, the precedent was set by some of the figures of the Afroperuvian revival. Both Durand and Santa Cruz amassed extensive libraries that featured not only historically valuable documents, but also the writings of well know musicologists, ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, linguists and other scholars, writings that reinforced their authority as experts on the musical past.⁸⁰ Also, as Raúl Romero points out in relation to the Santa Cruzes, having ready access to this type of materials while others did not became

⁸⁰ Both the Durand and Santa Cruz libraries have been incorporated into large research institutions outside of Peru, the former in Notre Dame University in Illinois and the latter up to recently at the Casa de América in Madrid, Spain (the collection was scheduled to be moved in December 2000 to another library in Madrid but the new location has not been announced).

a way of maintaining a degree of control over the development of musical performances of subsequent generations:

The Santa Cruz movement was indeed not a popular and/or democratic movement. Its leadership was based on vertical authority, which imposed a strict discipline among its musicians and dancers. The leaders knew the philosophy of the movement, but did not share it with their staff, who remained only as interpreters and performers. The young members followed learned the formal aspects of the music and choreographies, but were not introduced to the philosophical and historical knowledge of their leaders (Romero 1984, 324).

Much like the act of research, acquiring knowledge by collecting print materials has become another important counter strategy for musicians, who for one reason or another, have felt excluded from the upper echelons of these long-standing hierarchies. In this regard, Tompkins' unpublished dissertation, an excellent assessment of Afroperuvian colonial musical traditions and their survival into the twentieth century, has become one of the most sought-after monographs within the Afroperuvian musical community. Although some musicians do not read much English, there is always a friend or a relative who is willing to translate relevant portions of the monograph. Consequently, photocopies of the dissertation are closely guarded and seldom loaned out by their owners due to the concern that they will not be returned. Tompkins' dissertation is also considered invaluable because of its extensive appendices of transcriptions documenting songs and genres that are no longer performed. For example, there are a number of guitarists who have come to learn how to play the *amor fino*, a genre that was popular in Lima around the turn of the nineteenth century, from the transcriptions that Tompkins provides in one of the appendices to his dissertation. In some cases, this route has proven most effective given that knowledge of the

amor fino among most performers is generally limited. Furthermore, there are those who feel that some of the performers who do know how to play this genre are reluctant to teach it to others since the over proliferation of that knowledge would undermine their privileged role as culture bearers. Tompkins' transcriptions then have become a welcome alternative source for those who have not gained access to that knowledge through other performers.

Similarly, Susana Baca has been able to update and introduce a number of new songs into the contemporary repertoire based on knowledge that she has obtained by consulting similar sources. Perhaps her album *Del fuego y del agua* (1992), makes the best case in point. The song *Tonada del Congo* for example, is based on melody and lyrics transcribed by Bishop Juan Baltazar Martínez de Compañón y Bujanda (1735-1797), which were reproduced in an earlier publication by musicologist Robert Stevenson (1960). The version presented in the album was a reinterpretation by Baca and her then arranger Félix Vílchez in the form of a *festejo*, one of the contemporary Afroperuvian genres, since little is known about the stylistic character of the original eighteenth century *tonada*.⁸¹ In this album, Baca also records her own arrangements of traditional songs from both the area of Zaña (in the northern coast) and Chincha (in the southern coast) that were compiled by other researchers such Tompkins, Rosa Elena Vásquez, Rosa Alarco, Luis Rocca, and Baca herself. She also presents extended versions of traditional songs such as *Toro Mata* or *Samba Malató* in which the textual and

⁸¹ *Tonadas* appears to have been songs used to accompany popular dances during the colonial period. As it is evidenced from the large number of *tonadas* transcribed by Martínez de Compañón, these include European, Indigenous and African elements thus not necessarily making a *tonada* as exclusively Afroperuvian as its recent reinterpretation.

melodic additions were obtained from some of the aforementioned sources as well as by interviewing individuals who still remembered alternate versions to those recorded and disseminated by professional groups in Lima.

Much of these activities have been inspired by the activities of musicologists, ethnomusicologists and folklorists who have been engaged in similar activities as a means of furthering their own pursuits of knowledge. However, the collection of materials has not only been used by musicians to gain access to little known repertoire and thus reinforce the connection to a past that others may have forgotten. Among Afroperuvian and *criollo* musical circles, the act of collecting, and to a degree hoarding musical material, has also been inspired by the activities of local amateur collectors. Local “folklorists,” as they are often identified, are individuals whose own status in musical circles is dependent on their ability to establish close associations with professional musicians. These types of relationships can be traced back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a time when members of the upper classes would often gain entrance into the working class performative spaces by providing certain services for the other members in these communities. As Manuel Acosta Ojeda describes (Acosta Ojeda 1996), these were patronage relationships where the *señoritos*⁸² would usually “crash” working class gatherings as a means of rebelling against social class conventions of the times, as well as to increase one’s status as an individual who was loved and accepted by “the masses.” In exchange, *señoritos* would often finance local gatherings by buying food and

⁸² a masculinization of the term *señorita*, meaning young lady, a means of denoting these individual’s pampered, high social status and to a certain degree naïveté that comes with being an outsider.

drink for the musicians and at times even renting out or providing the spaces where such gathering could take place.

In the second half of the twentieth century, these relationships began to adapt themselves to new social situations. Most notably among them the emergence of a middle and upper middle class that became interested in reconnecting with local working class roots. Although the idea of patronage did not disappear, the professionalization of many musicians, and the emergence of other spaces where musical gatherings could take place, made it necessary for many of those who wanted to be associated with local musicians, many of them now acknowledged as culture bearers and/or recording artists, to develop new strategies of their own. As with musicians themselves, many of these individuals began to collect and document the oral histories, experiences and repertoires of older generations of performers as a means of saving them for future generations. In the process, they became desirable figures with which musicians wanted to associate themselves given that they became keepers of some of the types of materials that they also sought. In many instances, these figures have fulfilled an important role in the community, helping disseminate knowledge about genres and repertoires that otherwise might be forgotten. It can be argued, in fact that both José Durand and the Santa Cruz siblings partly operated in this capacity in decades past. Today, largely within the context of private and semi-private musical gatherings, many of these collectors continue to introduce and educate younger generations of music aficionados, and in some cases musicians, to songs and performance techniques of earlier times through demonstrations and the

telling of anecdotes. At the same time however, it has become apparent to some of these individuals that their own status within the musical community hinges on their possession of certain information that other do not. Consequently, there is a great deal of concern as to how much of this information can actually be shared or divulged without undermining one's authority as an expert.

In some cases, this has become a point of contention with some musicians. During my research, several individuals expressed their distaste of the politics of one particular collector who was known for buying his way (through patronage) to family gatherings and other events, recording the performances at these events and then keeping them under lock and key, seldom sharing them with anyone. Nevertheless, because others knew of the large holdings of this particular collector and there was always the hope that he may eventually share these materials, he continued to be invited to local gatherings and events. In this manner, collectors have also been able to assert their own authorities as experts, and as individuals who can declare that they are part of those "in the know," not only because of the materials that they possess, but because they have entrance into that performative space that lies beyond the professional stage and to which many others cannot access.

This can open up the possibility for some tension to exist between collectors and musicians, tensions that are usually further complicated by the presence of ethnomusicologists and other academic researchers. In some instances, the collecting practices of these individuals that identify themselves as folklorists have made many musicians weary of sharing their knowledge with

anyone holding a tape recorder. Some musicians have had fairly negative experiences with people who recorded material from them and then promoted it as their own, without any accreditation to the original source. In fact, in more than one occasion I was advised by musicians not to ask to record interviews or demonstrations unless individuals expressly asked for it, or until such time when they felt satisfied as to my research intentions. In a way, my own research activities as well as that of other ethnomusicologists has come to affect the power dynamic between musicians and collectors. Because of ethical considerations, the potential confusion with a collector, and concerns over contributing to the monopolization of knowledge in the musical community many of us are willing to share our materials with those who provide it for us in the first place. Although this practice is welcome by many musicians, at times it is found problematic by some collectors, since therein lies the potential for undermining the power of their own collections.

At the same time however, collectors also see advantages at being associated with academic researchers since the latter are likely to site them as important sources in their own work, thus legitimizing their authority as local experts. Several times during my research, for example, collectors approached me offering what they described as treasure troves of recordings and print materials with which I could write my entire dissertation, provided that I would give them any material I possessed, cite them as the primary source for all the material used in my dissertation, introduce them to musicians who they had unsuccessfully tried to record, and/or pay them large sums of money in order to

gain access to their collections. Fortunately, given my emphasis on contemporary musical practice, rather than the repertoire of past decades or centuries, it was relatively easy for me to politely decline such offers on the grounds that their holdings were not entirely relevant to my research interests. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these individuals cannot be reduced to mere brokers of knowledge who take advantage of musicians. In fact, it can be argued that musicians and academic researchers, including ethnomusicologists are engaged in some form of knowledge brokering of their own, all designed to increase a particular group's authority when it comes to Afroperuvian musical matters. At first glance, the greatest difference between collectors and other groups appears to be in regards to the issue of credit and ownership. However, these differences are more generally tied to perceptions of who should be credited for what type of knowledge rather than outright attempts at deception.

In many cases, collectors feel that they should be credited for their efforts in gathering and compiling information that otherwise would have been lost. Since in many cases they make little or no distinction between primary sources—what they themselves know as part of their experience—and secondary sources—what they have gathered from other individuals or from printed material some collectors feel that they have been plagiarized by academic researchers. The problem usually stems from the fact that when a collector introduces someone to his or her materials, that the academic researcher will reference the materials themselves in his or her writing. Yet, collectors feel that the years, if not decades, that they have spent gathering information constitutes a form of research and

ownership, and are often surprised when the ideas that they have acquired and which they feel to be legitimately theirs are echoed in someone else's work without mention of their name. In some ways, collectors view their relationships to the type of knowledge they possess as being similar to that that musicians have to material that is considered to be a part of the traditional repertoire. That is to say, some collectors, because of their preservation efforts see themselves as a type of culture bearer and as such they should be credited as a primary source much like some musicians are credited as being the owners of certain parts of the traditional repertoire because they happen to be the ones responsible for their endurance into the present.⁸³

BUILDING ON THE SURVIVING REPERTOIRE

All of the aforementioned strategies to earn a more effective and authoritative voice with which to reconnect contemporary Afroperuvian musical practice to a cultural heritage from centuries past have come to bear on the stylistic development of Afroperuvian music over the last fifty years. In the wake of the initial revival of Afroperuvian music and dance and informed by discourses that sought to separate authentic from stylized, traditional from commercial or commodified, the emerging repertoire underwent a process of formalization and standardization. The emphasis that has been placed on authenticity, combined with the institutionalization of Afroperuvian music have come to influence how

⁸³ This idea of song ownership has changed in the last few decades, particularly as the issue of ownership has become intertwined with that of composer credit and royalties, something that will be discussed further in the next chapter. However, at this point it is fair to say that from the perspective of many collectors and audience members that certain traditional songs are and should be attributed to particular individuals.

professional musicians describe the act of music making. Ethnomusicologist Chalena Vásquez suggest that by the 1970s, many professional musicians in Lima conceived of the repertoire in terms of clearly defined genre categories that in were often more specific than those found in the historical record or those that remained extant in rural areas outside of the Limeño professional stage (Vásquez 1982, 42-43). In Lima, this formalization of musical practices has been an effective way of legitimizing a connection between the reinvented genres to the nearly forgotten Afroperuvian past. The establishment and maintenance of these musical genealogies rests on the naturalization of recently constructed narratives by relating information from the historical record to contemporary musical practice in such a way that each validates the other. In this sense, performing a repertoire that references experiences that form a part Afroperuvian collective memory can be an effective means of bring attention to a history that up until recently has been largely ignored. At the same time, basing revived genres on historical information legitimizes this music by making it part of the same history that it validates, something markedly more powerful than asserting that contemporary Afroperuvian music is merely the result of musicians having had to invent something that had been irretrievably lost.

Raúl Romero points out that the initial process of reconstruction yielded “nearly fifteen different types musical forms considered as the Afro-Peruvian repertoire.” Different genres however, underwent different degrees of transformation. The result was the emergence of a set of traditions that included both little known and specialized genres as well as fairly elaborated and

diversified song and dance complexes. The former were mainly based on surviving fragments from various parts of the Peruvian coast, many of which, although still practiced, were tied fairly specifically to specific performance contexts or cultural localities. The genre known as the *panalivio* for example, consists of a single two bar violin accompaniment constantly repeated to accompany dancing during the Hatajo de Negritos, a parade performed around Christmas time in the town of El Carmen, in Ica. Although in recent years a few groups of performers have recorded the *panalivio*, it has largely remained a single song genre. This is likely because many of the elements that give the genre its character and allow for interpretation and variation are found within the context of the aforementioned celebration rather than in the musical structure or in choreography than can be reinterpreted on the professional stage.

Similar assessments can be made in regards to genres like the *danza-canción*, *habanera*, and the *lamento*, whose limited repertoires and knowledge regarding their original performing style may have presented an obstacle in defining their specific musical characteristics. In other cases, the association of certain genres with other cultural groups, particularly those of *mestizo* and indigenous extraction, contributed to their remaining at the periphery of the reconstructed Afroperuvian musical landscape. This appears to be particularly the case with the *yunza*, a genre of music used to accompany a popular Carnival dance by the same name that is practiced throughout the Peruvian coast and the highlands. In addition to the *yunza* being widely practiced outside of Afroperuvian communities, the fact that the accompanying music varies widely

from one region or community to another—often resembling Andean genres such as the *huayno*—suggests that the version found in the Afroperuvian community of El Carmen (Tompkins 1981, 349-59), may be a local interpretation of a tradition that is not Afroperuvian in origin.

In contrast to the above, the core of Afroperuvian contemporary musical practice is centered on two major families or complexes of music and dance genres that are widely practiced and diversified. These genres feature a larger base of surviving musical material, more individuals with knowledge regarding their practices, compatibility with other genres thought to be related to them, and/or more information in the historical record that could aid in the reconstruction effort. In the case of the *marinera* for example, its continued practice both in professional and secular settings, the existence of regional variants and sub-styles, and its association with musical practices outside of the Afroperuvian community remained largely unchanged. In fact, during the 1970s, thanks to the visibility imparted onto brothers Augusto and Elías Ascuez by José Durand and a number of prominent *criollo* performers, the Limeño style of playing the *marinera*, also known as the *canto de jarana*, became largely associated with Afroperuvian culture bearers like the Ascuez and the influence that they had in the development of this regional variant. This also re-popularized the *marinera limeña* as a practice centered on competitive song rather than a stylistic accompaniment to be used for composed music as it became popular in the 1950s and 1960s with *criollo* composers like Alicia Maguiña. Instead, the idea of the *marinera* as a social practice was re-emphasized in certain music

circles and in many cases presented the template for later traditionalist turns away from “the commercial” such as those of the aforementioned *Peña de la Marinera*. Stylistically speaking, the *canto de jarana* changed little throughout the twentieth century. The Ascuez themselves, did not pursue a stylistic transformation during their long careers as it is evidence by the remarkable similarity between the *marineras* that they recorded in the 1970s in collaboration with Carlos Hayre, Aberaldo Vásquez (Various Artists 1994) and their early phonograph recordings dating back from the 1920s (Saenz and Ascuez, n.d). Furthermore, it appears that this consistency in performance set the standard for what an authentic *marinera* was (as opposed to those from other regions or their more “commercial” local renditions by subsequent generations of performers), something that is particularly evident by the style of playing the *marinera* that continues to be promoted by Carlos Hayre, the Vásquez family, and José Durand’s nephew Guillermo Durand, among others.

The association of the *marinera limeña’s* authenticity with Afroperuvian performers was also largely informed by the writings of Nicomedes Santa Cruz. Among his many publications, Santa Cruz wrote a book on the *décima*, a poetic competitive genre, in which he makes a strong case for the historical and cultural connection that the *décima* has to the Afroperuvian community (N. Santa Cruz 1983). This further reaffirmed the notion that many coastal genres based on the idea of performative competition such as the *zapateo*,⁸⁴ the *cumanana*, the *amor fino*, and *canto de jarana*⁸⁵ (Tompkins 1981, 157-223) were all the result of

⁸⁴ a form of Afroperuvian tap dance.

⁸⁵ these are three different genres based on the competitive improvisation of lyrics and melody.

Afroperuvian influences on coastal culture and thus, their most “authentic” renditions remained at the hands those Afroperuvian performers that could be identified as culture bearers. Other writings of Santa Cruz also contributed to establish continuity between the *marinera* and reinvented progenitors like the *zamacueca* and the *landó*, thus suggesting that contemporary musical practice was the most recent incarnation of a family of Afroperuvian genres whose ancestry could be traced directly to Africa. At the same time however, there was little musical material involving these precursors of the *marinera* so that their reintroduction was largely an interpretive act rooted in the present. As it will be discussed in chapter 4, musicians of the revival period used the *marinera* and another related genre, the *tondero*, as starting points from which to stylistically “de-evolve” the genre into what was perceived as its older and, therefore more African predecessors.

In the case of the *festejo* some of its related forms, the starting point for their reconstruction was the consolidation of song fragments collected from Lima and rural areas in the northern and southern coast (Feldman 2001, 192-210; Tompkins 1981, 239-287). According to Tompkins, it appears that, at least in Lima, the *festejo* was not as popular among Afroperuvian musicians as other genres such as the *marinera*, or even the *criollo valse*s. Nevertheless, a number of surviving song fragments re-emerged during the 1950s in the form of what then was identified as *festejos*. Some of these fragments were preserved by musicians in Lima who had learned them from elderly relatives but did not necessarily perform them in public settings. Others were collected from rural areas in the

Peruvian coast by some of the performers involved in the Afroperuvian revival movement. The recurring references to slavery in these fragments appear to date many of them at least as early as the nineteenth century. Yet, the lack of information in regards to this genre in the historical record suggests to Tompkins that the label *festejo* was adopted more recently, perhaps no earlier than the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Guillermo Durand, nephew of the aforementioned José Durand, supports this assertion. Based on his conversations with Augusto Ascuez about the musical life of Afroperuvians in early twentieth century Lima, Durand suggests that the term was a generic label that was applied to any type of song that was either festive in character or that was generally performed during a festive event (Durand 2000). This association of a certain repertoire with festive occasions led to the conceptualization of the *festejo* as a genre that is the musical embodiment of the expression of joy of the Afroperuvian community.

The development and standardization of the *festejo* in the second part of the twentieth century bears close examination. Over the decades the genre transitioned from a loose collection of songs used for festive occasions, to a clearly defined genre with specific accompaniment patterns, instrumentation, and chord progressions, to a commercial dance form aimed at a youth market in an attempt to recapture interest on local forms of musical expression. This arch closely parallels what many musicians identify as the increased commodification of Afroperuvian music as a result of its recontextualization as a specialized activity reserved for professional musicians. To this end, chapter 3 will explore

the connection between the process of reconstruction and the professionalization of the Afroperuvian musician within a new space largely defined by the mass media and the recording industry and how these relationships can best be exemplified by the transformation of the *festejo*.

Chapter 3: Tradition and Mass Culture

It is precisely because the language of critical social science is implicated in the language of cultural commodification that we need to be aware of how analogies are drawn, how similarities and differences are conceptualized, and to do that we need to keep watching.

—PENELOPE HARVEY

**PEÑA DON PORFIRIO. BARRANCO, LIMA. SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1996,
1:45AM.**

Juan Medrano Cotito, Hugo Bravo, and I arrived at Abelardo Vásquez's *Peña Don Porfirio* around the time when the doors of the locale were closing to the general public. While *Don Porfirio* catered to a general clientele earlier in the evenings, after hours it was also the favorite gathering place for many professional Afroperuvian musicians. Sometime between one and two o'clock in the morning, Abelardo Vásquez would signal someone to close the doors to the public. Inside, most paying customers would be gently encouraged start heading home. After all, this was the time when most nightclubs in Barranco would begin to close. As this happened, musicians and dancers who finished their last set at one of the nearby nightclubs would make their way to *Don Porfirio* for a late night dinner, to catch up with friends, and to play some music. This night, Juan, Hugo and I had walked over from *La Estación*, after they had finished playing with a local Cuban *son* band.

Once inside, we retreated to the small room that served as Abelardo Vásquez's den to socialize with a number of other musicians. Among there was

Aldo Borjas, professional dancer and *cajón* player and then dancing partner of Lalo Izquierdo, Juan Carlos “Juanchi” Vásquez, son of Abelardo and percussionist for *criollo* singer Cecilia Barraza, and a percussionist for *criollo* singer Cecilia Bracamonte. The topic of conversation was the difficulties that professional musicians faced in Lima. They all pointed towards how uncomfortable it could be for them when they had to compete against friends and relatives for jobs. Nevertheless, they were all in agreement that there were many positive aspects to being in a small and tightly knit community. One of the percussionists present remarked that if the situation for musicians was so great in places like the United States, then why is it that so many of them would eventually return Lima. Although some agreed that there might be better opportunities in other places, the situation was also far more impersonal. As another musician pointed out, even though they themselves complained that Peruvian musicians sometimes were too informal on the professional stage (i.e. joking around, forgetting the order of songs in a set, etc.), that they did not necessarily like the idea of being forced into assuming a more professional demeanor out of fear of being fired and replaced someone else.

Over the next hour they proceeded to trade a variety of stories about playing professionally. It was clear that from the way in which all of these musicians interacted that there was a close feeling of community among them, even though they did not necessarily see each other on a regular basis. Some shared their experiences on how it was to work for one well-known singer or another. One would never rehearse but simply pick songs on stage as the mood

struck her. Another would insist on meticulous arrangements, complete with sheet music for each performer in the group, even the percussionists. Almost everyone present had an anecdote or two regarding mishaps and close calls on the stage. One musician remembered, the time the band he was playing with missed a couple of breaks and almost “ran over” the lead singer. Three others, in between bursts of boisterous laughter, collectively told the story of how another of the musicians present, after dancing a flawless and zapateo routine, tripped on a microphone cable as he walked off the stage. In response to this teasing, the individual in question reminded one of his friendly antagonists about the incident in which the latter’s shoe came off his foot and nearly hit one of the guitarists in the middle of the a dance routine. Fortunately in that instance, as in many of the others told that night, musicians were quick to point out that they all took great care on preventing such occurrences from becoming habitual. In the cases in which a mishap or close call was inevitable, they pointed to their ability to recover from such situations by giving audiences the impression that what had happened was intentional rather than accidental, another manifestation of the mischievous and playful character that many Limeños associate with members of the Afroperuvian community.

After chatting for approximately an hour, we were all drawn to the main room in *Don Porfirio* by the sound of a roaring crowd and music. While we had been deep in conversation, more musicians and dancers were arriving and soon they were all taking turns performing. Some of the paying patrons had stayed behind, most notably a large table of individuals whose leader proudly sat next to

Abelardo Vásquez and generously bought rounds of drinks for all present. Hugo and I followed Juan to an open table and began to mingle with some of the other people present. We casually struck conversation with those around us, often times Juan and Hugo being kind enough to introduce me to those I did not know and explain what was my connection to all these other musicians with whom I had arrived from the other room. All this time, the music making was taking place on the background, as people kept on moving around and greeting each other. At one point however, everyone's attention was diverted to the center of room where a troupe of young Afroperuvian dancers were getting ready to perform an *alcatraz*. I was somewhat surprised by this since this is one of those dances performed for the benefit of paying audiences on the professional stage. It was not generally performed spontaneously as a form of entertainment outside of this context, like dancing a *marinera* or singing a *vals*. Juan explained that these dancers wanted to show Abelardo Vásquez and the other musicians present what they could do. Although the atmosphere was quite casual and friendly, it did become clear that this was a tacit way in which this younger musicians sought the acceptance and approval of more established members of the professional musician community. Beneath the festive veneer, every movement was being carefully scrutinized, even though many musicians pretended to only be casually aware of what was going at the center of the room.

I remained at *Don Porfirio* until 4:45am. At some point during the evening, Hugo and I lost track of Juan who kept moving from table to table, catching up with old friends and acquaintances. Finally, Juan managed to tear

himself away from one of his conversations long enough to return to our table and check on us. Both Hugo and I were visibly tired. Juan reminded me that I had an interview with Félix Casaverde at ten o'clock that morning and that I should probably go home since it looked like those present expected Juan to stay a while longer. I said goodbye to those I had been sitting with and proceeded to find my way home. A few days later I found out from Juan that when he left at nine o'clock in the morning, the *jarana* was still going. He was also glad that I had an opportunity to see this, as not all Friday nights at *Don Porfirio* would last until the next morning. Most often, musicians would simply go home, tired after a long evening of performing in nightclubs for very little pay and recognition.

Since early on in my research on Afroperuvian music, the activities that took place at *Don Porfirio*, before Abelardo Vásquez's passing in 2001, have been paradoxically compelling. In many ways, describing the nature of these after hour gatherings seems to reinforce certain familiar claims regarding the differences between playing music out of necessity and performing for a higher artistic purpose. Having been a jazz aficionado since my early years as an undergraduate, I could not ignore some of the parallels that could be drawn between *Don Porfirio* and places such as *Minton's* in New York, where young musicians would come together after hours to begin to elaborate a new style of jazz known as bebop. The gatherings at this locale can also be easily identified as one of those Afroperuvian performative "backspaces" discussed by Feldman (Feldman 2001, 352-354), places that, by virtue of making themselves know to

only a privileged few outsiders, are imbued in an aura of legitimacy that is generally assumed to be lacking in commercial venues and those other spaces where music is performed for *criollo* audiences and tourists. Although gatherings like those at *Don Porfirio* can be seen as a present day adaptation of the turn of the twentieth century *jarana*, most individuals conceive of these spaces as fundamentally flawed or imperfect, in the sense that they are unable to recapture the “authentic” performance context of the previous century—musicians at *Don Porfirio* are professionals, which means they likely learned their craft through formalized forms of music education in professional groups or folklore schools rather than by observing friends and relatives at family gatherings. There’s also a lack of social spontaneity as these gatherings are not organized around local community happenings like birthdays or anniversaries, but usually scheduled on a regular basis and at some level dependent on the continued patronage of a paying public. In this light, *Don Porfirio* is seen less as a space for the creation and promotion of new and relevant forms of musical expression and more as the last and somewhat imperfect bastion for the preservation of older ways of music making within the Afroperuvian and *criollo* communities.

As it might be expected, this conceptualization of music making as a defensive rather than offensive activity is largely associated with to the onset of modernity and the relationship that musicians have had to establish, both out of necessity as well as by design, with the mass media and the local recording industry. Generally speaking, musicians, music aficionados, and academics share the opinion that the Limeño mass media is most dangerous for its potential to co-

opt, homogenize, and eventually dissolve local forms of musical expression. In this regard, they share the opinion of most Marxist cultural critiques that have come to write about the relationship between cultural forms of expression such as music and the capitalist mass culture. From this perspective, mass culture is generally seen in a negative light, the debasing agent responsible for the trivialization of meaningful forms of expression. Furthermore, members of these masses are individuals who are largely anonymous and perceived as passive and powerless to resist aesthetic impositions from an equally anonymous dominant group generally identified in short hand by some variation of the label: “mass media industry.” Adorno, for example, notes on the artificiality of such impositions as follows:

What enthusiastically stunted innocence sees as the jungle is actually factory-made through and through, even when, on special occasions, spontaneity is publicized as a featured attraction...Competition on the culture market has proved the effectiveness of a number of techniques...which suggests that ‘nothing is too good for us’. These techniques are then sorted out and then kaleidoscopically mixed into ever-new combinations...Standardization, moreover, means the strengthening of the lasting domination of the listening public and of their conditioned reflexes (Adorno 1995, 124).

Although less dismissive of mass culture than Adorno, Walter Benjamin shares similar concerns, particularly in regards to the susceptibility of the masses to external influences. To him, late capitalist processes and what he terms “the growing proletarianization of the modern man” have resulted in the creation of a new way of interfacing with art that emphasizes distraction rather than critical concentration (Benjamin 1968, 217-51). Benjamin does try to ascribe a redemptive potential to new and mass mediated art forms like film. However, he

is also quick to point out that these can also be easily used to manipulate the aforementioned masses given their lack of critical engagement.

In both cases, forms of expression associated with mass culture are placed in opposition to those that can critically engage the viewer/reader/listener, aspire to uniqueness and originality, the lack of need to conform to economic concerns and demands, and have the ability to transcend the immediacy of the local context. In short, these critiques are largely based on the differentiation between older and decisively modernist highbrow forms of cultural expression that are deemed meaningful and redemptive and lowbrow forms that are largely seen as transient and disposable. Within the context of popular music studies in Western societies, this divide between high and low has remained fairly prevalent. In fact, it can be argued that to a degree the interest that some popular music scholars have given to musics such as jazz, rock, blues, etc. have largely been informed by the desire to find those elements in these musics that would exorcize them out of their lowbrow status. Musicians themselves have had a hand in this as Rob Walser so effectively demonstrates in his discussion of how heavy metal musicians self-consciously use art music references to legitimize the relevance of their music (Walser 1993).

Ethnomusicologists and anthropologists have generally taken objection to this type of dichotomization, often using their own Marxist readings to highlight the elitist underpinnings of such models. As fields whose contemporary identity is largely based in writing against colonialism, Westerncentric perspectives, and in favor of those voices that the above have marginalized, the identification of

value in the upper echelons of society can be seen as reinforcing the very processes that these disciplines have sought to critique and deconstruct. Unfortunately, there has been a marked lack of viable alternatives. Postmodern or late capitalist paradigms that are based on the collapse of high and low are not generally satisfying for their inability to preserve concepts such as hegemony and relations of power, which, up to this point, have been crucial concerns within these fields. For example, postmodern models of mass culture and consumption, whether read as inherently oppressive or celebrated as refreshingly egalitarian, generally do away with the concepts of individuality and agency that so often inform ethnographic writing.

Consequently, when it has come to dealing with the issue of mass culture and popular music in Latin America, most anthropologists and ethnomusicologists have resorted to the displacement of the aforementioned dichotomy, rather than its wholesale abandonment. Through our ethnographic writing, social histories of musical style, and Marxist critiques of local social hierarchies we at times have come to echo and validate local views that tend to polarize mass culture not to high art but to the equally modern and unambiguous category of “culture” or “tradition.” In other words, much of the writing about Latin American popular music generally tends to place traditional forms musical expression as the “authentic” that is most often homogenized, diluted and appropriated by an anonymous mass media either as a trivial form of entertainment or as a tool of social control by the equally anonymous “dominant classes.” Clearly, part of this transposition is possible because of the perception of both high art and culture or

tradition as autonomous forms that seek to resist their trivialization and/or decontextualization by late capitalist processes. Nevertheless, these parallels are seldom acknowledged and more often accepted as a priori. One notable exception that is worth noting for the purposes of this discussion is Mexican anthropologist Néstor García Canclini (1993; 1995) whose ascription of a redemptive agency to folk and traditional artists that enables them to plug themselves in and out of modernity is largely influenced by the Frankfurt School's conceptualization of the artist and the high art that he or she creates as having a privileged vantage point from which to map out and effectively transform late capitalist totality.

For as much as the all-knowing, ever-unfaltering, persona of the traditional musician may seem like an attractive prospect in theory, it is problematic to maintain such a characterization when it comes to dealing the contemporary musician not only as a culture bearer, but as a professional whose activities are at several levels bound to the very processes that he or she supposedly transcends. Afroperuvian musicians have come to recognize this contradiction, thus often developing an ambivalence regarding their own personal relationship with the mass media. While most musicians are likely to point towards the merits of their own particular ways of dealing with challenge of performing music that is perceived to be part of the Afroperuvian tradition in a mass mediated, urban and professionalized environment, they are also quick to point how the strategies of others are likely to falter. In spite the overt subjectivity and individuality of such positions, over time different voices begin to identify particular problems and issues that shape both the types of

relationships that musicians seek to establish with the mass media and how these are enacted in performance. Before discussing the specifics of how musicians musically negotiate their identities as culture bearers and professional musicians, it is necessary to discuss the urban and social context in which these negotiations have come to take place.

STATE SUPPORT, THE MASS MEDIA AND THE TRADITIONALIST BACKLASH

In the decade that followed the initial revival projects of Durand and Santa Cruz, many emerging professional musicians received increasing exposure and dissemination largely thanks to a performance and recording musical environment that was largely subsidized by government of the time. From 1968 to 1980, the Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas,⁸⁶ first under the rule of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) and later General Francisco Morales Bermúdez (1975-1980), pursued a number of populist agendas that gave exposure to many of the emerging Afroperuvian groups. The government promoted and supported programs designed to bring attention to folk and traditional forms of expression as key to the development of a new national consciousness, among them Afroperuvian music (Lloréns 1983; Bolaños 1996; Cornejo Polar 1993). Regional and folk and traditional national competitions, which had began to become popular in the 1960s mainly thanks to the influence of figures like Arguedas and Roel y Pineda, became widely publicized, promoted and supported by the military regime. Schools, both public and private, were also mandated to

⁸⁶ [Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces]

include a variety of regional dances as part of the arts education curriculum.⁸⁷ Legislation was passed making it mandatory for radio and television stations to devote a portion of their airtime to cultural programs that included the performances of folkloric music from the various regions of the country. Similarly, there were also legislative attempts at giving musicians rights equal to those of other professional unions, such as limiting the number of hours of a work day, securing break periods and overtime pay. The government sponsored the formation of the Conjunto Nacional de Folklore under the direction of Victoria Santa Cruz and contributed to making Peru Negro into a household name by showcasing them both nationally and internationally as an example of Peruvian cultural vitality and diversity (Feldman 2001, 265-266). In many ways, both of these groups would set the stylistic standard by which all other performers would abide during the 1970s and well into the 1980s and early 1990s.

These changes resulted in an increased exposure of Afroperuvian musical traditions amongst individuals who up to that point had only been marginally aware of their existence. Many of these reforms also opened up new performance opportunities for professional musicians. Audiences' new awareness of these groups, coupled with the positive reviews that many of these received by the press, the quotas placed on the mass media, and the proliferation of live music

⁸⁷ Most Limeños of my generation will have recollection of having had to learn how to dance a *marinera*, *huayno* or *festejo* for one of the many school performances that took place in those days. It is particularly interesting to note how these three dance genres were meant to represent both the regional and cultural diversity—*criollo*, Andean and Afroperuvian, respectively—of the type of national consciousness that the government was trying to promote during that time. In one memorable occasion when I was in the sixth grade, I opted for learning a *huayno* rather than my usual futile attempts at the more complex *marinera* or the seemingly impossible *festejo*. Ironically, my attempts at fulfilling the needs of my rather limited dancing abilities met with the disapproval of some of my peers, who refused to dance *música de cholos* [*cholo* music].

venues featuring Afroperuvian music strengthened the output of a local recording industry that was already flourishing in the 1960s (Avilés 1996; Cavagnaro 1996; Serrano 1994). In the 1970s, recording opportunities appear to not have been confined to large album projects. The issuing of Afroperuvian singles, many of which would then be re-released in compilations—for example, the Oscar Avilés, Arturo “Zambo” Cavero/Lucila Campos *festejo* compilation “...Y siguen festejando juntos (Avilés et al, n.d.)”—became quite prevalent, thus offering many new groups increased exposure.⁸⁸ In most cases, recording ventures were not particularly lucrative for musicians. In fact, the standard practice of the time was to hire and pay musicians for their studio time rather than signing contracts that secured musicians any royalties or authorship rights in the future. Nevertheless, these recordings presented good opportunities in terms of dissemination, name recognition, and increased status as recording artists. Live television broadcasts also helped with this exposure. Beyond the mere performance of Afroperuvian music and dance, the government’s requirements for “cultural programming” also made it possible for individuals like Durand and Santa Cruz to also become spokesmen for education of audiences as to the nearly

⁸⁸ It has been difficult to ascertain the recording practices of the time from speaking directly to recording industry insiders. However, an educated guess as to the proliferations of singles was made after working with the recording archives of Radio Nacional (2000). While singles were already known in the years before the military dictatorship, the proliferation of singles featuring Afroperuvian music, particularly *festejos*, appears to have been a product of the times. It can be pointed out that the proliferation of these singles at this radio station was a result of having to satisfy government quotas, rather than an increase in actual production, particularly when taking into account that Radio Nacional was government owned. Nevertheless, given the restriction on other types of music that was placed on the mass media in general, it is fair to say that the holding of such recordings at Radio Nacional are not only representative of the type of Afroperuvian repertoire being broadcasted by private radio stations, but also of the types of recordings that were most disseminated among the listening audiences of the time.

lost Afroperuvian repertoire. The bulk of performance opportunities, however, came from live music venues. *Centros musicales*⁸⁹ and *peñas*,⁹⁰ two types of social gatherings where people cultivated the practice of local musical genres, became institutionalized enterprises often open to whomever was willing to pay an entry or membership fee. Following suit, a number of restaurants and nightclubs in Lima reinvented themselves as *peñas* that featured *criollo* and Afroperuvian music for the delight of tourists and the upper classes.

Above all, the 1970s provided an infrastructure that made the possibility of making a living as a professional musician a viable alternative. To this day, professional musicians recall the time of the military dictatorship as one of prosperity and a time when audiences, performing venues, the recording industry and governmental institutions all valued the contributions of Peruvian popular and traditional culture (Avilés 1996; A. González 1996; Sirio 1996; Valdivia 1996; A. Vásquez 1996; J. Vásquez 1996). It is also during this time that Afroperuvian music began to take shape as a collective of set of legitimate, albeit in some people's minds, stylized and "folklorized," renditions of Afroperuvian tradition. Consequently, "the 1970s sound," with its large batteries of percussionists, quick tempos, virtuoso ostinato accompaniment patterns, and association to dance troupes that specialized mostly in the Afroperuvian repertoire, became to many the standard of how traditional Afroperuvian music should sound. For as

⁸⁹ Social organizations that promote gatherings where people cultivated the performance of local musical genres. *Centros musicales* began to emerge in Lima in the 1930s as more institutionalized incarnations of the working class *jarana* that were open to *criollos* of different social classes.

⁹⁰ Initially *peñas* were less formal versions of *centros musicales* where members of Lima's bohemian community would gather to play music and recite poetry. By the 1970s, the term was appropriated by a number of restaurants and nightclubs that featured *criollo* and Afroperuvian music for the delight of tourists and the upper classes.

influential as all of these changes were to the Afroperuvian professional musical environment, their significance only became apparent to many musicians in subsequent decades, as this prosperity began to wane.

In 1980, president Fernando Belaunde Terry, whose 1965 administration was cut short by Velasco's bloodless coup of 1968, was re-elected as president. This brought about many changes, among them an end to many of the cultural policies that had been supported by Velasco and Morales Bermúdez. Broadcasting quotas in favor of national music quickly relaxed, although did not disappear altogether. To *criollo* guitarist Oscar Avilés, the effect was similar to that of letting go of a stretched rubber band and the airwaves soon were flooded with American and European rock and pop music, salsa and Latin American ballads, something that affected the market for local music and musicians (Avilés 1996). One sign of the times was that Channel 7, the government's television station and main disseminator of cultural programming in Peru, began to air a weekly program devoted to American and European pop and rock music, something that would have been unthinkable a few years earlier. This was by no means an isolated case. Local record companies also cut down on new recordings in favor of re-issues. Radio stations reduced the amount of local music included in their programming until eventually Afroperuvian music was relegated to being little more than an occasional feature used to pepper the set lists of one hour programs devoted to *criollo* music.⁹¹ Soon, the country's deteriorating economy,

⁹¹ The number of these programs has diminished over time. While at one time several radio stations featured *criollo* music everyday from noon to 1pm, only a few stations in Lima continued such practice into the mid 1990s: Radio San Borja, Radio Nacional, and Radio Santa Rosa. In spite of having been cut down to a half hour in 1996 due to lack of sponsorship, Radio Santa Rosa's *Música del pueblo* [*Music of the People*] hosted by *criollo* composer and socialist activist

which would reach its nadir during the rule of president Alan García Pérez (1985-1990), also began to affect live performances. Performing opportunities in commercial venues in Lima and for special events and private parties also began to dwindle (Valdivia 1996). This was exacerbated by the fear instilled in many Limeños by the activities of the Maoist guerilla group Sendero Luminoso,⁹² whose increasingly more devastating bombings in the capital during the late 1980s and early 1990s led to the virtual paralyzation of Lima's nightlife.⁹³

There was some improvement in the years following the capture of Abimael Guzmán, leader of Sendero Luminoso, and the significant lessening of terrorist activity in Peru. During the second half of president Alberto Fujimori Fujimori's first term (1990-1995), hope of political and financial stability loomed in the horizon. The economic recession of the past decade seemed to have been brought under control and, as a relatively less violent place than in recent years, Peru became the renewed object of interest of private and foreign investors

Manuel Acosta Ojeda deserves special mention. In addition to featuring classic recordings of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s Acosta Ojeda devotes a large portion of his program to highlighting small, independently affiliated *criollo*, Afroperuvian and Andean performers. In many cases, these are individual who have been playing for decades but which have not been able to receive wide exposure within the national music industry market. This is partly due to their inability to pay for the various membership fees that are required by the Asociación Peruana de Autores y Compositores (APDAYC) [Peruvian Association of Authors and Composer] in order to perform in a variety of public venues or have one's music broadcasted. In response to the needs of these smaller performers, some of which have been marginalized not only due to their lack of means and artistic status but due to past political affiliation with leftists political organizations, Acosta Ojeda formed the Sociedad de Autores y Compositores Peruanos Independientes (SAYCOPI) [Society of Independent Peruvian Authors and Composers]. Many of the radio and television broadcasting companies in Peru have yet to recognize SAYCOPI as a legitimate organization so *Música del pueblo* remains one of the main vehicles, other than live appearances, where some of these performers can receive exposure.

⁹² [Shinning Path]

⁹³ Like most other Peruvians, musicians have had their own personal experiences with terrorism. For example, Chito Valdivia, former guitarist for Peru Negro, was partially blinded by a case of glaucoma that went untreated because he felt he would put his life in jeopardy were he to leave his home to seek medical attention (Valdivia 1996).

attracted by Fujimori's neoliberalist economic reforms. Tourism once again emerged as one of the country's main sources of revenue. The district of Barranco, known for decades not only for its various restaurants and nightclubs featuring *criollo* and Afroperuvian music but as a favorite gathering place for writers, poets and artists, once again became a favorite amongst tourists and Limeños from the upper classes thus opening more, although still limited, opportunities for Afroperuvian musicians. The recording industry managed to stay afloat by focusing on re-issuing "classic" albums from the 1960s and 1970s and by creating new compilations from their catalogues rather than seeking to record new material. Unfortunately, many performers did not benefit from these re-issues given that they did not retain authorship rights to much of their previously recorded material. For many, performing with *criollo* groups or teaching music and dance at folklore schools and private academies became an alternate means of earning a living.

Musicians began to yearn for the days when the government's nationalist agenda had provided so many opportunities for local music and musicians (Avilés 1996; Cavagnaro 1996; A. González 1996; Valdivia 1996; A. Vásquez 1995; 1996). The possibility of another popular music renaissance loomed in the horizon and nostalgia for a past that was perceived as having been better than the present informed the revalorization of local musical practices and composition, among them Afroperuvian music. This hope was partly aided by two significant changes in the mass media. First, there was the appearance of a few small recording companies that began record new albums, particularly at the hands

younger generations of performers. Labels like Discos Hispanos and Discos Independientes began to compete with IEMPSA and El Virrey, the two companies that had dominated the market in years past. In response, the latter stepped up their re-issuing efforts and, in some cases, prompted them to produce new recordings of their own. Consequently, not only new performers like Los Hermanos Santa Cruz (nephews of Nicomedes and Victoria) but also veteran performers like Lucila Campos, Caitro Soto, and Victoria herself found spaces in which their music could be introduced once again. Second, there was the emergence of a reconfigured Asociación Peruana de Autores y Compositores (APDAYC),⁹⁴ which promoted itself as the defender of the rights of popular music performers and composers. Regrettably, internal politics and differences of opinion in regards to what constituted musical ownership and thus protection alienated many Afroperuvian performers. The reconfiguration of the institution was spearheaded by a group of well know *criollo* composers seeking to enforce their own authorship interests. The Afroperuvian repertoire however ill-suited for this treatment given the difficulty in differentiating between traditional repertoire, original composition, arrangement, compilations, adaptations, etc. Furthermore, some Afroperuvian musicians felt that this system had been created for a relatively small number of already prominent individuals and that offered little incentives for musicians like themselves (A. González 1996). In spite of these shortcoming however, the potential recognition, at least in spirit if not in practice,

⁹⁴ [Peruvian Association of Authors and Composers]

of Afroperuvian musicians as composers and artists rather than musical artisans was an important change.

Nevertheless, the renewed promise of success and recognition also harbored some sources of concern. The intervening years had seen the death of influential musical figures, among them the Ascuez brothers (whose recollections and practical musical experience informed much of the historical work behind the Afroperuvian revival), Porfirio Vásquez, Vicente Vásquez, José Durand and Nicomedes Santa Cruz. This signaled to some the potential re-disappearance of Afroperuvian musical practices and the need to identify other remaining culture bearers as invaluable sources of musical knowledge that needed to be tapped before it was too late. As a result, figures that included key members of Durand's "Pancho Fierro" Company, like Abelardo Vásquez and Caitro Soto, founding members of Peru Negro such as Ronaldo Campos and more recently, given her return to Peru after teaching for seventeen years at Carnegie Mellon University, Victoria Santa Cruz gained exposure as prominent and authoritative voices in regards to what is appropriate in traditional musical practice.⁹⁵ The authority of these individuals also stemmed from their belonging to musical, artistic and/or scholarly lineages of culture bearers, an indication that their knowledge and influence stretches farther back than the commercial recording and broadcasting boon of the late 1960s and 1970s. That is to say, their significance as influential figures within Afroperuvian music was not so much related to their success in the commercial market in previous decades as much as the knowledge and skill that

⁹⁵ It should be pointed out that in the last few years, this situation has been heightened by the passing of two of the three patriarchs of Peru Negro, Ronaldo Campos and Eusebio Sirio "Pititi," as well as Abelardo Vásquez.

led them to become recognized figures during this time period, something that set them apart from other performers of the 1970s whose music is negatively identified as “commercial”—performers who are assumed to unreflexively emulate the style of some of these seminal groups in order to satisfy audience demands and following market trends in the pursuit of financial gain and recognition.

With 20/20 hindsight, musicians in the late 1980s and early 1990s began to conceive of the previous decades in a more ambivalent light, a time that not only led to the dissemination and popularization of Afroperuvian music and musicians but that also to a perceived loss of artistic integrity by some performers. The need to differentiate between the authentic and the commodified preoccupied many performers and a counter current began to emerge that sought to move away from what was now seen as the “commercialized” sound of the 1970s. Some individuals opted for adopting a traditionalist stance. Older generations in particular used their position as patriarchal figures of the Afroperuvian revival to critique subsequent generations of musicians for having lost sight of the preservation of traditional musical practices. Consequently, many of these individuals emerged in the last decade (justly or unjustly, depending on an individual’s perspective), as authoritative voices on “authentic” traditional practice. In this regard, Heidi Feldman’s recent dealing with another of these authoritative voices reveals that “to [Victoria Santa Cruz], there is no Afroperuvian music in Peru today, only distortion and exploitation of the ancestral rhythms and folklore she worked so hard to revive” (Feldman 2001, 148). Others, while perhaps agreeing that in some

instances the performance of Afroperuvian music in the 1970s had strayed into the realm of commercial exoticization, recognized that perhaps this was something that was necessary at the time and that the point was not so much to try to undo this as much as learning from both its successes and pitfalls (Baca and Pereira 1995; Casaverde 1996a).

These views were not only characteristic of Afroperuvian musicians. Similar reactions towards the homogenizing and decontextualizing effect of mass media could be heard from a number of different camps. The traditionalist vs. innovator argument also preoccupied *criollo* musicians (León 1997), critics of emerging forms of popular music among a second generation of Andean immigrants in Lima (Hurtado Suárez 1995), the local rock music scene (M. González 1995; Cornejo and Cachay 2001), and those concerned with the overproliferation of foreign music in the Limeño airwaves at the expense of local musics (Bolaños 1996). These ideas also overlapped with views in other parts of Latin America and the United States in which commodification was generally deemed responsible for the dilution of the integrity of different types of music, views that were also routinely disseminated by the Limeño mass media. My conversations with many performers and music aficionados during the mid and late 1990s suggest that most individuals agreed that an increasingly international music market was encroaching on local forms of musical expression (Avilés 1996; Baca and Pereira 1996; R. Santa Cruz 1995; 1996; A. Vásquez 1995). Nevertheless, the decline in popularity and dissemination of local forms of musical expression in the Limeño airwaves was not causally linked to the

increased proliferation of foreign economic, cultural and political interests in Peru. Rather, these views concurred with Marxist critiques of Peruvian popular culture that during the 1980s and early 1990s identified processes such as the commodification of the traditional repertoire, the professionalization of the culture bearer, and the government-sponsored institutionalization and “folklorization” of traditional musical practices, as having weakened the cultural cohesiveness of many local forms of musical expression.

PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS IN CONTEMPORARY LIMA

It is doubtful that musicians ever regarded the mass media and local music industry as merely passive conduits for the promotion, dissemination and acceptance of local forms of musical expression. However, the displacement of local artists from the media spotlight in the 1980s forced a reassessment of the type of relationship that Afroperuvian musicians developed with the mass media, the record industry and their intended audiences. This also prompted a partial re-evaluation of the role of institutional support and subsidies. In the wake of privatization and neoliberal reforms, it has become harder for musicians to receive the financial backing they need for special projects, and/or international tours from government institutions. Consequently, many have had to seek corporate sponsorship from a number of private institutions to partially fund these endeavors, which is generally seen as less attractive alternative. Whereas government sponsorship was given, at least theoretically and in retrospect, to all performing groups perceived to be furthering the dissemination of traditional music, seeking funding from private institutions is seen as more time consuming,

less reliable, and harboring the potential for placing a musician in the position of having to compromise their artistic vision in favor of the pragmatic needs of those furnishing the money.

At the same time, the government and its representative institutions are seen as generally uninterested or powerless to do anything about the situation. While there was a time when being certified by the INC opened up a number of funding and performing opportunities for musicians, today the same system of certification is seen as placing a variety of constraints on professional musicians seeking to make a living. For example, in order for a professional group not to be taxed and fined by nightclub owners in Barranco or any other high profile venue in Lima and the local municipality, they must be recognized as an official “cultural event” by the INC. However, the inscription/certification process and the dues that these musicians have to pay cost more⁹⁶ than what most individual musicians make in a weekend’s full of performances. The alternative to paying the INC is to pay an additional 5% of the performer’s net profit to the owner and 15% to the local municipality. As Roberto Arguedas points out, sometimes, if the venue is not very large and the performing group has several members, his cut is barely enough to pay for dinner and the commute back home (Arguedas 2000).

To many performers, the recent lack of governmental support has introduced a new dimension to the hierarchization of the professional music environment. Due to the difficulties securing appropriate remuneration, it is common for some performers to belong to more than one group at the time. This

⁹⁶ In 2000 this amounted to 200 soles per month (approximately \$87 U.S.).

often presents problems in the form of double bookings. In those cases, the individuals in question will most often choose the performance opportunity or group that offers better financial remuneration and/or long-term stability. This in turn affects less established and emerging groups of performers, given that they have a hard time securing a consistent lineup of performers. The end result is that more established groups are able to keep a monopoly on these performing spaces due to their ability to provide consistent performances based on a regular lineup of dancers and musicians. They also are more attractive prospects for younger generations of musicians seeking exposure and job security.

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned critiques of the commodification of the professional music environment can be heard amongst younger generation of performers. Beyond pragmatic considerations regarding the ability and viability of any one group to perform regularly at a well-known venue in Barranco, some musicians have come to object to the content and intent of such performances. Many successful groups in the live music circuit must, to a certain extent, satisfy the expectation of both the INC and their audience in terms of repertoire and performance style. Consequently, most of these groups tend to perform a fairly fixed canon of pieces, many popularized during the 1970s, that are generally considered to be the “classics.” Unfortunately, these expectations have made it difficult for younger generations of musicians to deviate from the pre-existing performance style and repertoire, thus making this space full of opportunity but at the same time creatively confining. Dancers Clara Chávez and Jaime Zevallos

also point to how such a massified way of producing and performing Afroperuvian music has taken away much of its meaning:

CCh: Tú vas a ver la zamacueca en distintos grupos y tú las ves y son estampas...Todas levanta el pañuelo igual, todas hacen el pañuelo hacia el costado, se ponen de costadito. O sea, todo está marcado.

JZ: Mecanizado, sin partir de la conciencia.

CCh: Exacto, mecanizado, y lo mecanizado se vuelve frío, se vuelve falso, porque de pronto yo le voy a dibujar a él [su pareja de baile] una sonrisa porque sé que tengo que sonreír porque soy la primera de la fila (Chávez 2000).⁹⁷

Lucho Sandoval and Roberto Arguedas from Milenio have thought much about this situation and have constructed part of their group philosophy in response to it. As a relatively new group, Milenio has had to face a number of challenges breaking into the Barranco nightclub circuit. One of these challenges has been earning recognition as a legitimate group when their founding members do not belong to one of the aforementioned professional musician dynasties such as those of Peru Negro, the Santa Cruz or the Vásquez families. To this end, Sandoval and Arguedas have recruited current and former members from Peru Negro and from the folklore academies to learn the canon. From time to time however, Milenio's core of standard repertoire is supplemented by new compositions, many of them by Roberto Arguedas, in an attempt to slowly begin to add to the Afroperuvian canon.

⁹⁷ [CCh: You go to see the zamacueca [as performed] in different groups and you see them and they are [static] pictures... They all raise the handkerchief in the same way, they all move the handkerchief to the side, they get side by side [to each other]. That is, everything is marked.

JZ: Mechanized, without a soul.

CCh: Exactly, mechanized, and that which is mechanized becomes cold, becomes fake, because suddenly I am going to draw on a smile for [my dance partner] because I have to smile because I am the first one in line.]

There is also another side to Milenio that is not generally seen in these performance venues. Over the years, the group has been collectively creating experimental pieces and musical theatre productions that seek to dramatically represent and negotiate many of the challenges that they face as musicians and Afroperuvians. One such play, *Karibú*, specifically addresses the contemporary situation of nightclub musicians, often having to mindlessly perform the same routine for tourists and upper middle class Limeños without having any conception of the significance that such musical practices had to their ancestors both in colonial Peru and in Africa. Sandoval and Arguedas have come to label this behavior with the term *filuretería*,⁹⁸ a label that seeks to encapsulate the negative aspects of professional performance as rooted in the commodity fetish of an “authentic” performance practice and repertoire, and the passive acceptance of the status quo that it seems to induce in some performers. To Roberto Arguedas, this is one of many contemporary manifestations of the type of social processes that continue to marginalize members of the Afroperuvian community, an issue that he addresses in his composition “Santa Libertad:”

Es muy difícil. Muchos se han quedado porque no tienen mas de donde agarrarse. Hay gente que se ha quedado viviendo en los callejones, por ejemplo, porque no han estudiado mas y siguen cerrados en eso. Lo que yo creo cuando hago ese lamento, Santa Libertad, que en verdad no debería ser un lamento—Santa Libertad es una cuestión que habla sobre el trabajo, sobre el estudio, sobre lo que uno debe lograr con el esfuerzo. Yo creo que la esclavitud es la flojera, la desidia, o el ser muy cómodo y estar

⁹⁸ From the noun *firuletes*, meaning flourishes or lavishes adornments. In this case the term is used to refer to the exaggerated, stylized and, in the view of Sandoval and Arguedas, largely empty movements and gestures used to pander to the paying public.

haciendo canciones de hace cuarenta años para vivir de eso (Arguedas 2000).⁹⁹

The need to resist these processes is the reason why the members of Milenio seek to pursue their activities beyond nightclub circuit. In this way, they can still have a space that they feel provides them with the flexibility to explore and experiment with the Afroperuvian repertoire. At the same time however, they recognize that being a professional performers, and playing for such audiences and up to such expectations, has become a necessary part of the contemporary musician's daily life. The occasional inclusion of songs like "Santa Libertad" are attempts at introducing a more critical voice into these venues. From a more pragmatic perspective, these performances have also become an important means of raising funds to support their other endeavors. At the end of every night, all the members donate a portion of their earnings to a general fund that is used to buy theatrical supplies, make costumes, and rent locales in which to present their plays. Although this is a difficult sacrifice for many of the members, they prefer this to the alternative.

As it will be further discussed in chapter 4, other individuals like Susana Baca and Félix Casaverde who have been invested in introducing new compositions and stylistic innovations into the Afroperuvian repertoire had to develop alternative means for exposure. In the case of Casaverde, this has been

⁹⁹ [It is very hard. Many have been left behind because they do not have from where to hang on. There are people that remain living in the *callejones*, for example, because they have not studied further and they continue confined to that. I believe that when I perform that *lamento*, Santa Libertad, which really should not be a lament—Santa Libertad is a [composition] that talks about work, about education, about that which one should achieve through one's effort. I believe that slavery is laziness, indolence, or being complacent and performing songs from forty years ago and live off that.]

made possible due to his reputation as a skilled accompanist and soloist in a variety of different styles, something that has gained him entry into other performative spaces, not all of which are as demanding in terms of canonic and stylistic conformity. Similarly, Baca, who for many years operated at the periphery of the Barranco nightclub circuit due to her being perceived as “too experimental” by most Limeño audiences, has achieved a great deal of recognition in recent years thanks to her success in American and European music markets.

These retrospective critiques regarding the commodification of Afroperuvian music since the 1970s, have prompted reactions by audience members. While private *peñas* and *centros musicales* did not disappear during earlier decades, in the early 1990s traditionalists’ perspective began to restructure these away from the commercial setting that had become so prevalent. Groups of amateur musicians, *criollo* and Afroperuvian music enthusiasts and a few professional musicians started to create their own gatherings as mean of counteracting the idea of commodification. Although many of these groups maintained the term *peña* as part of their title, there were very conscious attempts at differentiating them from the nightclub settings that since the 1970s also identified themselves as *peñas*. As was the case with the *Peña de la marinera*, a group with which I worked in 1996, the identity of these groups was often crafted in opposition what the members identified as that which was “commercial.” The group was not open to the public at large. Entry was usually by invitation only, and permanent membership usually warranted that an individual could actively

participate in the gatherings by either singing, dancing, reciting poetry, or playing an instrument. The group also differentiated itself from surviving *centros musicales* in that they would perform only *criollo* and Afroperuvian music, often complaining that even those *centros musicales* that had existed since the 1940s now routinely featured *boleros*, *nueva canción* and other foreign genres.¹⁰⁰ The members would usually pay to ensure that there would be one or two house musicians available at their gatherings so that there would always be someone on hand who knew the traditional repertoire well. In the case of the *Peña de la marinera*, that individual was Chito Valdivia, a retired guitarist from Peru Negro.

In spite of the effort that is placed on keeping these gatherings private and exclusive, there were exceptions made for certain individuals. Generally speaking, professional musicians are always welcome at these gatherings. After all, their presence is taken to be an active endorsement that everyone present is engaged in some form of “authentic” music making. In fact, some well-known professional performers are notorious for periodically visiting *centros musicales* and private *peñas* to show amateurs “how it is (should be) done.” If any of these performers come back on a regular basis, this is taken as a sign that the members of the groups are doing something right. At the *Peña de la marinera*, some professional Afroperuvian percussionists had become regular visitors. They would normally arrive quietly later in the evening and socialize with some of the

¹⁰⁰ Ironically, the first *centros musicales* were established in the late 1930s as social groups that would maintain the musical activities of the working class in commemoration of the passing of a number of influential figures of earlier decades like Felipe Pinglo Alva (1899-1936). While in retrospect many traditionalists claim that they only played *criollo* popular music, it is more likely that a variety of different music were played by these groups. After all, many of the individuals who inspired the formation of these groups were also known for composing *boleros*, one-steps, fox trots, etc. (Lloréns 1983, C. Santa Cruz 1989).

members. Although these musicians were never asked to perform, at least one of them would eventually sing, dance or play *cajón* for those present, often in acknowledgement the rules observed by the other members regarding the fact that all present should participate, as well as in repayment for some of the members having bought these visitors a round of drinks or a meal.

Although the whole process was very informal, my conversation with one of these regular visitors in a different setting revealed quite the contrary. In fact, this individual who was a professional dancer and percussionist jokingly referred to his visits to this *peña* as “going to the office,” in the sense that a certain aspect of that casual behavior between he and the members of the *peña* was just another type of performance, where his remuneration would normally be in the form of food, drink, or special favors granted by some of the members. What became evident is that these types of gatherings were places where older patron-client relationships between musicians and music aficionados, which have been so prevalent during the later part of the nineteenth and earlier part of the twentieth centuries, were still maintained. Ironically, this was not so much of an eradication of the idea of playing music in exchange for remuneration, as many traditionalists would suggest, but rather a return to a practice where such exchanges were more readily accepted by both patrons and musicians as being part of a complex set of social relationships and hierarchies that continued to fuel the music making environment. In this sense then, it can be argued that the musical making environment in Lima has featured a formalized system of performance based on different forms of exchanges that significantly predate the often-cited

professionalization of the musician during the 1960s and 1970s. This in turn suggests that most critiques of the reification of Afroperuvian musical practices since the time of the revival do not necessarily object to the act of music making being perceived as a specialized activity requiring compensation, but to a reduction of that exchange to an act that emphasizes financial gain or remuneration rather than the reinforcement of cross-class and cross-cultural relationships.

THE STYLISTIC TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE *FESTEJO*

Having discussed the relationship that musicians have had with the mass media and the recording industry in the decades since the revival and the effect that these have had on the context of performance, it is also necessary to discuss how these changes have affected the music performed by these individuals. As suggested in the previous chapter, different genres required different amounts and types of reconstruction in the years following the revival. Nevertheless, given that some genres have been more prominent than others and that this prominence has largely been the result of their popularization through the mass media, it follows that these would be better suited for an in-depth treatment. In the case at hand, both the *landó* and the *festejo* are prime candidates for such an analysis. The bulk of the contemporary Afroperuvian repertoire consists of *landós* and *festejos*, or other genres closely related to them and, as Heidi Feldman suggests, they have come to symbolize to musical archetypes of what it means to be Afroperuvian. Having said this however, it is worth noting that the emergence of the *landó* almost as a counterpart in stylistic character to the *festejo* has been a

more recent development, which also involves a number of factors that will be discussed in chapter 4. From the time of the initial revival of Afroperuvian music and dance and throughout the 1970s the majority of the repertoire centered on *festejos* and related dance forms such as the *zapateo*,¹⁰¹ *alcatraz*,¹⁰² *ingá*,¹⁰³ *agua 'e nieve*¹⁰⁴ and *son de los diablos*. In fact, as discussed above, the predilection of Limeño audiences for Afroperuvian music that was fast, lively and energetic was related to the popularization and dissemination of *festejos* through the mass media in the 1970s. Because of this, it can be argued that much of the stylistic development of the *festejo* over the second half of the twentieth century closely parallels the evolving relationship between musicians, the mass media and the recording industry. Furthermore, given the genre's prominence amongst musicians and audiences, it can be argued that the perceived commodification and institutionalization of Afroperuvian music that many individuals have come to deplore in recent decades is done in tacit reference to the stylistic transformation of the *festejo*, particularly during that time period. Therefore, it is important to further explore the relationship between the above-mentioned social, historical, and technological changes experienced by Afroperuvian musicians and the music that they came to perform.

¹⁰¹ The *zapateo* is a form of competitive tap dancing associated with Afroperuvian communities in the Peruvian coast.

¹⁰² The *alcatraz* is a dance that appears to have been a form of courtship dance. In its present form, the *alcatraz* consists of groups of men and women taking turns at trying to light a piece of raw cotton or cloth hanging from the back of their partner's pants or skirt with a candle.

¹⁰³ a dance in which performers stand in a circle and then proceed to take turns dancing while holding a large doll, pillow or other object meant to represent a small child.

¹⁰⁴ another competitive form of tap dancing similar to the *zapateo* that is rarely, if ever performed.

Consolidating the Ambiguous

Like other genres, the initial re-popularization of the *festejo* involved its consolidation into a coherent genre, something that presented some special challenges given the rather varied types of song that came to be identified as *festejos*. As Tompkins points out, many of the song fragments that had survived into the twentieth century were characterized by having melodies that could be in a variety of different meters (e.g. 2/4, 3/4, 6/8 or 4/4) but which were generally juxtaposed against a fairly clear and consistent rhythmic accompaniment in 6/8 (Tompkins 1981, 250-252). To Tompkins, this juxtaposition of rhythms is likely to be a survival with “origins in the more complex polymeters known by the first African slaves” (Tompkins 1981, 252). While this is certainly a possibility, it is difficult to ascertain why such a sense of polymeter would only remain a characteristic of one particular Afroperuvian genre, while many of the others exhibit more formalized cross-rhythmic relationships such as the alternate subdivision of a rhythmic cell into three groupings of two or two groupings of three. The underlying assumption in the part of Tompkins is that the accompanying rhythm of the *festejo* may have been used to accompany slave songs as early as the eighteenth century (Tompkins 1981, 241-242) even though the label “*festejo*” did not come into use until the late nineteenth century. However, as Tompkins himself points out, little is known as to whether the contemporary rhythmic accompaniment of the *festejo* bears any similarities to those used in previous centuries (Tompkins 1981, 252-253). Taking this into account, and given the active hand that many musicians had in reconstructing, not

just reproducing the surviving musical repertoire, it is also likely that this juxtaposition of meters may have been the result of musicians adapting songs that may not have been stylistically related to each other as part of a single genre based on perceived similarities in terms of lyrics, emotive character and contextual usage.

Regardless of which possibility may be more plausible, it is fair to say that these complex rhythmic relationships as well as the way in which they came to be verbalized by musicians have influenced the *festejo* and its related genres would become standardized over the second part of the twentieth century. The basis for contemporary renditions of the *festejo* can be traced back to the early revivals of old Afroperuvian music in the 1930s at the hands of Samuel Márquez which in turn influenced the arrangements of José Durand's "Pancho Fierro" Company¹⁰⁵. In spite of the further refining of what is a *festejo* in more recent decades, the majority of contemporary incarnations in one way or another reference these initial renditions. These exhibit two different levels of 3:2 rhythmic relationships that give these earlier renditions of the *festejo* their particular character (Figure 3.1).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Both Tompkins and Feldman suggest that Porfirio Vásquez, one of Durand's principal sources of information and a recognized authority of Afroperuvian dances, developed the first stage choreographies of the *festejo*. It is more difficult to ascertain whether a single individual was responsible for the musical arrangements. There is likely to have been a stylistic link between the *festejos* performed by Márquez and those by the "Pancho Fierro" Company given that singer Juan Criado, who eventually associated himself with the latter group, initially started to incorporate *festejos* into his repertoire in emulation of Márquez's own induction of the genre into his productions. By the 1950s when Criado teamed up with José Durand to form the "Pancho Fierro" Company he had already amassed a large repertoire of *festejos* many of which became a part of the repertoire of the "Pancho Fierro" Company and its various other spin-off groups (Tompkins 1981, 244-45; Feldman 2001, 57-58).

¹⁰⁶ The musical examples used throughout this dissertation make use of certain notational conventions that have been developed in response particularities of certain instruments that are

The image displays a musical score for the final chorus of the *festejo* "Arroz con concolón". The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes parts for Vocal, Chorus, Guitar 1, Guitar 2, Bass, Quijada, and Cajón. The second system includes parts for Voc. (Vocal), Ch. (Chorus), G1 (Guitar 1), G2 (Guitar 2), Bs. (Bass), Qj. (Quijada), and Cj. (Cajón). The music is in 2/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Spanish and include phrases like "O - i - ta no ma', consuvi - tu - te o - i - ta no ma' ja ja, ah ja, eh ja, ke ka - ka ka - jo, ke". The score features various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings like ϕ and \uparrow . Chord symbols Gm and D7 are indicated above the guitar parts.

Figure 3.1: Excerpt from the final chorus of the *festejo* “Arroz con concolón” by Oscar Villa as performed by La Cuadrilla Morena and Juan Criado (Various Artists 1998).

commonly used in Afroperuvian music. A brief description of these is included as reference in Appendix A so as to prevent lengthy legends within the body of the dissertation.

As it can be seen in the above example, one of these 3:2 relationships arises from the juxtaposition of a melody that is primarily sung in simple duple meter against an accompaniment featuring a compound duple subdivision of the beat.¹⁰⁷ The result is a strong duple feel with an internal rhythmic ambiguity stemming from the possibility of subdividing the space in between these strong beats into two or three equal parts. This ambivalence allows for particular parts to smoothly switch from one metric subdivision to another without affecting the overall duple feel of the *festejo*. The clearest example of this in Figure 3.1 is the solo vocal part, which starts by providing a harmony to the chorus with some rhythmic variation in a simple duple meter. The soloist then begins to improvise by singing vocables at which point he begins to introduce triplets either on the first or second beat of each measure thus taking advantage of two different ways of subdividing the beat (mm. 4-6, 8, and 12). Similarly, although less frequently, the accompanying instruments will also transition from one way of subdividing the beat to another. One example is the occasional duplets featured in the lead guitar (mm. 7) and *quijada* (mm. 9-10) parts. The second 3:2 relationship that is characteristic of the *festejo*, as well as a number of other Peruvian coastal genres,

¹⁰⁷ There are a number of different ways of representing these rhythmic juxtapositions through conventional Western notation. In this dissertation I have chosen to represent melodies and rhythmic patterns that primarily use simple duple subdivisions of the beat in 2/4 and compound duple subdivision of the beat in 6/8. It is possible to alternately notate these in 4/4 and 12/8 respectively, a convention that is sometimes advocated so as to fit most of the rhythmic and melodic ostinatos that characterize the accompaniment of the *festejo* within a single measure. Nevertheless, the 2/4 and 6/8 convention is more convenient for the purposes of this dissertation given that this is the way in which most contemporary musicians explain the *festejo*. It is also useful in terms of better visualizing harmonic progressions (usually one chord per measure), melodic and textual phrase construction (usually four measure phrases), and the correlation of certain *festejo* accompaniment patterns with other genres, both in Peru and abroad that tend to be conceptualized in similar ways.

stems from the possibility of grouping the compound duple subdivision of the beat into three groups of two rather than two groups of three. This gives rise to the juxtaposition of a simple triple meter against the compound duple subdivision of the beat that is best exemplified by the bass line, and by the melodic improvisations of the lead vocalists (mm. 10, 13, and 14), and the lead guitar (mm. 8-10, and 13).

These early arrangements are also notable because they began to establish a precedent for adapting and incorporating new instruments and accompanying patterns that were not characteristic of the *festejo* during the early part of the twentieth century. These incorporations were the result of borrowing and adapting parts from other genres that musicians consider to be closely related to the *festejo*. In Figure 3.1, the presence of the *quijada de burro*,¹⁰⁸ an idiophone made out of the jawbone of an ass that is alternately be used as a scraper and rattle, was borrowed from the genre known as the *son de los diablos*. The *quijada* along with another idiophone associated with the *son de los diablos*, the *cajita*,¹⁰⁹ have become common supplemental percussion instruments in various *festejo* arrangements. At first glance however, it seems that such adaptation would be unlikely given that the overall rhythmic feel of the *son de los diablos* is in a simple duple meter rather than a compound duple meter. Yet, the aforementioned rhythmic ambivalence that characterizes the *festejo* allows for these cross-genre borrowings to take place rather easily. In some cases, the

¹⁰⁸ [donkey's jawbone]

¹⁰⁹ [little box] A wooden box with a lid that is generally hung from the performers neck. The *cajita* is played by alternately slamming its lid with one hand while using a clapper to hit one of its sides with the other.

traditional patterns used for the *son de los diablos* (Figure 3.2) are simply

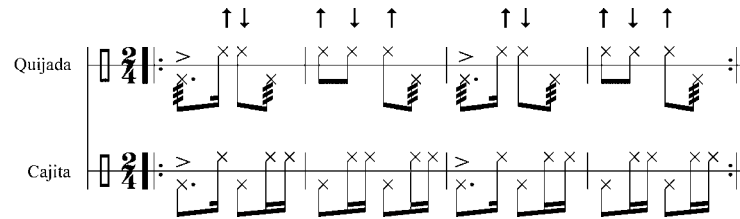
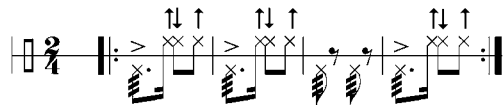


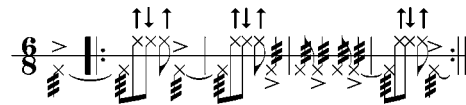
Figure 3.2 Example of *quijada* and *cajita* patterns used in the *son de los diablos*.

transplanted without altering the meter while in others, performers transform the accompaniments into compound duple versions of the same pattern (Figure 3.3).

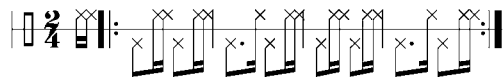
Quijada pattern in "Manonga la tamalera" as performed by Juan Criado (V. Santa Cruz 2000)



Quijada pattern in "Arroz con concolón" as performed by Roberto Rivas (Various Artists n.d.)



Cajita pattern in "No me cumbén" as performed by Nicomedes Santa Cruz (N. Santa Cruz 1994)



Cajita pattern in "El congorito" as performed by Los Vásquez (Various Artists 1998)

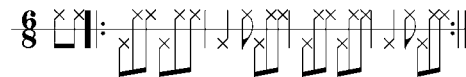


Figure 3.3 Examples of *quijada* and *cajita* patterns as used in different *festejos*.

These cross-genre adaptations can also be found at a larger scale. Such is the case in "Pancha Remolino" an older *festejo* whose accompaniment is largely in a simple duple meter and closely resembles that of the *son de los diablos*. Although generally few and not widely performed these days, *festejos* like "Pancha Remolino" are significant because they show not only how *quijada* and

cajita patterns can be adapted for use in a *festejo*, but also how *cajón*¹¹⁰ patterns can in turn be adapted for use in the *son de los diablos* (Figure 3.4).

"Pancha remolino" by Eduardo Márquez Talledo as performed by Arturo "Zambo" Cavero and Oscar Avilés (Avilés et al n.d.).

The musical score for "Pancha remolino" is written in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked as quarter note = 126. The score includes five staves: Vocal, Guitar 1, Guitar 2, Bass, and Cajón. The vocal line has lyrics: "A-no-chejue a ja-ra-near don - de Pancha Re-mo-li-no, y detan-toza-pa-tear hoy ten-go el cuer - pomo - li-do". The guitar parts feature a harmonic progression of Am, D7, G, E7, Am, D7, G. The Cajón part shows a complex rhythmic pattern using 'x' marks to denote hits.

Examples of *son de los diablos* cajón patterns adapted from the quijada and cajita.

Two examples of cajón patterns in 2/4 time are shown. The first is attributed to Cavero and Avilés (Avilés et aln.d.) and the second to Juan Medrano Cotito (2000d). Both patterns use 'x' marks to represent hits on the cajón, showing rhythmic similarities to the *son de los diablos*.

Figure 3.4 Example of a *festejo* in simple duple meter and its rhythmic similarities to the *son de los diablos*.

Similar cross-genre correspondences have also allowed for the standardization of guitar accompaniments and harmonic progression, although many of these appear to have taken place later. In the case of the guitar accompaniment, this standardization involved the abandonment of strumming patterns (see for example the second guitar part in Figure 3.1 and both guitar parts

¹¹⁰ Literally meaning “large box,” the *cajón* is the most widely used Afroperuvian percussion instrument. The instrument consists of a wooden box with four sides made of mahogany and two opposing vertical faces made of plywood. The performers sits with open legs and leans over to hit the front plywood face with bare hands as if its were a drum. The back face has a round hole that allows for the body of the instrument to act as a resonator.

in Figure 3.4) in favor of semi-improvised rhythmic and melodic ostinatos. Similar to the introduction of *quijada* and *cajita* patterns, these ostinatos bear resemblance to the guitar accompaniments in two other genres that are identified as being closely related to the *festejo*, namely the *zapateo* and the *alcatraz*, (Figure 3.5).¹¹¹ The adaptation of these parts led to the appearance of one of the

Excerpt from a *zapateo* as performed by Vicente Vásquez (N. Santa Cruz 2001)

D G D A D G D A D G D A

D: I IV I V

Excerpt from "Al son de la tambora," an *alcatraz* as performed by Roberto Rivas and Gente Morena (Various Artists n.d.)

E A B7 E A B7 E A B7

E: I IV V⁷

Figure 3.5 Excerpts of the guitar accompaniments for a *zapateo* and an *alcatraz*.

more characteristic features of *festejo* dating from the late 1960s and early 1970s, an ascending bass line that moves through the first, third, fourth and fifth scale degrees and implies a simple triple grouping of the first measure of the pattern

¹¹¹ Tompkins has different ways of notating the *zapateo* patterns than this example (Tompkins 1981, 543-544). This is the result of placing the emphasis only on the guitar part not on the accompanying taps and brushes normally executed by the dancers. I have chosen this alternate means of representation because it is more consistent with Nicomedes Santa Cruz's assertion that *zapateo* melodies are in 6/8 for reasons that will be discussed more extensively in the following chapter.

and a syncopated variation of the same in the second (Figure 3.6).¹¹² In some

The image shows a musical score for guitar and bass. The guitar part is in E major (three sharps) and 6/8 time. It consists of two measures of a syncopated arpeggiated pattern. The first measure has chords E, A, and B7. The second measure has chords E, A, and B7. The bass part is in the same key and time, featuring a steady eighth-note line. Below the bass staff, the Roman numerals E: I IV V7 are written.

Figure 3.6 Examples of some basic guitar and bass *festejo* accompaniments.

cases the addition of this bass line forces a standardization of the harmonic progression used to accompany the *festejo* by virtue of adding a passing IV chord at the end of the first measure of the two-measure ostinato. This passing chord works well with many *festejos* since their harmonic progression tend to be based on the alternation of tonic and dominant chords. There are some exceptions however. In the case of *festejos* with more complex chord progressions, which are relatively few in the repertoire, musicians have adapted the accompaniment by preserving the rhythmic character of the bass line over a changing chord progression (Figure 3.7).

¹¹² Although this bass line is generally performed on the lower strings of the guitar while simultaneously using the upper strings to produce arpeggios that imply a compound duple feel, many groups since the 1970s have incorporated a bass (electric or acoustic) to double that line. Initially, it seems that this was a necessary adaptation so that the bass line could be better heard in radio broadcasts and commercial recordings (Avilés 1996) and in fact, many groups like continue to use the instrument only in those situations. Nevertheless, there have also been a number of performers that since the 1970s have began to use a bass player as part of their standard instrumentation given this gives guitar players more freedom to improvise more complex melodic ostinatos or alternate bass lines that act as a countermelody to what is being played by the bass.



Figure 3.7 Excerpt from “Mi Comadre Cocoliche” as performed by Oscar Avilés and Arturo “Zambo” Cavero (Avilés et al n.d.). Note how the bass line does not use the usual I-IV-V7 pattern.

The perceived connections between the *festejo* and these other genres also has informed the performance of *zapateos*, *alcatrazes*, which along with another related genre, the *ingá*, closely resemble the accompaniment of the *festejo*. In fact, in contemporary performance, the only major difference between a *festejo*, an *alcatraz*, and an *ingá* is the accompanying choreography. The *zapateo*, like the *son de los diablos*, has its own particularities especially in terms of instrumentation, but there is enough consistency in the rhythmic and melodic patterns used that one can still identify a close relationship to the *festejo*.¹¹³ Curiously, unlike the scores of *festejos* that form a part of the repertoire, most of the other genres do not have more than a couple of songs or accompaniments associated with them. Furthermore, some of the striking stylistic similarities between these genres occasionally bring into question whether they should be

¹¹³ Other than the dancers, *zapateo* accompaniments generally consist of a single or at most two guitar players. In addition to the similar guitar accompaniments, the types of patterns the dancers execute by stomping, tapping or brushing their feet against the ground closely resemble base patterns and calls used by the *cajón* players in the *festejo*. Perhaps this should be no surprise given that most *zapateadores* are also skilled *cajón* players. The melodic accompaniment of the *zapateo* also bears closer resemblance to an extinct genre called the *agua ‘e nieve* which also involved a form of competitive dancing. The choreography for the *agua ‘e nieve* has been forgotten. Nevertheless, a number of guitarists keep the accompaniment in their repertoire, even though they rarely perform it in public or record it.

conceptualized as separate categories. Some contemporary performers whose groups that only perform and record instrumental and vocal renditions of the songs that are normally associated with these dances will often identify them simply as *festejos*. In contrast, recordings of dance troupes like Peru Negro will differentiate between those songs that they feel are rightly *alcatrazes* and *ingás* and those that are *festejos* even though the main agent of differentiation, the choreography, cannot be included in an audio recording. Sometimes this leads to some confusion given that a song like “Alcatraz quema tú” will sometimes be identified as an *alcatraz* and others as a *festejo*. The continued insistence in their difference remains important, however, since it points towards the desire of many musicians to conceptualize the Afroperuvian musical landscape as a complex set of traditions involving a diverse set of genres and sub-genres, a musical manifestation of a rich and sophisticated cultural history.

In addition to guitar parts, the *festejo* in the 1970s also begins to develop a standardized set of *cajón* accompaniment patterns. Prior to the 1970s, many arrangements featured loosely improvisatory parts that often doubled, in variation, some of the other rhythmic ostinatos in the accompaniment (look for example at the relationship between the *cajón* pattern and the second guitar in both Figures 3.1 and 3.4). Unlike earlier versions of the *cajón* parts which could be played in both simple and compound duple subdivisions of the beat or an alternation between the two, *cajón* parts become standardized as a seemingly infinite number of basic patterns or *bases* (Figure 3.8) upon which a performer would elaborate

variations, improvise solos and truncate by means of percussion breaks. With

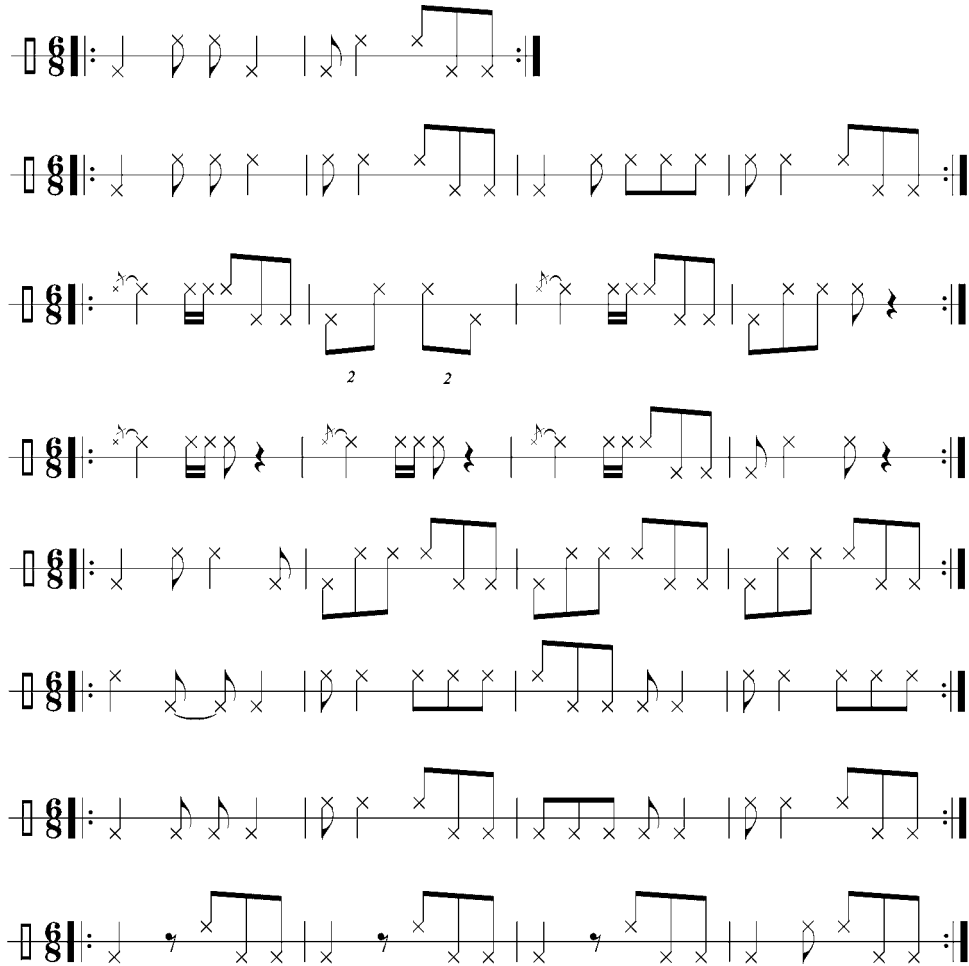


Figure 3.8 Examples of different *cajón* bases used by Juan Medrano Cotito (Medrano 1996a; 1996b; 1996f; 1996g; 1996h; 1996i; 1996j; 1996l; 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 2000d; 2000i).

only a few exceptions—for example, *bases* used for accompanying one of the relatively rare *festejos* in simple duple time (see Figure 3.4) or a *son de los diablos*, most of these *bases* are in 6/8 and act as the unifying part that brings all other accompanying ostinatos together. In the case of large dance ensembles, it

become commonplace to find as many as four or five *cajón* players, each playing their own *base* to produce a rather complex layer of rhythmic density. Although it is difficult to ascertain the specifics of how this process took place at the time, in retrospect, many individuals, particularly those affiliated directly or indirectly with the Peru Negro musical lineage, credit these innovations to founding member Ronaldo Campos (Feldman 2001, 283-284).

The standardization of *cajón* parts has also brought about the emergence of the aforementioned accompanying terminology such as *bases*, *repiques*,¹¹⁴ and the description of *bases* as combinations of *agudos*,¹¹⁵ and *graves*.¹¹⁶ Surprisingly, this vocabulary or the way of conceptually organizing *cajón* rhythmic structures does not appear to have become popular with other Afroperuvian genres. With the possible exception of the occasional use of the term *repique*, talking and learning about *cajón* patterns associated with other Afroperuvian genres is a more ambiguous process lacking much of the formal structural complexity and variety of the *festejo*. Basic accompaniment patterns lack a long list of variants or bases. They usually involve a single basic pattern that musicians vary and transform more spontaneously in response to their own tastes and/or the specific needs of a particular arrangement.

Furthermore, the very way of playing the *cajón* differs greatly between the *festejo* and other genres. In most Afroperuvian, and *criollo* genres for that matter,

¹¹⁴ a term used alternately to describe fill and/or short percussion breaks.

¹¹⁵ a term for the higher pitches on the *cajón* which are produced by hitting close to the upper edge of the instrument on the playing surface.

¹¹⁶ a term for the a deep or low tone that can be produced by hitting closer to the instrument's playing surface.

there is a tendency for players to always use their stronger hand to accent certain portions of the beat in such a way that the same hand often hits the instrument several consecutive times. At first glance, it appears that the *cajón* players do the same when performing *festejos* since these patterns also feature what, for lack of a better term, can be identified as an “irregular” alternation of hands. However, closer observation of the playing style of most professional *cajón* players shows that, unlike other genres, *festejo bases* are made of a combination of audible high and low strikes as well as soft or silent “touches” and “air beats” that result in the player constantly moving their hands in alternation even though they will not always strike the instrument. In fact, it is not until an amateur performer (such as myself in the process of my fieldwork) notices this tacit aspect of performance practice that his or her playing of the *festejo* will have the appropriate feel. It is difficult to say why this particular aspect of performance practice is not present in other genres. Quite possibly this could be the standardization of the playing style of a single individual, namely Ronaldo Campos, as disseminated through Peru Negro. Given that other Peru Negro founding members of Peru Negro such as Caitro Soto and Lalo Izquierdo, also play the *cajón* in this fashion, it may also be that this technique is representative of an older regional style of playing the *cajón* from the area of Chincha and Cañete in the southern coast since all of these performers are originally from these areas.

To sum up, the overall result of this has been that the borrowing and cross-influences have contributed to the standardization of several genres as part of complex related forms that are centered on the *festejo* and which include the *son*

de los diablos, alcatraz, zapateo, and ingá. The dual 3:2 rhythmic relationships that are characteristic to the *festejo* appear to have been key in this standardization. On the one hand, the ability of musicians to hear correspondences between duple and triple subdivision of a binary beat has allowed for the adaptation of percussion accompaniments originally in 2/4 into 6/8 and vice-versa. At the same time, the 3:2 relationship stemming from the alternation of 3/4 and 6/8 groupings of the measure has allowed musicians to identify correspondences between the *festejo* and the ostinato accompaniments initially used to accompany the *zapateo* and *alcatraz*. Finally, the further elaboration and standardization of *cajón* bases strengthened the underlying compound duple feel of the accompaniment that acts as the predominant meter against which the other two levels of 3:2 rhythmic relationships are elaborated.

This stylistic consolidation has also influenced the character of the *festejo* in terms of the images depicted in its lyrics. Many new *festejos* continued to deal with subject matters similar to those of the surviving repertoires. Most of these focused on romanticized remembrances of slave experience in centuries past where people danced away their troubles in the face of oppression. In some cases, this theme was recast in a more contemporary form, with oppression subtly being equated with the alienating aspects of modern urban life while the utopian essence of Afroperuvian life was located in the rural hinterland, a place where people might be poor but generally lived a more joyous and simple life. The *festejo* “Mi comadre Cocoliche” by José Villalobos Cavero is a good example. In this song,

the protagonist has traveled from a rural farm in Chinchá to Lima to bring the latest news to the relatives living in the capital.

Mi comadre Cocoliche
de Chinchá aca' de llegar.
Con el dato que en la hacienda
la burrita ya parió.

[Mi good friend Cocoliche
has just arrived from Chinchá
with news that in the hacienda
the donkey already gave birth.

Y como el burro maldito
a Melchor lo ha pateado,
voy a sacar su quijada
para un festejo bailar.
Vamos, comadre Coco
¿cómo puede usted vivir
con ese ruido infernal
que le llaman capital?

And because that damned donkey
has kicked Melchor,
I am going to remove its jawbone
to dance a *festejo*.
Come on, my friend Coco
how can you live
with that infernal noise
that they call the capital?

En cambio en Hoja Redonda
todo es felicidad.
La jarana es bien de alivio
y todo el mundo a jaranear.

But in Hoja Redonda [the hacienda]
it is all happiness.
The *jarana* cures all ills
and everyone celebrates]

The nature of the news points towards a rural nostalgia characterized by innocence and bliss, a place where the most momentous event in people's lives is the birth of livestock. Even in light of tragic news people are able to make the best of it, as it is exemplified by the fact that a donkey kicking a relative turns into an opportunity for making a new *quijada* with which to dance the *festejo*. In fact, the only negative characterization in the song is aimed towards the relatives in Lima who have to put up with the incessant hustle and bustle of city life while their counterparts back in Chinchá lead a carefree existence.

The types of images evoked here are important to note given how they echo the dichotomies between urban and rural, modern and traditional, new and old, transitory and authentic, that have informed the general development of

Afroperuvian music since the time of the revival. To a certain degree, it can be argued that the continued location of genuine life experiences as being the hallmark of a life from which many professional musicians are removed, being that they reside in Lima, parallels the already mentioned perception that more authentic musical practices continue to survive untouched, out there beyond the urban domain. Furthermore, the timelessness with which this rural utopia is often represented is an effective way of blurring a boundary between the present and the past as represented in other *festejos*. Regardless of the time period, people continue to sing and dance in the light of tragedy, thus suggesting that many of these composers still subscribed at some level, consciously or subconsciously, to the idea that the remote past remains alive in the more isolated rural settings.

Throughout the 1970s, most *festejo* arrangements continued to follow similar conventions. This appears to have been the result of basing many of these new compositions on surviving fragments of older *festejos* or on their stylistic emulation of surviving musical material. Given the perception that the past should provide the standard for what is considered to be an “authentic” performance style, it follows that new compositions would seek legitimacy by reproducing the stylistic character of these surviving fragments and thus establishing a claim to cultural continuity and the continuation of musical practices from the past. Tompkins also points out that there were younger generations of composers who continued to emulate what appears to have been earlier compositional practices of borrowing melodic and textual fragments from pre-existing *festejos* and incorporating them into new compositions (Tompkins

1981, 246-247). A tangential result of this was the blurring of the lines between the surviving musical repertoire and newly composed material, not to mention the possibility of clearly discerning between old and new stylistic practices. In some cases, because newly composed songs made use of some of the pre-existing musical material it made it difficult to determine whether some *festejos* should be deemed originally composed, arranged, compiled, adapted or recreated by any one individual.¹¹⁷

The Mass Production and Dissemination of Tradition

Although the 1970s is a time when much of the stylistic character becomes firmly established as an important musical symbol of a recovered Afroperuvian identity, this decade also marks beginning of what many musicians now see as the

¹¹⁷ Since the 1970s the issue of authorship, royalties and composer credit have complicated matters further. In a way, current debates about ownership are also the result of the formalization of the *festejo* and other Afroperuvian genres and of the professionalization of musical practices that in the past were part of the daily life experience of most members of the Afroperuvian community. In decades past, some individuals have been given composer credit for songs that others feel were only arranged by them and collected from other individuals, or that originally belonged to the traditional repertoire. More recently however there have been more attempts at differentiating between composer credit and other types of involvement with a particular song. An example of a *festejo* whose authorship is often debated is “Oita no ma,” (also known as “Ollita no ma” and “Ollita nomá”). A 1974 recording by Perú Negro (Various Artists n.d.) and a more recent one by Tania Libertad (1994) cite the author of this song as D.R. and D.A.R both of which are abbreviations for “Derechos [de Autor] Reservados” [Copyright Reserved], a way of indicating that the author of the song is unknown or that it belongs to the traditional repertoire, therefore the public domain. A more recent recording by Perú Negro (2000) attributes the song to Ronaldo Campos, one of the founding members of Peru Negro, an association that has perhaps developed over time given that this is one of Perú Negro’s signature pieces. In contrast, Eva Ayllón does not attribute authorship but does give compilation and arranging credit to Julio Morales San Martin (1991, 1994). Julie Freundt (1995) attributes it to Carlos “Caitro” Soto de la Colina, another former member of Peru Negro. Finally, Los Hermanos Santa Cruz split the credit among Caitro Soto, Julio Morales San Martin and poet and songwriter César Calvo. The issue of credit is further complicated by the fact that many of these versions feature slight variation in text, form and melody making it virtually impossible to determine whether these are an indication of the existence of multiple versions of the same song in the traditional repertoire which were then compiled by different individuals or whether they are the result of individual variations introduced by particular performers which in turn were reproduced by other artists.

commodification of Afroperuvian musical traditions. In the case of the *festejo*, there are a number of interrelated factors that are identified as being the result of the “commercialization” of the genre. The most overt of these is the incorporation of foreign musical elements into *festejo* arrangements, something that although to many it may have been initially a necessity in order to further “re-Africanize” the reconstructed Afroperuvian genres, quickly degenerated into a means of exoticizing the Afroperuvian sound as a means of making it more marketable. There is also what many identify as the nearly mechanized reproduction of the musical style of some Afroperuvian groups by those seeking to also reap the benefits of their success. In some cases, these critiques are expanded to include any unreflexive performance of Afroperuvian music, even at the hands of those groups that are identified as having been extremely influential in its stylistic development. Finally, there are the more recent attempts by some individuals to use the *festejo* as a basic template from which to develop a new dance style or genre that appeals to all Peruvian youth and that can be used to crossover into the international Latin American pop music charts.

As suggested above, to many traditionalists, one of the more readily visible markers of commodification is the incorporation of instruments that are considered to be outside of the Afroperuvian tradition. Percussion instruments, such as the *tumbadoras* (conga drums), *bongos*, cowbell, and *güiro* or *reco-reco* (a gourd scraper), although foreign to Peru, became commonplace in Afroperuvian music. The first of these borrowings can be heard in some of the arrangements developed by Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz in three

influential recordings: *Cumanana* (1964), *Canto Negro*¹¹⁸ (1968), and *Socabón*¹¹⁹ (1975). A number of influential groups including Nicodemes and Victoria Santa Cruz's own company, Cumanana, and later on Peru Negro, also regularly included these instruments in their performances. Although most performers are careful to point out that these instruments are not traditional, their wide use and acceptance has earned them a somewhat privileged role as acceptable non-traditional instruments that can be used for the performance of traditional Afroperuvian music. The incorporation of these instruments was also facilitated by the aforementioned project of cultural reclamation in which many of these figures were engaged. More than random appropriations, these instruments were iconic and aural symbols of a cultural past rooted in the experiences of Afroperuvians of centuries past. Although no membranophones survived as part of Afroperuvian musical practice into the mid twentieth century, there is evidence in the historical record to indicate that similar instruments were known in centuries past.¹²⁰

The reintroduction of present day counterparts of these instruments can be seen as an attempt at reclaiming a lost aspect of Afroperuvian musical practice. Furthermore, the adoption of these instruments may not have been as “foreign” an influence as it is sometimes construed by the traditionalist camp. After all, for the greater part of the twentieth century, many Afroperuvian percussionists have also

¹¹⁸ [*Black Song*]

¹¹⁹ The term *socabón* refers to a particular musical accompaniment and style of delivery associated with the performance of *décimas*.

¹²⁰ Of particular mention among these instruments is the *botija de barro*, a large earthenware vessel with a membrane stretched over its opening, that along with other smaller membranophones appear to have been replaced by the *cajón* sometime during the mid nineteenth century (Tompkins 1981, 143-144).

been skilled performers of Caribbean music and in that sense these instruments also represent a particular aspect of their experience and identity. From this perspective, it can be argued that many musicians of the time already possessed an aesthetic appreciation for these musics that facilitated their adaptation into the practice of Afroperuvian genres. After all, these instruments were well known by many Afroperuvian musicians who since decades before the Afroperuvian revival have performed with groups of *música tropical*,¹²¹ thus forming a part of their contemporary experience and musical identity (Casaverde 1996a; Medrano 1996m; A. Vásquez 1996). In fact, it is part of this familiarity that musicians already had with these instruments that facilitated their later incorporation into genres such as the *festejo*. Ironically, many non-musicians have generally ignored this particular aspect of professional musician's identities, largely the result of dichotomizing the relationship between traditional practices and the mass media in such a way that the "authentic" culture bearer is assumed to be someone that does not have experiences outside of what is perceived to be the discretely boundary sphere of his or her culture. Something similar can be said of more recent generations of musicians. Roberto Arguedas, for example, recalls the significance that performing Cuban genres had on his identity as a black musician:

Después hicimos un grupo de son cubano, con Félix Casaverde...yo tocaba bajo—Félix Casaverde, Lalo Muchaipiña y otros pata más, y se llamaba El Sexto Poder. En el tiempo en el que salieron [los del] Black

¹²¹ This literally means "tropical music," a blanket term used to describe various types of Caribbean music that have been widely popular in Peru. Cuban music has been particularly influential. In fact, some Limeño salsa enthusiasts like to point out that El Callao, Lima's neighboring port city, boast the oldest Sonora Matancera fan club outside of Cuba.

Power, ¿te acuerdas? Entonces, nos pusimos El Sexto Poder porque éramos seis negros (Arguedas 2000).¹²²

The experience that professional performers have had with other types of music has had stylistic as well as timbral consequences. Although Brazil and Brazilian scholarship were an important source of conceptual and theoretical inspiration for Nicomedes Santa Cruz's theories of origins of many Afroperuvian traditions (Feldman 2001, 211-220), from a performance practice standpoint, Cuba remained a particularly important source of musical inspiration. This is not only because of the already mentioned long-standing popularity that Cuban musics have had with Peruvian audiences but also because of the collaboration of the Santa Cruz siblings and, later on, Peru Negro with Guillermo Nicasio Regeira (also known as "El Niño."¹²³). El Niño was a Cuban musician that permanently relocated to Lima in the late 1940s and who helped develop some of the adaptation of Cuban percussion patterns to supplement those of Afroperuvian genres like the *festejo*. He also is well remembered among Afroperuvian musicians for having taught the members of Peru Negro a number of Afro-Cuban religious chants that eventually became an important part of the repertoire of the group and which came to symbolize, like the borrowed percussion instruments, many of the cultural practices that the descendants of Africans in Peru had lost but that their counterparts in other parts of Latin America had not (Feldman 2001, 312-318). While many of these incorporations were not unique to the *festejo*, it

¹²² [After that we formed Cuban son group, with Félix Casaverde...I played bass—Félix Casaverde, Lalo Muchaipiña and other buddies, and it was called the Sixth Power. [It was] the time when those of the Black Power came out, remember? So then, we called ourselves The Sixth Power because we were six black men.]

¹²³ ["The boy/child"]

appears that the rhythmic particularities of this genre allowed for the easy transformation of traditional Cuban accompaniment patterns in a manner similar to the way in which *cajita*, and *quijada* patterns had been incorporated years earlier. In their transformed state, the *tumbadora* part often appears as a simplified version of the *cajón* pattern that tend to periodically invert high and low tones to provide some contrast to the *cajón* (Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.9 Example of how a *tumbadora* part is adapted to fit a *festejo* pattern. Notice that the transformed part not only tends to coincide with most *cajón* strokes but also doubles fairly closely the rhythm pattern performed by the bass (Figure 3.6).

Throughout the 1970s, *festejos* featuring large percussion sections became increasingly popular and soon would become, in the mind of Limeño audiences, synonymous with the expression of joy and spontaneity associated with the Afroperuvian community. In retrospect, many musicians feel that this was a symptom of the commodification of the *festejo* by the mass media and local record industry. Lucho Sandoval, for example, remembers that when he was growing up in Comas in the 1970s that the music of the few important Afroperuvian artists of the time like the Santa Cruz siblings, were greatly overshadowed by a barrage of commercialized *festejos*:

Hay dos tipos [de música Afroperuana] ¿no? Había el otro campo no, la música negra más comercial, “El Negrito Chinchiví,” que esto y el otro. O sea eso, se escuchaba más. Lo que se pasaba por la radio, lo que la gente compraba en un disco de cuarenta y cinco. Nicomodes Santa Cruz, Victoria Santa Cruz eran un poco más intelectuales digamos, pero sí llegaban....El asunto es que no ha llegado lo suficiente (Sandoval 2000).¹²⁴

Similarly, Clara Chávez, who also grew up in the 1970s and early 1980s, recalls how she had been initially attracted by these commercialized *festejos*, only realizing much later, after initiating her studies in dance pedagogy at the Escuela Nacional de Foklore José María Arguedas, of their distorted and sexualized character. Furthermore, she links the demand for these commodified forms to an endemic lack of awareness, if not outright lack of interest, by audiences and performers, a complacency that continues to allow for the emergence of posers, who having no true knowledge of Afroperuvian music, manage to pass themselves off as bearers of that legacy:

En la adolescencia me paraba frente al espejo y bailaba danzas negras y hacia y cometía los mismos errores garrafales que hacen ahorita algunos grupos que han llevado las danzas negras a lo que es comercio nada más. Eso de ponerme una faldita chiquitita y bailar en puntas y jurando en ese momento que era la niña más linda del mundo porque estaba moviéndome como, no sé, como se mueven ahorita muchas personas, creyendo que eso es válido cuando eso es un deformación total...Es realmente terrible. Es una deformación total la que se da ahora en muchos grupos que, como te digo, han inclinado todo lo que es el arte negro sólo a lo comercial....La gente quizás está acostumbrada a que suba a un escenario un grupo de chicas con unas minifaldas pequeñitas a moverse y a pararse en puntitas sin importarles realmente que hay detrás de eso (Chávez 2000).¹²⁵

¹²⁴ [There are two types [of Afroperuvian music]. There was the other camp, the black music that was more commercial—“El Negrito Chinchiví,” this and that. What was played on the radio, what people bought in a 45 record. Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Victoria Santa Cruz were a bit more intellectual, let’s say, but they did reach [us]...The issue is that they did not reach enough.]

¹²⁵ [In my adolescence I would stand in front of the mirror and danced black dances and I made and committed the same huge errors that groups that have taken black dances to what is nothing more than commercial are doing right now. Putting on a very tiny skirt and dance on points and

The manner of dancing described by Chávez is one associated specifically with the *festejo*, one that according to many musicians, emerged at a locale called the *Peña Valentina* (Feldman 2001, 326-27, 366). As danced by professional troupes of dancers and musicians, and as taught at various folklore institutions, the *festejo* is a fully choreographed dance where every single step and move is planned ahead of time. The source of that choreography comes from early performances of Peru Negro, and to many of the performers who have or have had direct or indirect contact with the members of that group, to dance any *festejo* is to execute the aforementioned choreography regardless of which song it may be using as its accompaniment. In contrast, the style of dancing the *festejo* emanating from the musical gatherings at the *Peña Valentina* does not follow specific steps from beginning to end but rather features abstracted and exaggerated choreographic elements, some of them borrowed from the movements used by professional groups, such as the vigorous shaking of the hips and shoulders. Beyond the emphasis on bodily virtuosity, the new style also placed on display the bodies of young female dancers as it was evidenced by the small halter tops and short and flared mini skirts that were often used by the dancers, thus contributing to the objectification of the body that many of the dancers today see as one more symptom of the commercialization of the *festejo*.

swearing [to myself] that I was the prettiest girl in the world because I moved like, I don't know, like many people mover right now, thinking that that is valid when that is a total deformation. It is really terrible. It is a total deformation what takes place today in some groups that, like I was telling you, have pushed everything that is the black arts only towards that which is commercial...People are perhaps accustomed to see a group of girls with tiny miniskirts go up on stage and move and stand on the tip of their toes without really caring about what lies behind that.]

The characterization by many musicians of this manner of dancing as mechanical, a set of movements that more often resemble an epileptic episode rather than a virtuosic, let alone genuine, expression of joy is worth pointing out. The association of this type of dancing with mechanical movements was even common back in the 1970s and references to such movements could occasionally be heard in the improvised calls of some *festejos* and related genres of the time. For example, in a 1971 performance of the “Préndeme la vela” [“Light my candle”] by Abelardo Vásquez and Cumanana, the background vocals proclaim in reference to the vigorous shaking and churning of the hips and shoulders that the dancers are presumably doing while the song is being performed: “Esa morena parece licuadora”¹²⁶ (Various Artists n.d.). Perhaps out of all of the possible critiques related to the commodification of the *festejo*, these types of images and their more recent reinterpretation by musicians are amongst the most compelling being that, by means of analogy, they point towards how the professionalization of the musician within the contemporary, mass-mediated, urban environment of Lima has resulted in the reduction of Afroperuvian musical traditions to little more than an automated and unreflexive process with the sole purpose of cranking out facsimiles ready for capitalist consumption.

The mechanization of the *festejo* extends beyond this particular style of dancing. Musicians also generally point towards its steady increase in tempo as a marker of its commodification. While such an increase is easily quantifiable by listening to recordings from different time periods, it is difficult to ascertain the

¹²⁶ [That brown girl resembles a blender]

exact reasons for this change. There are however, some possibilities worth noting. As it might be expected, part of the reason for this increase is attributed to the aforementioned faster way of dancing the *festejo*. Some suggest that there is a causal relationship between the choreography and accompanying tempo, although not all agree as to the initial link in that chain. Whether the new dance style prompted the increase in tempo or whether a faster accompaniment necessitated the development of a more suitable choreography, is beside the point. In fact, the aforementioned increased emphasis on percussion instruments in *festejo* arrangements of the time is likely to have also been a culprit. Furthermore, this latter factor seems to have also contributed to the homogenization of some of the cross-rhythmic subtleties of the genre something that can also be interpreted as a sign of its commodification. As many musicians point out and as it can easily be heard in many recordings of the time, the over proliferation of percussion instruments in the accompaniment texture at times led to the virtual drowning out of melodic accompaniments such as those of the guitar. In fact, the aforementioned induction of the bass seems to have been in part an attempt at counteracting the overpowering effect of the percussion in large dance ensembles. As the use of these instruments became more commonplace among many groups, and as *cajón* bases became more formalized, the underlying 6/8 rhythmic feel of the *festejo* became much more emphasized, to the point that the juxtaposition of duple and triple subdivision of the beat that were such a characteristic feature of earlier *festejo* arrangements was largely replaced by a faster and more “normalized” rhythmic feel primarily in compound duple time.

Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, the basic stylistic character of the *festejo* remained similar to that of the 1970s. At the same time, groups that featured a lead singer rather than a group of dancers as the central focus of the presentation became more prominent. Unlike groups like Peru Negro that tended to specialize on Afroperuvian dance genres, these groups offered a mix of *criollo* and Afroperuvian repertoires fronted by both by *criollo* and Afroperuvian singers. The configuration was certainly not new. In fact, as Afroperuvian music gained prominence in the 1970s, many *criollo* groups, which included a number of Afroperuvian performers, began to include more and more Afroperuvian genres in their repertoires. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, singer Eva Ayllón manages to balance both of these repertoires in such a way that Afroperuvian genres are no longer used to simply introduce a little variety onto what would normally be an endless string of *valses*, with the occasional polka and obligatory *marinera*. Most notable among these performers is Eva Ayllón. At a time when most Afroperuvian and *criollo* performers had great difficulties finding performing opportunities, Ayllón was a commercial success often filling large concert halls and stadiums, even in provinces outside of Lima. Her performances were (and still are) exiting, dynamic, included a broad range of repertoire from the Peruvian coast, supplemented the pre-existing canon with new compositions, introduced audiences to new generations of performers (many of them children of the musicians from decades past), and featured more complex and virtuoso arrangements.

Ayllón's mass media success has allowed her some luxuries that other performers have not had, including the ability to have a large band with sub-groups of musicians that specialize on different genres, and the ability to collaborate with as many as four different arrangers in her various recording projects. Of particular mention among her arrangers is guitarist Walter Velásquez whose arrangements of most of Ayllón's Afroperuvian repertoire set a stylistic standard that many other performers have come to emulate. In terms of the *festejo* Velásquez generally expanded upon many of the strategies pursued by performers in the 1970s; guitar parts continued to feature melodic and rhythmic ostinatos, although virtuosity and improvisation were more emphasized, and more percussion was added to the musical texture including, in a few instances, Afrocuban *batá* drums. Furthermore, while these *festejos* continue to exhibit large percussion sections with rhythmically dense accompaniments, the use of electric and/or electro-acoustic guitars as well as better studio recording techniques have allowed for a better balance of all the different accompaniment patterns.

That ability to keep a balance amongst all contributing elements of the *festejo* can also be used to further characterize Ayllón's contribution to the contemporary development of the Afroperuvian repertoire. Most individuals agree that her success stems from her ability (and that of her arrangers) to combine songs from the surviving repertoire as well as more recent compositions with modified and improved stylistic elements from previous decades in such a way that her music remains closely linked to musical practices of the past while at

the same time reflecting contemporary experience. In fact, Ayllón appears to escape much of the above-mentioned criticism regarding the commodification of Afroperuvian music, even though she is highly successful in the commercial arena, thus suggesting to some that there is room for the negotiation in the mass-mediated environment of contemporary Lima.

Revisiting Old Strategies

Artists like Eva Ayllón signify to other performers that it is possible to re-evaluate the stylistic trajectory of the *festejo* and reinvent the genre once again without necessarily erasing stylistic connections to the past. After all, as many musicians have come to acknowledge in recent years, if earlier generations had been able to reinvent the past through their own inventiveness and creativity, then this particular strategy should also be available to them. Furthermore, if one considers the entire stylistic development of Afroperuvian music, not just the repertoire from centuries past, then it can be argued that the very act of interpretation and reinvention has become a part of the Afroperuvian musical tradition. To this end, musicians have sought to critically reinterpret the significance of some of the stylistic changes of the previous four decades, often by bringing attention to some features of the genre as a means of downplaying those others that have led to the perceived commodification of the genre. For example, while it is common among younger singers to interpret the *festejo* strictly in 6/8, some singers continue to reference earlier stylistic vocal practice of juxtaposing simple duple against compound duple subdivisions of the beat. Again, Eva Ayllón is important to mention in this regard given the complex

rhythmic and metric variations that she employs when singing most of her repertoire, not just *festejos*. A few new compositions have also come to make use of this older stylistic practice as a means through which to claim a connection to a musical heritage that predates the more recent stylistic changes of the *festejo* that are associated with its commodification (Figure 3.10). Rony Campos' "Negro con sabor,"¹²⁷ for example, makes use of this older style as a means of musically reinforcing a song text that characterizes his father Ronaldo Campos and the other original members of Peru Negro as the main keepers and promoters of Afroperuvian traditions. The second example in Figure 3.10, "Tonada del Congo,"¹²⁸ is a contemporary recreation by Susana Baca and Félix Vílchez of a colonial text and melody collected by Bishop Juan Baltazar Martínez de Compañón y Bujanda. Baca explains that their reconstruction used the *festejo* as its source of inspiration because they felt it to be closer in style to the eighteenth century popular song than the Martínez de Compañón transcription (Baca et al, 1992, 70).¹²⁹ Consequently, the reference of older stylistic *festejo* practices can be seen as an attempt at getting closer, both chronologically and stylistically speaking, to that time. This contrasts with other *festejos* in the same album (Baca et al 1992) since these do not use the same type of simple duple against compound duple juxtapositions as the opening of "Tonada del Congo." Furthermore, Baca differentiates between *festejos* by labeling "Tonada del

¹²⁷ [Black with Delight]

¹²⁸ [Tonada of the Congo] A *tonada* was an eighteenth century song from the northern coast.

¹²⁹ The Martínez de Compañón transcriptions appear to be more modeled after the Western religious and art music of the time. In 1999 Annibal Cetranglolo and the Albalonga Ensemble (1999) recorded many of these songs, among them "Tonada del Congo." The assumptions that each group has made as to what should be the stylistic baseline for such song has produced a marked contrast between these two recreations.

Congo” as a *festejo rural*¹³⁰ while its more “modern” sounding counterpart is identified as a *festejo urbano*.^{131· 132}

"Negro con sabor" by Rony Campos as performed by Perú Negro (Perú Negro 2000)

A musical score for the song "Negro con sabor" by Rony Campos, performed by Perú Negro in 2000. The score is written on a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 126. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with several measures containing beamed eighth notes. Above the staff, there are rhythmic markings: a series of horizontal lines with a '2' above them, indicating a compound duple subdivision (two eighth notes per beat). The lyrics are: "A - sí fue-ron pa-sean-do con qui - ja-da y con ca-jón. Ha - cia el mun-do ente-ro Pe-rú Ne - gro los lle-vó."

"Tonada del congo" eighteenth century tonada as performed by Susana Baca (Baca et al 1992)

A musical score for the song "Tonada del congo" by Susana Baca, performed in 1992. The score is written on a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 120. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with several measures containing beamed eighth notes. Above the staff, there are rhythmic markings: a series of horizontal lines with a '2' above them, indicating a compound duple subdivision (two eighth notes per beat). The lyrics are: "A la mar me lle-van sin te-ner ra - zón, de-jan-do a mí ma - dre de mí co-ra-zón."

Figure 3.10 Two examples of contemporary *festejos* that use the juxtaposition of simple duple and compound duple subdivisions of the beat in order to evoke an older stylistic practice.

Another reaction to earlier *festejo* styles has been a desire to move away from a perceived monotony that many feel the genre has attained over the years. The reason for this monotony is attributed to aforementioned factors like the increase in tempo, the over-proliferation of percussion instruments and parts that tend to “cover up” or completely dispense with the harmonic and rhythmic role played by the guitar, performers who merely copy some of the “classic”

¹³⁰ [*rural festejo*]

¹³¹ [*urban festejo*]

¹³² This differentiation rests on the commonly held belief that rural practices, by virtue of their relative isolation from other transforming cultural influences, have managed to remain more similar to cultural practices of the past than practices in large urban areas where people are routinely exposed to a variety of external cultural influences. Although this may appear to be an overgeneralization, it is worth pointing out that the history of the reconstruction of Afroperuvian musical practices appears to support this assumption. Many of the surviving musical fragments were collected from rural areas and from musicians whose families originally came from these areas while many musicians of African descent in Lima had already abandoned the explicit cultivation of an exclusively Afroperuvian repertoire.

accompaniment parts and arrangements rather than devising their own, and the perception that the *festejo* is something that is merely good for dancing fast. In response to this, individuals like Félix Casaverde and Susana Baca have come to perform their interpretations of the *festejo* at slower tempos and with fewer instrumental parts so as to revert attention to the *cajón* and guitar accompaniments. As a skilled guitarist, well versed on a variety of styles including blues, *bossa nova*, jazz, and Peruvian coastal genres, Casaverde has pursued the further exploration of the rhythmic and harmonic possibilities of the *festejo*. One particularly salient change that is characteristic not only of Casaverde's playing but also of a number of other contemporary performers has been the modification of the bass line used to accompany the *festejo* by de-emphasizing the downbeat. In spite of the negative associations that the "Cubanization" of Afroperuvian music might have with some musicians due to a perceived over-use of percussion instruments, Casaverde interprets changes like those shown in Figure 3.11 as being a rhythmic adaptation of the type of bass lines used in Cuban son and contemporary salsa (Casaverde 1996a). As Figure 3.11 also shows, this bass line leaves more room for interpretation given the harmonic possibilities implied by the second scale degree. Similarly, the possibility of transforming this bass line into a second guitar part, as Casaverde advocates, leads to the juxtaposition of a more traditional use of triads and dominant chords in the second part with contemporary innovations like the use ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth chords in the lead (Figure 3.12).

son/salsa bass line

adapted *festejo* bass line

E E F#min B7
E F#7 B7
E A/F# B7
E B/F# B

Detailed description: This figure shows two bass lines in 6/8 time, key of E major. The top line is labeled 'son/salsa bass line' and the bottom line is 'adapted festejo bass line'. Between the lines, a chord progression is listed: E, E, E, E, F#min, F#7, A/F#, B/F#, B7, B7, B7, B. The notation includes a common time signature of 8 and a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#).

Figure 3.11 Example of what Félix Casaverde identifies as the contemporary way of playing a *festejo* bass line and some of the passing chord possibilities as implied by the bass.

guitar 1

guitar 2 (or bass)

E A B7 E A B11 E A B13

E B7 E B7 E B7

Detailed description: This figure shows guitar accompaniment for two guitars in 6/8 time, key of E major. The top staff is 'guitar 1' and the bottom staff is 'guitar 2 (or bass)'. Chord progressions are indicated above each staff. Guitar 1 chords: E, A, B7, E, A, B11, E, A, B13. Guitar 2 chords: E, B7, E, B7, E, B7. The notation includes a common time signature of 8 and a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#).

Figure 3.12 Example of recent *festejo* accompaniments as demonstrated by Félix Casaverde (1996b).

Recent innovations by Susana Baca and her current music director and arranger David Pinto have further expanded on some of these ideas. Perhaps this should not be a surprise given the collaboration between Baca and Casaverde in earlier projects as well as their common collaboration with bass player and arranger Félix Vílchez. Like Casaverde, Baca is interested in exploring the harmonic and rhythmic possibilities of the *festejo*. It is difficult to pinpoint a single way in which Baca achieves this since Baca continues to reinvent her arrangements. Nevertheless, her more recent interpretations of the *festejo* do

show an interest in maintaining a strong and regular rhythmic feel in the musical texture, while at the same time shifting the emphasis away from an easily discernible downbeat. In “Molino molero,”¹³³ a *festejo* dating from the earlier part of the nineteenth century (Tompkins 1981, 243), Baca and Pinto do away with the guitars altogether in favor of an arrangement that relies on bass, *cajón* and *cajita* (Figure 3.13). The combination of a single melodic instrument in the accompaniment that avoids downbeats with *cajita* that starts a pickup to the second beat of the first measure, and a *cajón* that consistently omits the two low tone pickups and downbeat that characterize most *festejo* bases (see examples in Figure 3.8), persuades listeners into hearing the downbeat on a different place, thus introducing new kind of rhythmic ambiguity.

The figure shows a musical score for three instruments: cajita, cajón, and bass. The music is in 6/8 time. The cajita part consists of a series of eighth notes with 'x' marks above them, indicating specific rhythmic patterns. The cajón part consists of a series of eighth notes with 'x' marks below them, indicating specific rhythmic patterns. The bass part consists of a series of eighth notes with chord symbols (Em, F#ø, B7) above them, indicating the harmonic structure. Brackets under the bass line indicate where listeners are persuaded to hear the downbeat.

Figure 3.13 Introduction to “Molino molero” as performed by Susana Baca (1997). The brackets under the bass line denotes where listeners are persuaded to hear the downbeat.

¹³³ [The Grinding Mill]

There also have been attempts at updating the sound of the *festejo* by hybridizing it with other popular music forms, particularly those originating from different points in the African diaspora. Many of these have been partly inspired by the success of an influential group from the 1980s called Los Hijos del Sol,¹³⁴ a collective of veteran Limeño musicians and young new talent like Eva Ayllón that used *criollo* and Afroperuvian genres as the foundation for the development of a uniquely Peruvian version of Latin jazz. In the 1990s, the appeal that Afro-Latin American popular music genres had with the Limeño youth, prompted other composers to engage in the self-conscious endeavor of single handedly inventing and promoting new Afroperuvian genres. Two of these are worth noting. The first is *criollo* composer Mario Cavagnaro's attempt at introducing a genre he called the *cajumba* (Cavagnaro 1996), which was based on the *cajita* pattern for the *son de los diablos* and was recorded by rock singer Julio Andrade (1995). The second was Julie Freundt's development of a modern dance-inspired choreography that was meant to be the focal point of an updated version of the *festejo*, which dubbed the *sarambé* (Freundt 1995) and which served as the basis for her recent album *Afrodance* (Freundt 1998). In both cases however, these potential contributions to the Afroperuvian repertoire had difficulty overcoming their novelty status. At the time, some Afroperuvian musicians critiqued these attempts at invention and pointed to their eventual failure as an indication that

¹³⁴ [*The Children of the Sun*]

these individuals, unlike their predecessors in Los Hijos del Sol, lacked a sufficient intimate knowledge of the repertoire to effect lasting changes.¹³⁵

In contrast to these, there is the quite successful collaboration between rocker Miki González and the Ballumbrosio family (M. González 1993; Ballumbrosio 1997) that gave birth to a festejo style whose use of electric guitars and drum set make it somewhat reminiscent of contemporary African pop. While González himself has moved on to different projects, members of the Ballumbrosio family have continued to perform this style quite successfully in Lima. The result of this success is that Ballumbrosio family has gained the attention of the Limeño public thus allowing them entry into the professional music circuit. Originally from the town of El Carmen in the southern province of Chincha, the Ballumbrosio have been well known in this locality for decades. The patriarch of the family, Amador Ballumbrosio, has been the *caporal* of the Danza de los Negritos in El Carmen since the 1970s and has been an important ethnographic character in ethnomusicologist Chalena Vásquez's monograph on the musical traditions of El Carmen (Vásquez 1982), and more recently in Heidi Feldman's dissertation (Feldman 2001). In spite of his notoriety however, Amador Ballumbrosio was not an active performer in the Limeño professional music circuit. This changed after the release of *Akundún*, the album with Miki González. Today, thanks to the exposure received by this album, Amador

¹³⁵ It is tempting to theorize that this lack of acceptance or intimate knowledge maybe related to the fact that both Cavagnaro and Freundt are *criollos*. However, it is necessary to point out that other *criollos* and *mestizos* have made significant contributions to the development of contemporary Afroperuvian music, most notably among them composer Chabuca Granda who will be discussed in the following chapter as well as the aforementioned David Pinto and Félix Vilchez.

Ballumbrosio's children, who were the main collaborators in the *Akundún* (M. González 1993) project, have gained entry into the professional music circuit while largely circumventing the more institutionalized ways of access to this space, namely being related to one of the families of professional musicians in Lima that are perceived as culture bearers, apprenticing with a well established group like Peru Negro, or less often, by receiving formal training at an academy.

Most recently, José de la Cruz (a.k.a. "Guajaja") has also achieved similar notoriety by hybridizing *festejos* with some of the musics that are currently popular in Lima's night club scene: dance hall reggae, rap and techno. In the case of Guajaja, most musicians point towards his particular style as having been influenced by that of Panamanian rapper El General. In the early 1990s, El General's music and the great appeal that it had with Peruvian youth became quite a concern for a number of older musicians. Abelardo Vásquez for example, saw El General and his music as directly responsible for prompting someone like Miki Gonzalez to engage in the *Akundún* project with the Ballumbrosio, something that he ultimately saw as a distortion and trivialization of traditional Afroperuvian music (A. Vásquez 1995). Younger generations of musicians heard something different in El General's music that they found appealing, namely the possibility of updating their style to appeal to younger and more diverse audiences both in Peru and abroad. As is the case with the Ballumbrosio family and Miki González, the main thrust of Guajaja's reinterpretation of the *festejo* involves the substitution of conventional instruments for electric guitars, synthesizers, and electronic beat tracks. These timbral substitutions have also been characteristic of

a number of *criollo* musicians during the 1990s that sought to give the *vals* a new and younger face, and these instruments, as technologically informed markers of modernity, have been at the center of these attempts at the “modernization” of traditional genres in order to make them more appealing or relevant to younger generations. In the case of Afroperuvian music the *festejo* has been the target of most of these attempts.

The centrality that is placed on the *festejo* by people like Guajaja and the Ballumbrosio, more so than other Afroperuvian genres, points towards how musicians and audiences continue to associate this genre with celebration and dancing. In the present day context where the more lucrative markets in the Limeño mass media revolve around dance music, the *festejo* appears to have the most potential for crossover as a local version of the music arriving from Peru from other parts of Latin America, Europe and the United States. The association is by no means new. In fact, since the late 1980s, it was common in Limeño dance clubs and discotheques to feature a couple of “modernized” *festejos* (maybe something by Eva Ayllón or Peruvian singer living in Mexico Tania Libertad¹³⁶) at the end of a night of rock and Latin American pop, something that always managed to get everyone present, regardless of how tired they were, back onto the dance floor for a final explosion of spontaneous bodily expression. Similarly, the *festejo* became the object of a health and fitness vogue in the mid nineties

¹³⁶ Tania Libertad made most of her career outside of Peru, large as a result of having entered the professional arena in the mid 1980s at a time when there was little demand for new singers of *criollo* and Afroperuvian music in Peru. Abroad she mainly made her career singing ballads and Latin American pop music. There is however one album, *Africa en América* (Libertad 1994), which is made up largely of contemporary arrangements of *festejos*, many of them loosely related, in terms of style, to the music discussed here.

appropriately entitled *afrorópicos*, largely trying to capitalize on the belief held by most Limeños that hearing a *festejo* just makes one want to dance. Even in the 1970s, it can be argued that the aforementioned commodification of the *festejo*, particularly in reference to dancing, was in part an earlier attempt at having the *festejo* cross over beyond the traditional music market. At that time, the music to emulate was salsa, thus perhaps contributing to the legitimization of Cuban instruments and incorporations of Cuban patterns that became common among some *festejo* arrangements of the time.

The stylistic transformations that the *festejo* has undergone over the second half of the twentieth century parallel social and technological changes that have affected the context in which Afroperuvian music is performed today. As the various reconstructed genres were promoted and disseminated by an emerging recording industry, and state institutional support, and as musicians began to reinvent themselves and professional performers and popular culture celebrities, so did the *festejo* being to be reinvented as consolidated and unambiguous genre complex featuring specific genealogical relationships, accompaniment patterns and, in some cases, choreographies. What began as a success story however quickly appears to have careened out of control, something that appears to have become most evident in the aftermath of the commercial success of many professional groups of the 1970s. In retrospect, professional musicians have come to conclude that an overenthusiastic and uncritical embrace of Limeño mass

mediated musical environment led to the reification and commodification of Afroperuvian music, particularly the *festejo*.

Consequently, a number of different critical reinterpretations of the trajectory of the *festejo* over the past fifty years have emerged, attempted rebuttals that seek to predict and circumvent the trappings of mass culture to which some of their predecessors fell prey. There remain however many challenges and no single formula that can give a trouble free answer. While to many musicians perception after the fact may indeed be perfect, foresight offers no firm assurances. Because of this uncertainty and the potential demise of Afroperuvian music that it implies to some individuals, musicians continue to revisit older strategies, a way re-infusing contemporary musical practice with those stylistic elements that are considered to be more authentic because they predate the aforementioned commercialization of the genre and because they are chronologically closer to the imagined Afroperuvian past. In this sense, it can be argued that musicians today continue the legacy of their predecessors, always reinventing the past as very much an act of the present.

Nevertheless, referencing the past and establishing connections to stylistic elements introduced during the revival period do not constitute a sound or desirable strategy in and of themselves. As Jameson suggests: “the strange afterimage of ‘primal unity’ always seems to be projected after the fact onto whatever present the historical eye fixes as its ‘inevitable’ past, which vanishes without a trace when frontal vision is displaced onto it in turn” (Jameson 1997, 337). It is perhaps out of this recognition that younger generations of musicians

have become quite critical of the dogmatic orthodoxy of traditionalism and often point as to how this rigidity only makes Afroperuvian music more susceptible to reification and commodification. Ironically, while such charges are easily made in terms of musical style and musical repertoire, even the most critical voices exhibit a proselytizing streak when it comes to providing a verbal definition of the *festejo*, a situation that, as Heidi Feldman points out, often runs the risk of essentializing the character of these genres into a litany of largely empty clichés.¹³⁷ This perhaps should be no surprise. After all, as discussed at the

¹³⁷ Feldman's point is well taken, particularly when taking into account the seeming redundancy with which musicians verbalize the essence of the *festejo*. Much like the transformation of the genre itself, how musicians, and for that matter ethnomusicologists, have come to define the *festejo* consists of countless repetitions and elaborations largely disseminated through newspaper articles, personal interviews with performers and record liner notes. From time to time new individuals add their own embellishments and elaborations while at the same time reiterating those key aspects that all believe to be inherent to the genre as rooted in the late nineteenth century. Musicians and audiences alike are far less critical of this type of repetition, probably a result of the assumption that something that is in print can better resist a process akin to the commodification of musical style due to its symbolic association with academic research and by extension a pre-modern past. Yet, like more recent incarnations of the *festejo* stylistically reference the reconstructions of Juan Criado and the "Pancho Fierro" Company, much of what is written about the character of the genre can be traced back to a principal source, namely Nicomedes Santa Cruz's influential album *Socabón* where he states that: "[the *festejo*] is the representative song-dance of black cultural mixing in Peruvian folklore. As a song [form] its lyrics are always of festive manner (perhaps from that [derives] its name of *festejo*). As a dance, the original choreography of the *festejo* was lost and there are only references that lead us to believe that it was a predominantly masculine dance with a relatively free choreography" (N. Santa Cruz, 2001). Later on, Tompkins provides a similar definition: "Among the song-dance forms most representative of extant Afro-Peruvian music culture is the *festejo*...A variety of themes, usually festive in nature, is used in the song texts, and although much of the original choreography of the *festejo* proper has been lost, it is generally considered to have been somewhat free and sensuous in nature" (Tompkins 1981, 239-240). In the early 1990s, perhaps out of acknowledgement for the progressive standardization of the compound duple feel of the genre, guitarist Félix Casaverde and bassist Félix Vélchez define the *festejo* to European audiences by elaborating on Santa Cruz. To them the *festejo* is a "celebration song and dance on a 6/8 beat. Its choreography has been lost. It was probably a freely inspired masculine, acrobatic dance" (Casaverde and Vélchez 1992). In the same year, Susana Baca echoes and elaborates on Tompkins, so that the *festejo* "is the most representative genre among surviving forms of Afroperuvian song and dance. Its joy is exuberant. It is danced under all circumstances in which a celebration takes place, and it is an urban as much as a rural genre" (Baca et. al 1992, 84). A few years later, Rafael and Octavio Santa Cruz, nephews of the aforementioned Nicomedes and Victoria, sustain that: "It is important to

beginning of this chapter, there are parallels between these critiques of the Limeño mass media and those of critical theory when it comes to polarizing the massified and decontextualized present to the more discretely bounded pre-modern or high modernist past. In both cases, nostalgia is key, whether that longing is for a transcendent art form or an equally utopian and imagined sense of cultural autonomy that is rooted in the past.

The refusal to abandon such projects is in essence a political choice largely based on the acknowledgement that, despite its imperfections, such an avenue of critique offers better coping strategies than fragmentary and depth-defying alternatives. While it may be true that whatever authority contemporary musicians have earned by re-establishing links to the past, highlighting their role as culture bearers, engaging in academic research, and maintaining certain monopolies of musical knowledge, these strategies have been offset by the professionalization of the musician, the institutionalization and folklorization of reinvented Afroperuvian traditions, the reification of the concept of culture and authenticity as exemplified by the traditionalist camp, and the decontextualizing effect of the mass media and recorded music industry. Because of this, in recent years musicians have had to develop new strategies that seek to break what is at best seen as a stalemate, if not a losing battle, between the traditional past and the commodified present. To this end, they have come to strategically reconceptualize what they do as an art form that is capable of transcending local

distinguish the *festejo* as the representative genre of the black [man] in the Peruvian coast. It is called *festejo* because of its festive lyrics” (H. Santa Cruz 1995). Finally, the liner notes for a recent international release of Peru Negro define the *festejo* as: “...a festive music (from “fiesta”, Spanish word for party). The *festejo* is the most joyous of Afro-Peruvian music” (Rosenberg 2000).

specificity as well as the potential of that locality to be subsumed into the late capitalist malaise. In many ways, it can be argued that this is an inversion of the transposition that some anthropologists and ethnomusicologists have used to apply concepts of critical theory to Latin American music and culture, thus suggesting that both musicians and academics share a space where nostalgic strategies that blur the line between culture and art are both coping strategies characteristic of late capitalism. Chapter 4 will address how, in the case of Afroperuvian musicians, the specifics of this strategic use of ambiguity has emerged out of local artistic movements as well as from more pragmatic needs related to recent incursions of some musicians into the international music arena.

Chapter 4: Reinterpreting Tradition as Vernacular Art

*[In reference to my assesment of Los Lobos' music]
Eso es muy interesante desde un punto de vista
sociológico, pero ¿qué me puedes decir de su
música desde un punto de vista netamente
musical?¹³⁸*

—SUSANA BACA

AUSTIN, TX. NOVEMBER 12-15, 1999.



Figure 4.1: Susana Baca (*center back*) with her band (*left to right*: David Pinto, Rafael “Fayo” Muñoz, Hugo Bravo, and Juan Medrano Cotito), and her husband and manager Ricardo Pereira (*center front*). Photograph by the author. Bergstrom International Airport, Austin, TX, 16 November 1999.

¹³⁸ [That sounds very interesting from a sociological standpoint, but what can you say about their music from a purely musical standpoint?]

After more than four years since her last visit to Austin, Susana Baca had returned for a visit. Much had happened during the intervening years. At the time of her first visit (*see* chapter 1), the American public was just becoming aware of her and aside from a few individual at the conference she was attending. At one point during that visit, I took Susana and her husband Ricardo to a local Tower Records to see if the David Byrne compilation of Afroperuvian music in which she was featured was being stocked. We found it buried among a modest cluster of Pan-Andean music CDs, many of them not even from Peru, but simply placed in that category by the store's employees because of the images of Machu Picchu, stylized Inca designs, llamas, panpipes and/or the absence of other geographical identifiers like the words Bolivia, Chile, or Ecuador. Susana and Ricardo laughed at the whole thing and she said that if it were not because the teenager working at the counter had no idea of who she was, she would have teased him by asking how come there were no more copies of her CD on the shelf. It was the same among my friends in the ethnomusicology department. Most of those who knew of her did so because of me.

This time, the situation was quite different. Right away, it became evident that her status as a celebrity in the United States had markedly increased. In the week before her arrival, friends, acquaintances, and even people I barely knew started to contact me, hoping they could find a way of meeting Susana and her band, or that they could arrange through me an interview, guest appearance at a local events, or a private workshops for local musicians. Their time was limited, however, and knowing that they had scheduled a couple days of rest in Austin, I

referred all of the requests to the agency handling the tour. During their visit, I got a brief glimpse of what life on the road was for Susana and her band. Rehearsals, sound checks, phone and in person interviews, left them with little free time much of which was filled up by well-meaning fans and other individuals who did not necessarily realize that it would be impossible for them to meet all of their requests for visits and special attention. It also became apparent that, in a few cases, these requests presented a bit of a problem for them. I first came to that realization while spending time back stage, after their concerts.

Susana and the rest of the performers had made it a habit to warmly greet whoever was interested in meeting them after each of their performances. As it had happened numerous other times during their international appearances, the performers were flooded with invitations to parties, receptions, luncheons, newspaper interviews, radio shows, etc., most of which they politely declined due to the mere impossibility of attending all of them within the five days that they would be staying in Austin. All the same, during that stay they did agree to attend three events: a small get together with some Peruvians living in Austin that had been neighborhood friends of one of the band members, a dinner that Susana herself offered to cook for myself and some of the graduate students that had been helping with the transportation of the band over that weekend, and a dinner at the ranch of a local musician, whom they had befriended during the Global Divas tour a few years earlier. At the first two gatherings, the time came when one of the individuals present brought out a guitar and began to play. Both times, the hint had been subtle but clear—people were hoping that Baca and the other musicians

would join in. Each time however, the musicians politely and gently opted not to perform while directing attention and praise back to those playing as a means of not dwelling on the fact that they had declined.

From the way in which these situations were handled, it was apparent that these performers had become skilled at diplomatically handling these types of awkward situations. In both of the instances mentioned above, one of the considerations for accepting these invitations involved an assessment by the members of the group of whether they might be asked to perform, and if so, how much pressure might be placed on them to comply. During these discussions the performers explained that in a number of situations in the past they had been invited to similar gatherings, only to find out that it was expected of them to perform in exchange for the invitation and the food and drink that they would be served. In some instances, what had seemed like casual, spontaneous invitations, turned out to be well-orchestrated affairs in which the hosts intended to show-off the musicians as a means of increasing their own prestige in the eyes of the other guests. In others, the invitations were pretexts used by local musicians who wanted to perform with Baca and her group, albeit informally, so that they could then list the experience in their list of performance accomplishments. Ultimately, the three invitations that they did accept while in Austin did not fall into these categories, mainly because the people involved were deemed worthy of their trust.

The reason given by the performers as to why they did not make it a habit of performing at these informal gatherings was that they were trying to maintain a certain level of professionalism while on tour. In some ways, this desire mirrors

that of other professional performers who wish to see what they do as something special and important and that is only to be seen and heard in the appropriate performance context. Not coincidentally however, many of the times in which they had been expected to spontaneously perform had been at the hands of other Peruvians. Some of the band members took particular issue with this because, while overtures by non-Peruvians could be explained as simply being the result of people not understanding the level of professionalism that they wished to convey, at the hands of compatriots these moves still implied to them an attempt to force them to conform to the same type of *criollo* patron-client dynamics that reduced them to performers for hire. As Ricardo Pereira, so eloquently expressed during our conversations, it was very frustrating to them that in spite of three internationally successful albums, sold-out shows at a number of reputed venues in the United States and Europe, invitations to appear at international music festivals, and scores of awards and commendations (and since the time of this conversation, these awards now include a Grammy Latino and a decoration by the Peruvian government), many of their compatriots still saw them as little more than poor little black musicians who had to “sing for their supper.”

In spite of the importance that perceptions of the past and stylistic authenticity have in the elaboration of contemporary Afroperuvian musical practice, even in its most rigid and traditionalist of incarnations, there are always those who are consistently questioning and challenging the impetus behind what they do and how it should be done. In many ways, these challenges have been

implicit in the way in which musicians have come to critique the institutionalization and commodification of the Afroperuvian repertoire. At the same time, it is fair to point out that the notion of openly discussing such issues, particularly in relationship to the notion of musical style and the idea that Afroperuvian music should aspire to be more than a form of entertainment or a static musical representation of one particular segment of “the folk,” is a more recent development. In my mind, this shift from simply validating “the way things are” to actively debating how “things should be” as part of the official discourse of Afroperuvian music are largely the result of many of the changes discussed in the previous chapter regarding the relationship between Afroperuvian musicians, folklore institutions, and the mass media over the second part of the twentieth century. In the wake of the broadcasting and recording boom of the 1970s and with the waning in popularity of Afroperuvian music with Limeño audiences, it has become apparent to many younger musicians that in spite of the importance that should be placed in establishing strong connections to the past, that such strategies can fall prey to the late capitalist commodification and reification. Consequently, some individuals—and it bears to say that these still are a relatively small, although increasingly vocal, minority within the Afroperuvian musical community—have begun to reconceptualize the concept of tradition by emphasizing not just the preservation of content (i.e. a particular repertoire, musical accompaniment, dance choreography, etc.) but of the performative and interpretive methodologies that allowed not just the survival of Afroperuvian music into the second part of the twentieth century, but also of its

more recent consolidation and revival. Some of these methodologies have already been discussed in the previous chapters, particularly in relationship to the standardization of certain the aforementioned repertoires, accompaniment patterns and dance choreographies.

Although not necessarily verbalized in this manner, it seems clear that part of the reason for this shift stems from the recognition of the vulnerability of culture when conceived as a fixed and discretely bounded utopia. In this sense, I suggest that some Afroperuvian musicians are becoming aware of the limitations of invoking cultural and/or stylistic authenticity and how these avenues, although by no means completely exhausted or ineffective, need to be supplemented. Consequently, more of these individuals are beginning to rely on the invocation of art as a means of claiming a different type of authenticity over their performances, an authenticity whose power is rooted not in the perceived specificity of a cultural or historical “fact” but rather on interpretive ambiguity. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, unlike theories that generally place art and culture as diametrically opposed to each other, often replicating familiar dichotomies between West vs. rest, highbrow vs. lowbrow, global vs. local, universal subjectivity vs. contextual meaning, art vs. folk, art vs. popular, etc., to most Afroperuvian musicians the notions of music as art and music as culture are not considered to be mutually exclusive. Instead they partially overlap with each other thus, giving them the ability to invoke one, the other, or both depending on which of those moves would prove to be most advantageous in a particular context. This chapter will explore some of the sources from which musicians

have been able to draw in order to invoke the notion of performance as an art form. To this end, the discussion that is to follow regarding the complimentary face of Afroperuvian music as art will be done largely in reference to another Afroperuvian genre: the *landó*.

Just as talking about the development of the *festejo* can be a useful tool in contextualizing the process of consolidation and formalization that Afroperuvian music has gone since the time of its revival, it is useful to talk about the *landó* in reference to the growing emphasis that some musicians have been placing on the concept of Afroperuvian music as an art form. There are a number of formal stylistic differences that have led Heidi Feldman to correctly dub the *landó* as “the *festejo*’s alter ego” (Feldman 2001, 338). While the *festejo* is musically associated with a repertoire of songs largely in major keys, relatively quick tempo, virtuoso rhythmic and melodic improvisation, a variety of explicitly defined accompaniment patterns, and a complex of related and subordinate genres, the *landó* appears to embody characteristics that are almost defined in opposition to those of *festejo*. *Landós* generally have slower tempos, a repertoire that is largely in minor keys, less specific or clearly defined accompaniment patterns, and a fairly ambiguous relationship with its related genres such as the *zamacueca*, *tondero*, and *marinera* and even *criollo* genres like the *vals*. There are also similar contrasts in terms of how the choreographies are characterized explained and characterized by most musicians. While the *festejo* is supposed to be lively, spontaneous and exuberant, the *landó* appears to represent a different side of the supposedly sexualized nature of Afroperuvian dance, a dance that is

slow, deliberate, and supremely sensual. As a starting point for this discussion, it is useful to revisit more explicitly some of the theories of origin regarding the *landó*, particularly in reference to mentions of its choreography and how such choreography was reconstructed.

INTERPRETING THE *LANDÓ* AND THE POLITICS OF SEXUAL AMBIGUITY

Unlike *festejos*, which in some incarnation or another remained known into the twentieth century by Limeño musicians, the *landó*'s past formed a far less explicit part of the historical record and surviving repertoire. By the mid twentieth century very few remembered little, if anything concrete, about the *landó*. One of the few fragments that appear to have survived in Lima was a song called "Samba Malató," a version of which was first recorded in Nicomedes Santa Cruz's *Cumanana* (1964).¹³⁹ Few other sources appear to have been available at the time. According to Tompkins, the only people that continued to perform the *landó* in the twentieth century (aside from the professional groups that sought to revive it) are the members of El Guayabo, a rural community in the southern coastal province of Chincha (Tompkins 1981, 296-97). In El Guayabo, the *landó* was a courtship dance with free and sexually suggestive choreography, one of a number of dances performed by the members of this community during the annual

¹³⁹ The version popularized by Santa Cruz has served as template for later reinterpretations of the song. As with many surviving Afroperuvian songs, there appears to have been multiple versions of this song. Tompkins provides an alternate version that was sung by Augusto Ascuez, but this one does not appear to have been as widely known or disseminated (Tompkins 1981, 546). In 1992, Susana Baca developed an arrangement entitled "Zamba landó" that combined fragments of the Santa Cruz version with that presented by Tompkins, as well as portions of the text and melody used in the Peru Negro version of "Landó" (*see below*), and new texts written by Francisco Basili and collected by folklorist Victoria Espinoza (Baca et al 1992, 76-77).

yunza celebration.¹⁴⁰ Members of Perú Negro, many of them originally from the province of Chincha and neighboring Cañete, visited El Guayabo in the early 1970s, learned the music, accompaniment and choreography for the dance, and proceeded to incorporate it into their repertoire. Both of these versions seemed to have served as prototypes for all subsequent conceptualization of the dance.

Having access to musical material with which to begin interpreting the *landó* was not enough, however. In order to reintroduce the *landó* as a tradition indexical of a rich cultural heritage, certain genealogies and theories of origin needed to be established. Talking about the origins of the *landó* has been difficult task given the lack of specific mention of the genre before the twentieth century. Tompkins suggests that this lack of concrete information regarding the *landó* in previous centuries has opened two distinct and competing theories of origin regarding this genre, which he alternatively identifies as “Africanist” and “Europeanist” (Tompkins 1981, 289). The geographic identifiers of these theories are not so much related to the *landó* proper but rather to its assumed lineage and the genres that might have given birth to it. The former is more generally associated with Nicomedes Santa Cruz and the theory that the *landó* was the Peruvian version of a colonial Afro-Brazilian dance called the *lundú*, which in turn was a transplantation of an Angolan dance by the same name. The latter, suggests that the *landó* was probably a local version of one of a possible number of nineteenth century salon dances as reinterpreted by certain Afroperuvian

¹⁴⁰ The *yunza* is a community festival that is celebrated throughout Peru during Carnival season (usually the time between mid January to the day before Ash Wednesday). Although most *yunza* celebrations involve dancing and cutting down a tree or pole decorated with small prizes and party favors, the types of dances and music used are based on particular local and/or regional musical traditions.

communities. Nicomedes Santa Cruz's theory of the *landó* being directly tied to the *lundú*, a dance that he considered the progenitor of approximately fifty different couple dances in Latin America, has received far more attention than the potential connections of *landó* to the colonial *ondú* or *londú*. In fact, in spite of critiques by some camps regarding the constructedness of Santa Cruz's claims, these views remain prevalent among musicians and audiences in Peru and have been the most influential in terms of defining the current perceived character associated with the genre. As Feldman points out, "[Santa Cruz] was able to so widely popularize and disseminate his theory of the African *lundú* that most Peruvians today who know anything about Afroperuvian music are aware of his theory and believe it be historical fact"¹⁴¹ (Feldman 2001, 230).

While many of the specifics of Santa Cruz's theory are not widely disseminated, there are two related concepts that are generally associated with the *landó*'s cultural and aesthetic character. The first is the idea that the *landó*, as an African ancestor, has been the progenitor of a number of other coastal genres, most importantly among them the *zamacueca*, the *marinera* and the *tondero*. This assertion is of particular significance since it appears to show an attempt by Santa Cruz at turning upside down the generally assumed genealogy of origin that sustains that these dances were local and popular reinterpretations of European salon dances that were in vogue during the 19th century.¹⁴² The second is

¹⁴¹ Discussions as to the construction of this theory are long, involved and a little beyond the scope of the topic at hand. An excellent analysis on the specifics of how Santa Cruz came to elaborate these theories can be found in Feldman's dissertation (2001a, 211-231). Tompkins (1981, 288-296) also provides some useful reflections in regards to this theory, particularly in terms of how it relates to other histories of origins of the *landó*.

¹⁴² Many of these commonly held beliefs seem to echo Argentinean musicologist Carlos Vega's theories regarding the origins and development of the *cueca* complex in South America (Vega

associated to the unifying thread that Santa Cruz's identifies between all of these dances, the use of a choreographic movement involving the bumping of hips as an imitation of the copular act. Tompkins suggests that to Santa Cruz the existence of some aspect of that movement, whether explicit or implied, serves a means of legitimizing all of these dances as having a common history (Tompkins 1981, 293-294). At the same time however, it can be argued that the degree to which this movement can be explicitly found in a given dance is directly tied to the place that the dance is assumed to occupy within Santa Cruz's genealogy. That is to say, the closer a given dance is assumed to be in relation to its African progenitor, the *lundú*, the more it will retain certain characteristics that make that dance uniquely African. To Santa Cruz, the African trait in question would be the aforementioned bumping of hips.

In a more general sense, the influence that this theory has had on contemporary perceptions regarding the *landó* and other genres can be seen in assumptions that are made about the degree of sexuality or rather sensuality that can be found in each choreography. The *landó* is generally described as the most sensual of Afroperuvian dances while the *marinera's* choreography is more often described as playful or flirtatious. Within this spectrum of sexual explicitness, the *zamacueca* occupies a middle ground, most often identified as having a more sensual choreography than the *marinera* but being a later and more stylized version of the *landó* (Chávez 2000, Villanueva 2000). Something similar can be said of the *tondero*, a regional variation of the *marinera* found in the northern

1947, 1953). While people like Durand and Santa Cruz were aware of Vega's writings, it is difficult to tell whether most musicians and folklorists today are also familiar with his work or whether they have come to this information through secondary sources.

coast. The *tondero* is considered to be a rural (and therefore assumed to be older) version of the highly complex, stylized, and acrobatically choreographed *marinera norteña*. Much like the *marinera* is to the *zamacueca*, the *tondero* is to a lesser-known genre, the *zaña*, which is associated with the largely Afroperuvian community of the same name (Rocca 1985; Tompkins 1981, 224-227).

As it may be expected, the assumptions that are made in regards to the choreographic content of these genres go beyond genealogical relationships between dances. In fact, musicians construct similar genealogies when they describe the accompaniment patterns for the *zamacueca*, which are generally described more syncopated than those of the *marinera*.¹⁴³ The whole point of establishing this type of chronological and stylistic genealogy is to reevaluate the role that dance within the Afroperuvian community by refocusing the core of its aesthetic and stylistic *raison d'être* around the one aspect that gave rise to so much prohibitive and restrictive legislation during the colonial period, namely the so-called “indecent” manner in which Africans and descendants of Africans danced. In this manner, talking about and performing these dances becomes a means of validating the performative agency that Afroperuvian dancers of the past were able to exert onto local social and cultural processes. It is also a way of

¹⁴³ Much like the *landó*, the *zamacueca* remains a fairly ambiguously defined genre. Different groups of musicians have sought to interpret this genre in a variety of different ways. It should be noted however, that one particularly way of accompanying the *zamacueca* has become fairly common in recent years and appears to make use of the idea that as, a more African precursor of the *marinera*, the *zamacueca* needs to bear the stylistic markers of that Africanity. Consequently, the choreography tends to be a little more sexually suggestive than the *marinera* (which will be discussed further below), the *cajón* patterns tend to be more flamboyant and syncopated versions of the *marinera* pattern (as suggested by Juan Medrano), and most recently a *festejo*-like bass line has been added to the accompaniment which seems to be another way of including a marker of liveliness associated with Afroperuvian traditions.

using the performance space to stylistically document a history of oppression and coercion that sought to erase the memory of such agency. Most importantly, it shows how contemporary musicians can use artistic interpretation as a means of reclaiming that which may not be known through other means.

Ironically, in spite of the importance that Santa Cruz places on this bumping of hips in order to develop his theory, and in spite of some of the apprehension that it has caused with some of his critics, that particular movement is not present in the early reconstruction of the *landó* by professional musicians. In the case of “Samba Malató” the choreography appears to have been partly inspired by some of the lyrics in the surviving melody. The three verses most commonly performed today are variations of the two verses initially recorded in *Cumana* by Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz in 1964: “la zamba se pasea por la batea/bailando se menea pa’ que la vean”¹⁴⁴ (N. Santa Cruz, 1994). Regardless of which specific textual version is performed today, many musicians like to explain the accompanying dance by describing the relationship between the lyrics and the well-known choreography (Medrano 1996i). The lyrics basically liken the swaying of the dancing woman’s hips to the gentle motion made by water in a washbasin when carefully carried from one place to another so as to prevent spilling. This introduces a metaphor of gentle, slow and deliberate movement that finds some close similarities in the now “classic” choreography of women playfully washing clothes.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ [the black woman parades by the washbasin/dancing, [she] sways so that she can be seen]

¹⁴⁵ As Feldman points out, even though many experts on Afroperuvian music attribute the development of this choreography to Victoria Santa Cruz, many audience members and even musicians of younger generations tend to associate it with Peru Negro who is best known for disseminating it. In fact, some members of Peru Negro claim the choreography as their own

There are a number of possible readings of this dance. In fact, Feldman reminds us of the potential dangers of reducing this or any other dance to a single interpretation:

interpreting dance is a tricky business, for its meaning is embedded in body movements, costuming, facial expressions, and other elements with culturally and individually varying interpretations. For some viewers, the pervasive image of the laundress in this and other Afro-Peruvian dances (and the lack of depiction of Blacks in more contemporary or powerful roles in Peru Negro's repertoire) reinscribes negative associations with servitude and slavery, especially in the pre-modern social space by Black Peruvians from colonial times to the present. For others, it celebrates and dignifies the historical presence of Black women in Peru (Feldman 2001, 311).

Within this wide spectrum of possible historicizing readings, there is one interpretation that is of particular relevance to this discussion regarding the perceived sensuality of the *landó*. One night in 1996, while visiting Abelardo Vásquez's *Peña Don Porfirio*¹⁴⁶ with percussionists Juan Medrano and Hugo

(Feldman 2001a, 138). Given that no visual record of Santa Cruz's original choreography remains, the descriptions in this dissertation are based on performances by Peru Negro and by students of the Escuela Nacional de Foklore José María Arguedas who have learned this dance from a number of members of Peru Negro, among them Lalo Izquierdo. Most dance performances of this song are usually based on this seminal choreography. Having said this however, it is needs to be noted that this choreography has changed over time. Feldman's description of this dance (Feldman 2001a, 309-311) describes women carrying baskets rather than washbasins and wringing their clothes and hanging them on lines. Below, I describe a variation of this choreography that depicts the actual action of washing rather than its aftermath.

¹⁴⁶ Named after his Abelardo Vásquez's father, *La Peña Don Porfirio* is a well-known gathering place for professional musician and *criollo* and Afroperuvian music aficionados who consider themselves to be "in the know." Located in was used to be Abelardo Vásquez's house in Barranco, *Don Porfirio* differs from local night clubs in that most people present are there by invitation or have come to know of the weekly gatherings by word of mouth. Earlier in the evenings *Don Porfirio* features local performers for the entertainment of paying patrons. After most other night clubs close in Barranco however (usually after 2 a.m.), *Don Porfirio* becomes the place where many professional musicians come to unwind and play music. Because of this, *Don Porfirio* is considered by many to be one of the few places where one can still engage in music making much as musicians did in the days of neighborhood *jaranas*. In particularly festive nights, those who are invited to (or asked to stay for) after the doors are closed to the paying public are likely to stay there until the middle of the following morning. The incident described in these pages took place during such a visit.

Bravo (*see* opening section of chapter 3), we had the opportunity to see a performance of this choreography by a group of young dancers who had dropped by the locale after performing at another venue. In this informal version of the dance, the dancers entered the dance area, each holding a washbasin between their hip and arm. After parading through the space that had been cleared for them in a circle, they placed their basins on the floor and slowly and deliberately proceed to wash the clothes while constantly swaying to the musical accompaniment provided by the musicians. Throughout the performance, the dancers looked down or away from the audience, at times looking pensive and others smiling seemingly to themselves, as if they were unaware that an entire group of people is watching. Some of the performers with whom I was sitting commented on the choreography for my benefit, most often exalting the beauty and sensuality with which this particular group of dancers interpreted the dance. From their comments it was clear that to this particular group of individuals, the deliberate movements, facial expressions, and lyrics declaring that the woman in the song is dancing with the intent of getting someone's attention implied not only a playful or flirtatious character but a latent intentionality that they saw as the embodiment the sensual character of the *landó*.

The aforementioned bumping of the hips movement is also absent from Perú Negro's dance interpretation of the *landó*, which they learned from the residents of El Guayabo. This particular choreography appears to have been inspired by the way in which the members of the community danced not only the

landó but also a number of the *resbalosa*¹⁴⁷ sections that formed a part of the *yunza*. According to Tompkins, who witnessed one of these performances in 1976,

the choreography of the *landó* as performed in [El] Guayabo is essentially free, performed by couples who take turns, one pair at a time dancing in the center of the circle. The man approaches and recedes from the woman, often making sexually provocative movements with the hips behind and in front of her (Tompkins 1981, 304).

In contrast, Tompkins remarks that while the stage versions of this dance tend to preserve the overall format of a single couple dancing at the time, the sexual suggestiveness has become more stylized, more often being implied rather than overt (Tompkins 1981, 305).

Why would professional musicians have sought to curb this particularly choreographic intent when movements of that nature appear to be so much at the heart of Santa Cruz's theory of origins? One possibility is that in spite of the influence that Santa Cruz had on the contemporary conceptualization of the *landó*, that the members of Perú Negro were not sufficiently aware of the specifics of his theory but rather fixated on its spirit. The result may have been different had the Santa Cruz siblings chosen to develop a choreography based on how the people of El Guayabo danced the *landó*. Another possibility arises when taking into consideration the observation that, according to Tompkins, not all the residents in

¹⁴⁷ Literally meaning "slippery ones" *resbalosas* are relatively short musical tags that were traditionally can be placed at the end of *marineras*. Generally livelier and adhering to fewer rules in term of form, choreography and lyrics than the *marinera* proper, *resbalosas* are used as a way of closing each *marinera*. In contemporary practice, a number of other coastal and some Andean genres have adopted this fashion so it is not uncommon to find other song forms such as a *huayno* or even a *vals* that maybe end with a *resbalosa* section. In some cases, these *resbalosa* sections are followed by an *fuga* (meaning to flee or escape) section.

area of El Guayabo approved of the aforementioned choreography. Some older informants in the district stated that this is the manner in which these dances have always been performed, while others complained that this was an innovation of the local youth, inspired by what at the time (the 1970s) was the highly sexualized manner of dancing that was promoted by the mass media. These latter voices sustained that in times past, the choreography was simply that of a *marinera* and *resbalosa*, “decently performed in the manner of young gentlemen and ladies” (Tompkins 1981, 304). Given the stigmatization that dance practices associated with members of the Afroperuvian community have received in the eyes of the dominant classes, it may not be surprising that some member of El Guayabo and surrounding areas might have been concerned with the “decency content” of these performances.¹⁴⁸ Similar concerns existed in Lima during the first part of the twentieth century. As many musicians today sustain today, part of the reason for the near-disappearance of many Afroperuvian genres was because people of older generations performed them after-hours so as to keep them away from impressionable children and judgmental *criollos*.

Anxiety regarding public perceptions of Afroperuvian dances is quite a complicated issue. On the one hand there are perspectives like that of Santa Cruz that seek to revalorize a certain sensuality that is associated with dance as being a positive aspect of Afroperuvian identity, a symbol of a meaningful cultural

¹⁴⁸ It is worth mentioning that the characterization of these dances as not unique by Tompkins is not unique. Rosa Elena Vásquez’s study of the music of nearby El Carmen around the same time as Tompkins also makes mention of the existence of a number of dances that are thought to be “indecent” in character (1982, 63). More recently, Feldman also makes mention of the sexual provocative movements that are associated with dancing during the *yunza* festival (2001a, 372-373).

heritage and perspective rather than the markers of moral and social depravity that colonial authorities claimed them to be. From this point of view, many musicians feel that attempts at “cleaning up” choreographies show a lack of knowledge and/or concern for the cultural meaning that such movements had to the descendants of Africans in Peru. At the same time however, many of the fears and stereotypes that historically led to the restrictions imposed on dancing are still a part of Peruvian society. Therefore, attempts at reappropriating sexually suggestive movements, while empowering to Afroperuvians in terms of direct expressive practice, can also become a vehicle through which to further reinforce and naturalize pre-existing stereotypes regarding the sexualized nature of Afroperuvians in general. This must have also been a very legitimate concern for professional musicians given that the great majority of the Peruvian audiences drawn to this music were *criollo*.

These conflicting views are further complicated when taking into account Lima’s changing social hierarchy during the early part of the twentieth century. At that time, Peru began its transformation into a modern nation. Industrialization began to erode the older economic, political and social hierarchy based on dualities between those who rule and those who are ruled. A growing group of white-collar workers and small business owners began to conceive of themselves as a new social group, with particular needs and concerns (Parker 1998). As this emerging middle class began to take shape, so did avenues and strategies for social climbing and obstacles that were placed in their way. Members of the

oligarchy managed to resurrect ideologies of exclusion and privilege based on abstract and subjective concepts such as morality. As David Parker explains,

en la Lima de los años 1910 y 1920, muchos miembros de la elite seguían reivindicando la idea de que las clases sociales no se definían por el dinero... Mientras que los nuevos ricos buscaban redefinir las reglas de estratificación para privilegiar los atributos de riqueza y consumo, sus adversarios dentro de la aristocracia tradicional, cuyas propias fortunas a veces estaban en crisis, insistieron más que nunca en preservar una definición de “decencia” basada en el apellido, la tradición y todo lo que el dinero no podía comprar. En este esfuerzo, la élite antigua recibió ayuda de figuras destacadas en el gobierno, la prensa y el mundo intelectual, sectores donde no era nada raro encontrar a los hijos de familias de noble abolengo y poco dinero (Parker 1995, 166).¹⁴⁹

The campaign was largely successful, allowing for the resurgence of a culture of exclusion that used rhetorics of decency and propriety as a means of masking and naturalizing marginalization based on economic, cultural and ethnic differences. This placed a great deal of pressure on individuals not belonging to the aforementioned elite, particularly given that reasons for the exclusion from the nation-building efforts of “*gente decente*” were verbalized in terms of a supposed universal moral standard to which all individuals who wanted to better themselves should aspire.

It is fair to suggest that this culture of decency, which operated at multiple levels and in many ways continues to preoccupy many Limeños regardless of class and background, would inform the stylistic and aesthetic character of the

¹⁴⁹ [in Lima of the 1910s and 1920s, many member of the elite continued to insist on the idea that social classes were not defined by money. While the *nouveaux riche* sought to redefine the rules stratification so as to privilege the attributes of wealth and consumerism, their adversaries within the traditional aristocracy, whose own fortunes were sometimes in crisis, insisted more than ever in maintaining a definition of “decency” based on the family name, its tradition, and all that money could not buy. In this attempt, the old elite received help from key figures in the government, the press and the intellectual community, places where it was not uncommon to find children of families of noble lineage and little money.]

landó. First, it should be clear that many of these standards of propriety would have been implicit in the readings of Afroperuvian music as promoted in Limeño stages and the mass media to a largely *criollo* audience. Second, having been raised partially or wholly in Lima, this culture of decency is likely to have overlapped with the concerns of people like Santa Cruz and members of Peru Negro in revalorizing the then marginalized Afroperuvian traditions. This is not to say that Afroperuvian musicians simply sought to “clean up” choreographies so as to comply with social standards set by dominant groups in Limeño society. Had this been the case, dances like the *landó*, which is commonly identified as supremely sensual, would probably not have come to be. In fact, many performers today have come to embrace this sense of sensuality and continue to explore it in their performances, even though at times this exploration comes into conflict with the perceptions the opinions and perceptions of the less open-minded audience members (Chávez 2000; Villanueva 2000; Zevallos 2000). Dance partners Oscar Villanueva and Clara Chávez comment on assumptions made by the public because of their movements:

CCh: Si tu te bailas un festejo, o de pronto estás bailando una zamacueca y de pronto él [Oscar Villanueva] te coge las caderas...[suspiro] Uy, no. La gente dice: “¡Oye!” Ya lo llevan por el lado sucio que todo el ser humano tiene. “Oye, mira, mira. Ah, no seguro. Yo te apuesto que son enamorados.” Que son tonterías, ¿no?

OV: A mí a veces me preguntan: “Oye, la chica que baila ¿es tu esposa?” “No,” le digo. “Somos compañeros de trabajo.”

CCh: Mucha gente cree que somos enamorados por la libertad que nos damos a veces en algunos movimientos en la danza (Chávez 2000).¹⁵⁰

The reconceptualization of these dances but above all the *landó* as sensual rather than sexual has allowed for these choreographic movements to recapture a depth of meaning and cultural significance. That is to say, within the context of this aforementioned sense of cultural decency, sensuality is perceived as deeply meaningful, acceptable and even cultured, in the sense of it being a marker of a highly sophisticated and complex society. This bears a striking departure from the perception of Afroperuvian dance as sexual, which tends to imply, a more primitive impulse based on biological need and the inability of the African slave to discern the inappropriateness of acting out such impulses within the context of civilized society. The result, has been that some Afroperuvian performers have been able to invert the more commonly assumed relationships between masters and slaves, with the Spanish and more recently the *criollo* not being cultured or sophisticated enough to recognized the rich meaning behind the movements of African slaves and their descendants, but instead resorted to reductive and banal interpretations that led to many of the stereotypes that are now associated with Afroperuvian dances. Clara Chávez explains a follows:

Lo que pasa es que el hombre africano a través de sus movimientos, ellos tienen ciertos movimientos que no son específicamente eróticos nada más,

¹⁵⁰ [CCh: If you dance a festejo, or maybe you are dancing a zamacueca and suddenly he [Oscar Villanueva] grabs you by the hips...[gasps] Oh, no! People say: "Hey!" They take it [in] through that dirty side that all human beings have. "Hey, look, look. Ah, probably. I bet that they are a couple." Which is silly, no?

OV: Sometimes they ask me: "Hey, the dancing girl, is she your wife?" "No," I say, "we are coworkers."

CCh: Many people think that we are a couple because of the liberties that we take with some movements in the dance.]

son de adoración. Era como todo un ritual y obviamente eso a los españoles les causaba...(JL: lo han interpretado de otra manera). Claro, porque venían ya con esa mentalidad sucia, empezando de que los colonizadores que llegaron acá eran de lo peor. Eran gente que habían estado recluida en los penales, gente que había sufrido encarcelamiento...Y obviamente ya venían pues ya con ese pensamiento sucio, de que—ah, si te mueves así, o contorsionas así las caderas, o mueves así la pelvis es porque no, tu quieres algo más, cuando no era así. El hombre negro lo que tenía era todo un ritual dirigido a la fertilidad y a los dioses, a la tierra y sin embargo todo fue tomado por el peor lado (Chávez 2000).¹⁵¹

Ultimately, the revival of the choreography of the *landó* appears to have been a negotiation of many of these contradictory readings. In many ways then, the emphasis that musicians placed on what Feldman calls the “middle children” (2001, 231) between the Angolan *lundú* and the *criollo* genres like the *marinera* may have been advantageous for a number of reasons. From a historical perspective, these dances are important not only because they chronicle Africa but also because they represent the specific and unique progression of African experience in Peru, thus allowing the recovery of a history that remained largely excluded from official accounts and written records. The history however, needed to be reinterpreted, not by further concretizing negative associations of choreographic movements with stereotypes of sexual voracity and deviance but rather by strategically blurring this history of impropriety and transforming sexual

¹⁵¹ [What happens is that the African through his movements, they have certain movements that are not specifically erotic only, they are [movements] of worship. It was an entire ritual and, obviously that was what caused the Spanish to...(JL: they interpreted it differently). Sure, because they already came with that filthy mentality, starting [with the fact] that colonizers that arrived here were among the worst. They were people that had been retrained in prisons, people that had suffered incarceration...And obviously, they already arrived with that filthy way of thinking, with that—ah, if you move like that, o contort you hips like that, or move your pelvis like that, it is because you want something more, when it was not like that. What the black man had was a whole ritual to fertility and the gods, to the earth and nevertheless everything was taken in the worst possible way.]

into sensual, explicit into suggestive, licentious into seductive, crude into beautiful. In this sense, the ambiguous space that is occupied by these choreographic reconstructions of the *landó*, with their multiple readings, parallels the equally ambiguous place that the dance occupies between past and present, pre-modern and modern, African heritage and Peruvian actuality.

THE *LANDÓ* AND STYLISTIC AMBIGUITY

During the 1960s and 1970s, in terms of performed repertoire that formed a part of the Afroperuvian canon, the *landó* remained relatively underrepresented in comparison to the *festejo*. As suggested above, there were far less surviving musical fragments and supporting information about the *landó* that appears to have been partially responsible for this. Nevertheless, the notion of the *landó* as a genre with the power to connect contemporary musical practice to the remote Afroperuvian past appears to have contributed to its continued inclusion and reference in contemporary performance. In recent years the genre has become a far more central to the stylistic reconceptualization of Afroperuvian music than the *festejo* by younger generations of musicians and the preferred vehicle for the pursuit of original compositions. It seems like the relatively smaller attention that the *landó* received around the time when most musicians speak about the commercialization of the *festejo*, prevented it the former from befalling a similar fate. At the same time, the *landó* also seems to have avoided a parallel process of stylistic formalization and standardization during this time so that ways of playing the *landó* until recently have remained not only few but ambiguously defined. It appears then, that it is this ambiguity that has become its most attractive feature

for contemporary musicians. Just as multiple readings made it possible to transform perceived sexual explicitness into movements whose very lack of specificity imparted them with sensual intent, the expansion of the sensuality metaphor into the realm of musical style has resulted in the conceptualization of the *landó* as a sophisticated genre whose seductive character rests on its ability to remain deliberate and intentioned, yet elusive, continually challenging listeners and participants to find their place in the musical texture and to re-evaluate their interpretation.

Early interpretations of the *landó* appear to have derived from two main sources. As already mentioned, one of the first recorded *landós* was “Samba Malató (Figure 4.2),”¹⁵² a song recorded by Nicomedes Santa Cruz.¹⁵³ The second was Perú Negro’s arrangement of the *landó* that they learned in El Guayabo, which was simply titled “Landó” (Figure 4.3). In addition to these two

¹⁵² As is the case with the *festejo*, there are many notational conventions that can be used to represent the *landó*. For the purposes of this dissertation I have chosen to represent the entire accompaniment pattern of the *landó* as a single measure, depending on the overall rhythmic emphasis of a particular arrangement, can be conceived 6/4, 12/8 or an ambivalent place between the two. This particular conceptualization should not be taken to be as more exact than others. Rather, it has been adopted out of convenience given certain points about the rhythmic and harmonic organization of the *landó* that will be made below, particularly in relationship to some comments made by contemporary musicians *landó*. It should be pointed however, the opinion of these individuals should not be taken to be part of any “standard” way of thinking about the *landó*, but rather one particular perspective which happens to be particularly useful for the discussion at hand.

¹⁵³ It is worth noting that because of the similarity in names between “Samba Malató” and the colonial genre *zamba-landó*, one of those genres that Santa Cruz identified as having been a “folklorized” reincarnation of the *landó*, some musicians identify this particular song not as a *landó* proper but as *zamba-landó*. In some ways this is similar to how the *ingá* and the *alcatraz* are often identified as different genres in spite of the striking similarities in terms of musical accompaniment. Generally speaking, *zamba-landós* have not been revived as was the *landó* they mostly exists on the historical record and on the assertion of some groups that when they play “Samba Malató” they are, in fact playing a *zamba-landó*. The only notable discrepancy is an album released by Victoria Santa Cruz in 1996, which included mostly original compositions among them three songs that were arranged as *samba-landós*. Ironically, although “Samba Malató” is included in this recording, it is identified as a *landó* rather than a *zamba-landó*.

songs, the early emerging canon of Afroperuvian music (through the 1970s) had relatively few other *landós*, among the most notable of them “Saca camote con el pie (Figure 4.4)” first performed by Perú Negro and further popularized by Lucila Campos after she left the aforementioned group to pursue a solo career. Unlike *festejos*, the apparent lack of a wide repertoire with which to experiment appears

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes Vocal, Chorus, Guitar 1, Guitar 2, and Cajón. The second system includes Vc., Ch., Gtr. 1, Gtr. 2, and Cj. The music is in 12/8 time and B-flat major. The vocal line consists of two phrases: a chorus and a verse. The chorus lyrics are "samba ma-la-tó lan - dó samba ma-la-tó lan - dó samba ma-la-tó lan -". The verse lyrics are "dó samba ma-la-tó lan - dó la sam - ba se pa - se-a con la ba-te - a lan - dó". The guitar parts feature chords such as Dm and A7. The cajón part is a rhythmic accompaniment with various patterns. The violin part has a melodic line with some slurs and accents.

Figure 4.2: Excerpt from chorus and verse of “Samba Malató,” as performed by Nicomedes Santa Cruz (N. Santa Cruz 1994).

to have prevented the *landó* from gelling into a genre with set accompaniment patterns. Although comparable in instrumentation and tempo, there are no explicit similarities between the arrangements of most *landós* during these early decades. Guitar and *cajón* patterns are far from standardized (see Figures 4.1, 4.2

The image displays a musical score for the song "Landó". It consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes:

- Vocal:** A single line with lyrics: "Tai-ta Gua-ran - gui - to lan - dó lan - dó sam - ba lan - dó lan - dó ma - tó a su mu -".
- Chorus:** A line of chords corresponding to the lyrics.
- Guitar 1:** A line with chords (Am, E7, Am, E7, Am, E7) and rhythmic notation (downstrokes and upstrokes).
- Guitar 2:** A line with rhythmic notation.
- Claps:** A line with rhythmic notation.
- Quijada:** A line with rhythmic notation.
- Cajón:** A line with rhythmic notation.

 The second system includes:

- Vc.:** A line with lyrics: "jer lan - dó lan - dó sam - ba lan - dó lan - dó con un cu - chi - lli - to lan - dó lan - dó".
- Ch.:** A line of chords.
- Gtr. 1:** A line with chords (Am, E7, Am, E7, Am, E7, Am, E7) and rhythmic notation.
- Gtr. 2:** A line with rhythmic notation.
- Cl.:** A line with rhythmic notation.
- Qj.:** A line with rhythmic notation.
- Cj.:** A line with rhythmic notation.

Figure 4.3: Excerpt from “Landó” as Performed by Perú Negro (Various Artists n.d.)

and 4.3), although it is possible to hear some connections, with those patterns commonly used to accompany some of the genres that are deemed to descend

The musical score is arranged in a system with seven staves. The top staff is for the Vocal line, showing two phrases: "Asaca'camo - te con el pie" and "A sa-ca'ca-mo - te con el pie". The Chorus staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment for the vocal lines. The Guitar 1 and Guitar 2 staves feature a complex rhythmic pattern with strumming directions (up and down strokes) and chord changes between Cm and G7. The Cowbell Wood Blk. staff shows a pattern of eighth notes with accents. The Quijada staff has a simple rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Cajón staff shows a pattern of eighth notes with accents.

Figure 4.4: Excerpt from “Saca camote con el pie” as performed by Lucila Campos with Pepe Torres and his Conjunto (Various Artists n.d.)

from the *landó*. In Figure 4.3 the second guitar part and the clapping are the same as those used in the *marinera* and *tondero*. Similarly, in Figure 4.4 the strummed guitar parts are characteristic of the *resbalosa*, while the *cajón* part is a simplified variation of the pattern used to accompany a *marinera*.

In spite of this less formalized articulation of the *landó* as a genre, at least in terms of the instrumentation, there are some stylistic conventions that have come to characterize the *landó*, particularly in terms of percussion. Although the

specific patterns vary from group to another and one arrangement to another, the above songs, as well as many other *landós* as recently performed as the 1990s, make standard use of *tumbadoras*, *bongos*, *cencerro*, and *quijada*. All of these instruments act in conjunction with each other to create a rhythmic texture that continually plays with the listeners' expectations of how the beat is grouped and provide the *cajón* and guitar players with a flexible background against which to play a variety of accompaniment patterns. The varied number of patterns used by groups, prevent one from suggesting that there may have been some direct transposition or adaptation of percussion patterns from other Caribbean genres as is the case with the *festejo*. Nevertheless, some there are some similarities to some Afro-Cuban genres, most notably among them the 6/8 Afro, *bembé* and the lesser-known patterns of *abakuá*, which El Niño is reputed to have taught members of Perú Negro.

More recently, *cajón* patterns have also come to take a more discernible shape. Unlike the other percussion parts, whose relatively recent induction into Afroperuvian music generally point towards an interest in part of performers to “re-Africanize” musical style, the presence of a *cajón* pattern, its rhythmic organization, and what it may mean to a particular listener or performer affords two contrasting hearings that conceptually if not musically, straddle the divide between its African ancestry and its Peruvian off-spring. Early echoes of the recent patterns for the *cajón* can be found in Caitro Soto's *landó* arrangement of “Toro mata,” a song that, in spite of its identification as a different genre by most musicians has been very influential on how performers of more recent generations

have come to play the *landó*¹⁵⁴ (Figure 4.5). Contemporary *cajón* patterns can be heard in two different ways depending on how someone chooses to organize

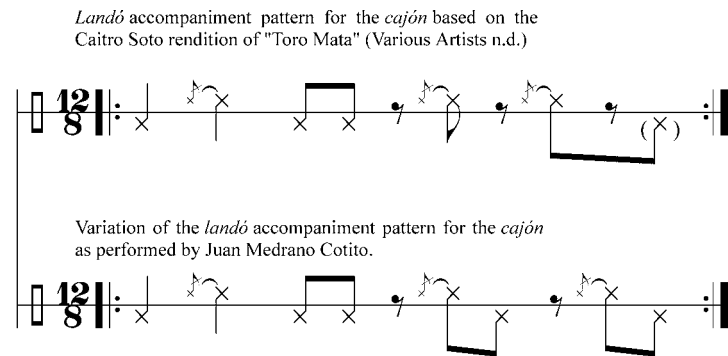


Figure 4.5: Basic *landó* accompaniment patterns for the *cajón* used today.

the beat within a measure. Hearing the *cajón* pattern in 6/4 provides a strong succession of downbeats followed by equally consistent set of contrasting syncopations that continues to imply a strong and consistent beat throughout the measure. From this perspective, it is also easy to hear the rhythmic similarities between the *cajón* pattern and the bass, which is reminiscent of the bass line commonly used to accompany the *tondero* (Figure 4.6). In contrast, when counted in 12/8, the *cajón* pattern avoids all downbeats other than the first one (and occasionally the fourth when the variant is used), thus providing a rhythmic feel that, when combined with the other percussion parts, is more ambiguous and

¹⁵⁴ Some musicians like to refer to the song “Toro mata” as belonging to a genre called the *toro mata*. According to Tompkins (1981, 306-324) this was a dance genre that appears to have existed in the 19th century, but aside from some melodic fragments that now make the various versions of the song “Toro mata,” there was little stylistic information that survived. Consequently, since its introduction by Caitro Soto the *toro mata* has been arranged as a *landó*, even though people sometimes conceptually define it as different because of the source of some of the melodic material.

places a far greater emphasis on the beginning of the entire pattern than on any

The figure displays three musical staves. The top staff, labeled 'Cajón patterns', shows a rhythmic sequence in 12/8 time with notes and rests. The middle staff, 'Bass in Toro Mata', is in G major (one sharp) and 12/8 time, with notes corresponding to the Cajón pattern and chord markings 'Bm' and 'F#7'. The bottom staff, 'Bass in the tondero', is in C minor (three flats) and 3/4 time, with notes corresponding to the Cajón pattern and chord markings 'Cm' and 'G7'.

Figure 4.6: Relationship between the *landó* accompaniment patterns and the bass lines for the *tondero*.

subsequent beats. Given the parallels that Afroperuvian musicians have made with musics outside of Peru in order to borrow and adapt certain percussion patterns, it is also possible to relate this alternative hearing to Afro-Cuban and West African bell patterns (Figure 4.7).

The figure shows two staves. The top staff, 'Cajón', is in 12/8 time and shows a rhythmic pattern with notes and rests. The bottom staff, 'Bell', is also in 12/8 time and shows a similar rhythmic pattern with notes and rests, illustrating the comparison between the two.

Figure 4.7: Comparison of the *landó* accompaniment pattern of the *cajón* to that of traditional Cuban 6/8 bell pattern.

This is not suggests that there are discrete “Africanist” and “Europeanist” musical hearings of the *landó* that are in competition, let alone opposition with each other. It may be easy to assume that a particular individual’s interpretation of what he or she hears may be related to his or her own feelings regarding the

origins of the *landó*. Nevertheless, this can be a problematic and reductive assertion given the number of contradictions that surround the apparent musical and historical dichotomy of the genre. In spite of one being able to make connections to West African rhythms when counting the *cajón* part in 12/8, the exercise is largely one of ascription rather than one that provides an incontrovertible causal chain of evidence. Furthermore, the situation is complicated by the fact that many other elements of the *landó*, such as the *resbalosa*-inspired guitar strumming and the alternation of *landó cajón* patterns with variations of those used for the *marinera*, *tondero* and *zamacueca*, can also be heard as compound duple subdivision of the beat. True, this could be attributed to African influences in Peruvian coastal genres, but such insistence on relating most every aspect of the *landó* to a single musical and cultural source can easily mask the overlap and ambiguity that exists between its different genealogies of origin. In concept, connecting the *landó* to Africa, whether via the *lundú* or otherwise, has been of utmost importance in terms of reclaiming a history that was not only lost but in many ways was denied to Afroperuvians. In execution however, the musical reclamation and reinvention of the *landó* needed to draw on a more familiar musical landscape, something that could be achieved by projecting the same genealogy forwards in time and drawing from better known genres considered to be related to the *landó*, such as *marinera* and *tondero*.

As suggested in relation to its choreography, much of the importance that is placed on the *landó* lies on its elusiveness and ambiguity. Perhaps this is the reason why musicians have not devised a complex and specific set of vocabulary

and accompaniment patterns as they did for *festejo*. Like many other aspects of the *landó* this cannot be substantiated. Yet, it is reasonable to suggest that the lack of surviving musical material and knowledge about the *landó* may have made such explicit reconstruction far more difficult. Regardless of the reasons, the present conceptualization of *landó* as genre that constantly explores the tension between simple duple and compound duple subdivisions of the measure has made it into a very flexible musical form. In this regard, the *landó* shares this feature with a number of other Peruvian coastal genres including the aforementioned *marinera* and *tondero* and even some interpretations of the *vals criollo*.

This connection has not gone unnoticed by a number of musicians. Most notably among them was *criollo* composer Chabuca Granda who in the late 1970s and early 1980s began to explore the overlap between all of these genres. In collaboration with percussionist Caitro Soto and guitarists like Lucho González and Félix Casaverde, Granda re-arranged many of the celebrated *vals*es that she had written in previous decades as hybrid forms that borrowed from a variety of both *criollo* and Afroperuvian genres.¹⁵⁵ In response to critiques from some traditionalist camps, which continue to sustain that a *vals* should not turn into a *marinera* or *landó*, Granda opted for identifying her arrangements and new compositions first by calling them as having been “inspired by” a particular

¹⁵⁵ Although at the time these caused much controversy with some *criollo* musicians who felt that the essence of the *vals* was being diluted by the incorporation of foreign elements, it should be pointed out that this was not the first time that such adaptations had taken place. The induction of the *cajón* into the accompaniment of the *vals* in the 1950s was the result of the appropriation and adaptation of patterns used in the *marinera* (León 1997,136-137). Some musicians even suggest that this gave rise to the emergence of a new style of playing the *vals* called the *jaranero* style, which to many traditionalist critics was a bastardization of the genre that made it sound too much like a *marinera*.

genre.¹⁵⁶ Among her new compositions and arrangements, songs based on hybridized forms identified as inspired by the *landó* appear to have had more success for three reasons. First, many of the musical elements of the *landó* were not as formally defined as those of other genres, thus making it easier to incorporate something new without “disturbing” a particular pattern that might be considered intrinsic to the genre’s character. Second, many of the accompaniments of the *landó* already included hints of accompaniments used in other genres. Third, while critics could easily charge Granda of distorting the traditional character of other genres by omitting or replacing certain accompaniments and patterns that are generally acknowledged as being integral to their “authenticity,” it was more difficult (but not impossible) to make such claims in name of the *landó* given that it lacked the same stylistic formal definition.

Many of the musicians that worked with Granda during this experimental phase made some significant contributions to the *landó*. As already mentioned, many of the *cajón* patterns used to accompany the *landó* today were inspired by Caitro Soto who, according to Félix Casaverde, was the one responsible for capturing the sensual intentionality of the *landó* with his playing (Casaverde 1996a). Both Casaverde and his predecessor in the Granda group, *criollo* guitarist Lucho González, as representatives of a new generation of musicians well versed in a variety of musics, particularly Brazilian *bossa nova*, also contributed to the melodic harmonic exploration of the *landó*. González for example, based some of

¹⁵⁶ In many recordings, Granda precedes the genre name with the word “por,” meaning “approximately near to,” as a type of disclaimer so that the composition is would not to be strictly taken as one particular genre or another.

his *por landó* guitar accompaniments on the *festejo* guitar accompaniment, something that became particularly effective in compositions like “Cardo o ceniza,”¹⁵⁷ which temporarily modulates between minor and parallel major keys (Figure 4.8). While González usually plays this accompaniment at a relatively quick tempo, so as to bear more similarity with its *festejo* counterpart, many other guitarists have come to adopt more measured versions of the same accompaniment in their own interpretations of *landó*. In fact, due to the similarities between this particular *landó* accompaniment and the *festejo*, some guitarist and arrangers have come to conceive of the two genres as being variants of the same thing, at least from the guitar-playing standpoint.

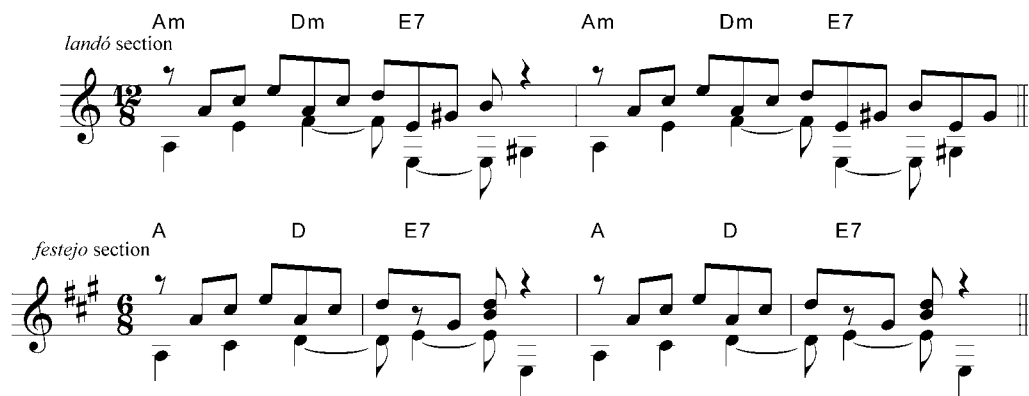


Figure 4.8: Lucho González guitar accompaniment for “Cardo o ceniza.” Notice how the *landó* section is basically a variation in minor of the *festejo* accompaniment pattern (Granda 1990).

Casaverde opted for different approach to the *landó*. As Feldman’s interview with the guitarist, as well as my own suggest, his departure point appears to have been in response to González’s own way of accompanying

¹⁵⁷[“Thorn or Ash”]

“Cardo o ceniza” (Casaverde 1996a; Feldman 2001, 338-339). Rather than drawing from the *festejo*, Casaverde has developed a number of ostinatos that are reminiscent of *bordones* used in the *canto de jarana* and the *tondero* (Figure 4.9)



Figure 4.9: Examples of *landó* guitar accompaniments as developed and performed by Félix Casaverde (Casaverde 1996b).

and which also rhythmically doubles the rhythm of the *cajón* part (see Figure 4.5). Casaverde has also continued Granda’s interest on hybrid forms and often transitions from one genre to another within some of his compositions. Most

notable among them is “Cuatro tiempos negros jóvenes,”¹⁵⁸ an instrumental suite for solo guitar and *cajón* that uses these similarities as a means of transitioning from *marinera* to *zapateo* to *festejo* to *landó* (Casaverde and Vélchez 1992) and which the composer identifies as his most important work (Casaverde 2000). Another significant change in the conceptualization of the *landó* that can be partially associated with Casaverde is the reconceptualization of the groupings of the beat. During an interview and guitar demonstration in 1996, the guitarist suggested that hearing the *landó* in 6/4 was characteristic of the older generations of performers. These days, he suggested, musicians like himself preferred the more rhythmically ambiguous 12/8 hearing since allows for the *landó* to be interpreted as a slow or medium tempo ballad rather than a faster and more rigid genre (Casaverde 1996a). Other musicians have echoed these views. Although not mentioned explicitly, it became clear from the way in which he would count off the *landó* during our *cajón* lessons that Juan Medrano also favors this particular hearing of the *landó* (Medrano 1996d; 1996i; 1996j; 2000e; 2000f). Something similar can be said of Roberto Arguedas way of arranging *landós* for Grupo Teatro del Milenio as it is evidenced both from examining how the songs are rehearsed as well as from how his body rocks to this compound duple meter hearing of the accompaniment during performances. As David Pinto, Susana Baca’s current music director suggests, her predilection for slower tempos is also an indication of how she and her group at times conceptualize the *landó* as a type of ballad (Pinto 1999)

¹⁵⁸ [“Four young black rhythms”]

Although not all musicians are as explicit in regards to how they tend to conceive of the *landó*, it is fair to suggest that since the late 1980s the more generalized sense of the *landó* as a form of Afroperuvian ballad has become more important. This is not only the case with the musicians named above, but even with artists like Eva Ayllón. In fact, Ayllón's holds the distinction of having been one of the main disseminators of newly composed *landós*, many by *criollo* composer Daniel "Kiri" Escobar. These *landós* are particularly important to note given the style of their arrangement. The few *landós* performed by Ayllón that belong to the standard Afroperuvian canon, for example "No, Valentín" in the album *Mis raíces* (1994), generally exhibit a similar treatment to that of her *festejos*; strongly rhythmic, highly improvisatory and virtuoso guitar accompaniments, and a great deal of percussion—all largely the result of the arranging hand of Walter Velásquez. In contrast, the majority of recently composed *landós*, usually the realization of arrangers like Oscar Cavero, Felipe Pumarada, Máximo Dávila or Coco Salazar feature an emphasis on the exploration of different timbres (often with a pronounced use of synthesizers, string sections, French horns and various types of woodwinds, etc.), and a more focused attention on the melodic character of the song, rather than on its rhythmic accompaniment. The overall result, as already suggested, is a rendition of the *landó* that often times straddles the divide between that which can be stylistically identified as Afroperuvian and something with the more ambiguous character of Latin American ballad. The potential for such stylistic and rhythmic ambiguity has allowed for musicians to arrange a variety of different songs as *landós*.

Amongst the most recent of these there is Susana Baca's arrangement of "Autumn Leaves," which is performed at such a measured pace that at time it is difficult to quickly identify the *landó* accompaniment pattern played by the *cajón* and bass (Baca 2002). Although far more minimalist in conception than the Ayllón arrangements mentioned above, their de-emphasis of any strong sense of rhythm has made both of these arrangements effective in providing a slow and unobtrusive background to a freely interpreted melody.

In this sense, the *landó* as conceived by Baca and many of the other musicians mentioned above, share much in common with Chabuca Granda's initial explorations of the genre. The connection however, goes beyond the continued exploration of the genre's stylistic ambiguity. Since Granda, the musical character of the *landó*—one that has been largely based on exploration and experimentation rather than strict adherence to particular patterns and performance practice techniques deemed to be part of the tradition—is related to a different aspect of Afroperuvian music making—one which deems the traditional repertoire as source material that should be subject to transformation and interpretation. While at times musicians have argued that holding the position of culture bearers has granted them such an interpretive license, this is clearly a difficult claim when it comes to Granda, a *criollo* composer associated with Lima's Bohemian community of writers, actors, poets, and painters. Rather, Granda's authority, and by extension that of many of the above mentioned musicians that collaborated with or were mentored by her at one point in their career, is drawn from their perceived status as artists, creators of new and

uniquely Afroperuvian (and by extension Peruvian) vernacular art forms capable of transcending social, cultural and ethnic differences.

In a general sense, this more artistic reinterpretation of the traditional repertoire appears to have been a local manifestation of the types of “new song” movements like *nueva trova* in Cuba and *nueva canción* in Chile, and even the American folk music revival, of the late 1960s and 1970s. These parallel movements were greatly characterized by the use of poetry and song as a form of social commentary. The proponents of such movements based their artistic creations on local forms of expression but often sought retain or expand on these rather than form-fit them to pre-existing models, largely in an attempt to make their creations more accessible to a broader public. In many cases, the element of social critique was an important one, an effective way of challenging and deconstructing the ways in which the elite treated the working classes. The majority of Granda’s compositions stemming from this period, from the mid 1960s until her death in 1983, largely coincided with the Gobierno Revolucionario de las Fuerzas Armadas, and perhaps for this reason her compositions did not feature as explicit social commentary like some of her counterparts in Chile, Argentina, and Cuba. Nevertheless, at that time Granda and her work were well known recognize by her peers in other parts of Latin America. More specifically, it appears that both the writings of poet Javier Heraud, in whose memory she composed an entire song cycle of *valses*, and figures of Chilean *nueva canción* like Violeta Parra, for whom she dedicated another a cycle of compositions, including the aforementioned “Cardo o ceniza,” upon news of

her suicide, had a strong influence in this latter part of her career (Zanutelli 1999, 85).

Granda's self-identification as a member of a community of artists that often spanned beyond the confines of the Peruvian border is also evidenced by the way in which she sought to disseminate her compositions. Although much of her music, particularly her earlier *valses*, were largely disseminated by well-known *criollo* groups such as Los Chamas and Los Morochucos, the appearance of a new Granda composition was usually a momentous event, often involving a special ceremony or similar event in which the composer could "unveil" the new composition and comment on her sources of inspiration and individuals to whom the composition was officially dedicated (Villanueva and Donayre 1987, 118-122). Outside of Peru, Granda also made a name for herself having been well received by the musical communities of Buenos Aires, Mexico City and Madrid (Gorriti 1999; 57; Villanueva and Donayre 1987, 118) and having cultivated close friendships with such international personalities as Spanish singers Julio Iglesias and Raphael, and Mexican balladeer Armando Manzanero who credits Granda with having encouraged him to perform his own compositions (Villanueva and Donayre 1987, 125). During these travels she also had the opportunity to use her notoriety to support other Peruvian groups that were beginning to travel abroad, most notably among them Perú Negro (Feldman 2001, 291-294), something that appears to have led to both her interest on Afroperuvian genres as well as her collaboration with poet César Calvo. In fact, all of these experiences become evident in Granda's latter recording projects during the late 1970s and early 1980s

where she continually reworked and rearranged her own compositions as well as those of other Latin American artists.

This legacy has had an important impact on several Afroperuvian and *criollo* musicians of recent generations. Much like there has been entire (and at times partially competing) genealogies of musicians and dance troupes dedicated exclusively to the performance of Afroperuvian dances under the rubric tradition or folklore, and like there have been scores of *criollo* and Afroperuvian musicians that continue to perform the Afroperuvian repertoire as a subset of musical genres that are identified as *criollo* or coastal, there's also been a strong and increasingly influential family of performers interested in the potential of Afroperuvian genres to serve source materials for new and artistic creation with a uniquely Peruvian and vernacular flavor. In this sense, it seems that the *landós* stylistic and conceptual ambiguity has been able to provide with a flexible enough template with which to pursue these types of explorations. It is perhaps no surprise that a sizeable number of the relatively few compositions that have become a part of the Afroperuvian cannon since the 1980s have been *landós* many of them written by two of Granda's students, the aforementioned Daniel "Kiri" Escobar and Andrés Soto. Since Granda, new compositions and stylistic explorations have also been pursued by both the independent and collaborative efforts of individuals that at one point or another were affiliated with the composer, particularly the aforementioned Félix Casaverde, César Calvo and Susana Baca. In fact, the *landó* that launched Baca into the international spotlight, "María Landó," is reputed to have started as an unfinished collaborative project between Granda and

Calvo that Baca, also a former Granda disciple, in collaboration with her music director of the time, Roberto Arguedas, eventually brought into realization. Furthermore, it is this image of the Afroperuvian musician as a cosmopolitan artist, as much as that of the musicians as a culture bearer, that has become an important aspect of how musicians like Baca have come to engage with their recent international success.

AFROPERUVIAN ARTISTS ABROAD

In more recent years, a few Afroperuvian musicians have come to capture international attention. With this increased exposure, particularly outside of Peru, many musicians are hoping that renewed attention, both at home and abroad, will foster a better environment for the contemporary practice of Afroperuvian music. In their promotion of this music, American and European world music markets suggest that Afroperuvian music has remained safely tucked away at the periphery, yet one more undiscovered sibling of those African diasporic sounds that Western audiences have come to find so appealing in recent decades.

Despite this recent assumption, largely the result of particular marketing schemes aimed at appealing to Westerner's yearning for "the undiscovered," it bears to point out that Afroperuvian musicians and dancers have been actively performing abroad almost since the very beginning of the revival movement. The "Pancho Fierro" company performed with much success in Argentina back in the 1957 (Feldman 2001, 86-87). Similarly, in the 1970s Perú Negro traveled quite extensively through Latin America, Africa and Europe thus introducing this music to other parts of the world. It seems however, that the United States was largely

absent from these international visits, most likely due to the Peruvian government's then perception of the United States as an imperialist power.¹⁵⁹ In the 1980s, as the political and economic situation in Peru worsened, many Peruvians including musicians began to look for better opportunities abroad. Chito Valdivia, former guitarist for Perú Negro for example, remembers that at that time Ronaldo Campos had a hard time keeping the group together during tours because many performers would be looking for ways to stay behind (Valdivia 1996). More importantly however, growing colonies of Peruvians in large American cities began to open a market for the importation of *criollo* and Afroperuvian acts into these cities. By the late 1980s, a number of promoters appeared that would bring acts to the United States, although these largely performed for audiences of Peruvians nationals, thus remaining fairly unnoticed by American audiences and media.

Ironically, as much as the possibility of going to the United States might have represented a great deal of promise for many musicians, the reality was quite different. The opportunity to bring musicians to perform for Peruvian colonies in Miami, Los Angeles and New Jersey brought about the creation of yet another industry that many musicians feel resulted more on new avenues of exploitation. As Juan Medrano and Antonio González point out, most promoters would pocket the great majority of the earnings of those tours, often paying musicians little more than what they would be making in Lima plus minimal travel and boarding expenses (A. González 1996). At the same time, most Afroperuvian and *criollo*

¹⁵⁹ One must remember that these traveling musicians were promoted as cultural ambassadors to other parts of the world and that their international tours were partially sponsored by the government through a variety of institutions like the INC.

musicians who managed to establish themselves abroad quickly found that they had to diversify their musical interests in order to make a living. While performers like Tania Libertad in Mexico and Alex Acuña in the United States have become quite successful in the professional music circuit, and while at times they have been able to include some songs from the Afroperuvian repertoire in their recordings, their blending of these with Cuban, Brazilian genres, Latin Jazz, and Latin American pop without acknowledgment of their source has left their audiences largely unaware that these performers are from Peru. To an extent, local performers are critical of this situation, given that to them this lack of acknowledgment stems from abandonment, whether by necessity or design, of a crucial aspect of their identity. Similarly, Afroperuvian musicians have come to object to those performers who have reinvented themselves as Cuban or Puerto Rican while in the United States in order to find better performing opportunities. As some musicians in Lima commonly remark, when these individuals return to visit Lima, something that in it of itself points towards their success as professional musicians in local music scenes abroad, they often sport Caribbean accents and treat their fellow musicians as little more than provincial amateurs.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ It is difficult to know whether in fact returning Afroperuvian musicians are consciously trying to emulate Cuban accents when they speak Spanish from this anecdotal evidence. As my own experience and those of other Peruvians living abroad for extended periods of time can attest, there is a tendency for one's local inflexion to become somewhat diluted over time. The effects are generally temporary and usually within a week or two of being back in Peru, one has recovered his or her local accent. Nevertheless, during that period of adjustment, one is likely to be confused with being from a different Latin American country. In my case, I have often been asked if I am from Colombia, but other friends and relatives have mentioned that they have been mistaken from Chilean to Dominican. Clearly, which national attribution is made often times is largely based on a individual's own familiarity with and perception of manners of speaking Spanish in other parts of Latin America. In the case at hand, it seems that local musicians have come to identify these differences in speaking as Cuban largely because this is the particular persona that many

Early in the 1990s, it seems that awareness of Afroperuvian musicians as such by the international music market, could possibly provide new alternatives to performing opportunities abroad that did not involve being taken advantage of by corrupt promoters, nor having to compromise one's musical identity as an Afroperuvian performer. The pioneer in this new arena was Susana Baca. Although Baca had been traveling to various international song competitions since the late 1980s (Baca 1995), she still remained unknown to the international recording industry. There are a number of reasons for this. While Afroperuvian musicians had been visiting foreign countries for nearly three decades, their appearances were generally in the form live performances. Recordings of these groups remained largely at the hands of a local recording industry that did not have the resources to flood foreign markets like the Mexican, Argentinean and Spanish industries and their distributors had been able to do since the 1940s and 1950s. As a result, it seems like Afroperuvian musicians seldom had a chance to make lasting impression with foreign audiences. There are a few notable exceptions. Perhaps the best known of these was the popularization of the Afroperuvian song "Toro mata" throughout Latin America after Celia Cruz and Johnny Pacheco recorded a "salsified" version in the late 1970s (Cruz 1974).¹⁶¹

musicians appear to adopt abroad. If indeed these individuals are intentionally adopting these accents, local musicians are probably correct in inferring that this is meant to be interpreted as a sign of their newly achieved musical status and sophistication. After all, Cuban musicians are generally revered in Peru for their great skill and to begin to speak in this manner to some indicates some tenuous attempt at showing that they are now more like them—a sort of a professional musician version of what happens to some tourists, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists when they travel abroad and "go native" as a means of signaling to others that they have gained certain privileged insights into a particular foreign culture.

¹⁶¹ While I have not been able to find corroborating evidence as to how Cruz and Pacheco came to learn the song, most Afroperuvian musicians suggest that it was probably a song that Cruz and

This however would change in the early months of 1995 when rock musician David Byrne visited Lima in order to compile a sampler of “Afroperuvian classics” in order to release it in the United States (Byrne and Evelev 1995). As Feldman points out, Byrne had first found out about Afroperuvian music through a tape recording of a song by Susana Baca that was given to him as a study aid while learning Spanish (Feldman 2001, 429). Once in Lima, Byrne with Baca’s help, managed to gather what he felt was a representative sample of Afroperuvian music for his compilation, which almost single handedly sparked an interest for Afroperuvian music in the United States.

The possibility of working with an American record label has become an attractive opportunity to Afroperuvian musicians, given that it opens up a conduit to international performances that circumvent pre-existing professional avenues that many musicians feel are riddled with corruption and nepotistic favoritism. This is not to say that musicians have a naïve conception of the interest behind the promotion of their music by an American or European label. Quite the contrary, musicians count on the international music industry’s capitalist self-interest as being the one factor that will ensure that steps are taken to them as their investment. There is a certain legitimacy that musicians see in these recording labels that they often see lacking in Peru since they are offered to provide musicians with written contracts, a well organized marketing and distribution network, contacts with international performing venues and booking agents, etc.

Pacheco most likely learned or heard performed in Lima during one of their own international tours.

Much of this realization came to me when I had the opportunity to watch closely the recording of Susana Baca's first album with Luaka Bop in June of 1996. In the days before the recording would take place at a studio in Lima, Baca and her husband Ricardo Pereira asked me to help them with the recording contract agreement that Luaka Bop had faxed to them. At first, my impression of how the label had come to deal with two people who had become good friends was not very favorable. I was somewhat surprised that, in spite of Byrne himself and some of the other representatives in Luaka Bop always being conscientious enough to communicate with Baca and Pereira in their native language (neither speaks English), that the legal department had not had the foresight to translate the rather long and detailed contract into Spanish. Over the next three days, I spent several hours with Ricardo, trying to translate the agreement clause by clause until he was satisfied that the terms were agreeable. In the process, Ricardo's observations helped me put into perspective what he probably thought was my over-developed sense of ethnomusicological social justice. Having been raised on narratives regarding the evils of Paul Simon and the world music industry at large, I kept expecting to find some major problem with the agreement. There was however no such revelation. Now on its sixth year with Luaka Bop it is clear that the relationship has proven beneficial to both parties.

At the same time however, new opportunities and a new performing context have not managed to erase old problems. As the opening section of this chapter shows, musicians abroad not only have to face new challenges, but also old ones in new contexts as local and global expectations regarding the role that

these performers should fulfill conflate with each other. The situation is perhaps even more pronounced with other Afroperuvian performers who are in the process of entering the international music arena. Baca's booking agents generally place her in venues that feature different types of world music and her audience is basically made of Americans, although there can be a sizable Peruvian contingency, if there happens to be a community of Peruvians nearby. Many of these other musicians are still largely promoted through the same channels as their counterparts of the 1980s and early 1990s, thus still drawing a predominantly Peruvian crowd, while many American audiences remain unaware of their existence. This is largely to a lacking access to the professional contacts and audience name recognition that Baca has been able to earn thanks to her association with Luaka Bop. Two groups that appear to be slowly gaining a foothold in the American market however are Eva Ayllón and Perú Negro. In the case of Ayllón this has been due to her appearance in some of the aforementioned compilation as well as to some independent distributors that have begun to disseminate her many albums in some parts of the United States. For Perú Negro, this has been due to the release of the aforementioned *Sangre de un don*, their U.S. tour which was publicized beyond the Peruvian community and the fact that Lalo Izquierdo, one of the founding members of the group currently resides in the United States and has begun to visit universities and community dance groups to give performances and workshops based on the repertoire performed by Perú Negro.

Like musicians entering the professional music circuit in Lima, these musicians have also had to simultaneously contend with and establish a connection to the stylistic legacy of earlier groups that have set a particular aesthetic standard within the market. Ironically, performers like Perú Negro and Eva Ayllón, the main two stylistic keepers of the “classic” Afroperuvian sound in Peru, are having to contend new audiences whose perception of “authentic” Afroperuvian music is largely informed by the music of Susana Baca, a performer that early on in her career was considered by many Limeños to be “too experimental” to fit squarely in the traditional Afroperuvian category. Outside of Peru, Baca’s three albums with Luaka Bop (1997; 2000; 2002) have to set the tone for Afroperuvian music as intimate and sophisticated rather than loud, lively and almost uncontrollably fast paced. This aesthetic difference is clear in the way in which Baca is marketed in the United States, often mentioned in the same breath as artists such as Caetano Veloso, Cesarea Evora, and Mercedes Sosa and appearing in relatively small up-scale venues that are not only more conducive to preserving the intimate character of Baca’s music but also cater to a relatively more affluent and older demographic.

Slowly artists like Ayllón are finding their own space in this international market while managing to retain their own voice. Ayllón, Félix Casaverde, singer Lucila Campos, and the latest incarnation of Perú Negro for example, have been featured in a couple of recent compilations. Particularly when it comes to Ayllón and Campos, foreign audiences are beginning to identify a new side to Afroperuvian music that is in contrast to that of Susana Baca. At the same time

however, the stylistic influence of figures like Baca and musicians that have collaborated with her, like Félix Casaverde,¹⁶² have come to inform the recent performances of some of these other artists. Perú Negro's recent European release entitled *Sangre de un don* for example, features a smaller ensemble, crisp sound, and a studio mix that places emphasis on the guitar accompaniment and the vocal harmony, a fairly different aesthetic than their live recordings of the 1970s, with large batteries of percussionists that would often overpower, if not completely mask, most of the subtleties of the arrangements. Similarly, as some of the members of Susana Baca's band observed recently, some performers have started to emulate Baca's singing style and stage demeanor when performing abroad. Given that most Afroperuvian singers are known for their bold and boisterous singing style and the relentless way in which they joke with their audience, these musicians found it amusing that even the most exuberant of these performers would suddenly opt for quietly, almost shyly, speaking into the microphone to give very brief and humble retorts at the end of each song.

In spite of the apparent authority that Baca's music has outside of Peru, the story remains quite different back at home. In fact, during the aforementioned visit to Austin the band members also commented on how they appeared to lead a double life. While abroad, they were often seen as representatives of all Afroperuvian musicians, not only because of a lack of awareness of other artists, but due to their active commitment to increase awareness regarding the

¹⁶² Although Félix Casaverde has not enjoyed the same opportunities internationally, his musical style has been greatly influential with a number of other younger performers. It bears to point his name right next to Baca's in this regard given that both performers have actively collaborated with each other. In fact, much of the guitar work in Baca's 1997 *Luaka Bop* release features Casaverde's playing under Baca's artistic direction.

contributions of Afroperuvians to Peruvian coastal culture. In addition to concerts, Baca is known for giving public lectures, workshops and interviews regarding these issues. Yet, back in Lima her voice is often masked by those of older generations of musicians who remain as spokesmen on matters of Afroperuvian stylistic authenticity. In their eyes, Baca's success abroad is attributed more to effective marketing and to foreign audiences lacking in the knowledge that would allow them to discern what is truly "authentic" from what is not. In spite of the fact that many of these older musicians respect and admire many internationally successful artists from other Latin American countries, and that these in turn praise Baca's music, the traditionalist camp refuses to acknowledge that Baca belongs in the same league with these other performers. As Hugo Bravo, percussionist for Susana Baca's group points out: "We come back from playing side by side with Juan Luis Guerra, or Gloria Stefan, we are friends with them, but then we get to Lima and instead of praise [the old musicians] don't believe us" (Bravo 1999).

The continued disparity between how Baca has been perceived in Peru and abroad stems from the limited exposure that she continues to receive in Lima. While in the United States and Europe most people have come to find out about Afroperuvian music through Susana Baca, in Lima there is an entire pantheon of other figures whose success stretches back to the 1970s that more readily draw someone's attention. Furthermore, although one can find Baca's albums in Lima, their availability is markedly limited in comparison to national recordings. This is partly due to the fact that, as imports, Baca's albums are more expensive than

ones that are produced locally. In comparison to IEMPSA or El Virrey reissues, and albums by more recently established labels like Discos Hispanos or Discos Independientes, which range in price between \$17 and \$20 U.S. dollars, American imports cost a minimum of \$25 or up to even \$30 dollars. While this is not necessarily beyond the means of many of the middle class and upper middle class that listen to Afroperuvian music, the place that such music has in most consumers' musical world seems to limit the distribution of albums such as those of Baca. That is to say, while spending \$25 on the latest alternative music or *rock en español* album, may appear to be a worthy investment due to the lack of availability of such music locally, it is more difficult to justify the same kind of expenditure for local music, especially when other artists are more easily available through Peruvian labels.¹⁶³ It is true that stylistically, Baca's music is markedly different from that of her other counterparts, but given that most Limeño audiences are usually more interested in owning a representative sampling of "the classics," such stylistic difference appear to be more of a hindrance than an asset.

There also appears to be an aesthetic disparity between the type of Afroperuvian music that until recently has been popular in Peru and the one that over the last decade has been featured in the international world music market. Again the point of bifurcation appears to be the aforementioned Byrne compilation. In addition to the song that he first heard Baca sing, the compilation

¹⁶³ It should be pointed out that in recent years, the proliferation of pirated CDs in the black market has forced local record labels to lower their prices even more in comparison to imports. By March of 2001, prices of most re-issued *criollo* and Afroperuvian music had been reduced to anywhere from \$9 to \$11.

included a number of Afroperuvian and *criollo* artists mostly from the 1970s and early 1980s. In spite of this time period more or less coinciding with Limeño perceptions of what was considered the “classic” Afroperuvian repertoire, the compilation was radically different than similar compilations released by IEMPISA and El Virrey in Lima. Given the influence that Perú Negro had in shaping the aesthetic tastes of audiences in Lima during the 1970s, Limeños had a predilection for lively and upbeat dance songs, often with large batteries of percussion. In other words, the representative “Afroperuvian sound” for Limeño audiences was symbolized by one genre in particular, the *festejo*. Byrne’s compilation however, although including a few *festejos* and related genres, clearly exhibits a predilection for *landós*. In fact, a two thirds of the entire album constitutes one form of *landó* or another. The overall result was that of a far more relaxed and intimate collection of Afroperuvian songs than those found in Lima, something that was perhaps the result of Byrne’s own aesthetic predilections as well as the impression that Baca’s song “María Landó” first made on him. Not surprisingly, in the United States and Europe, such compilation appears to have had marked success, particularly with those individuals interested in artists associated with Latin American genres like *nueva canción*. This is no coincidence given that the compilation features a fair amount of artists and arrangements that make direct and indirect reference to the type of Afroperuvian music associated with individuals like Chabuca Granda and those who have continued and expanded on her artistic legacy, including Baca herself. In contrast, the initial reception of the Byrne compilation in Lima was much

different. The compilation did not quite conform to Peruvian audience's perceptions and expectations of what Afroperuvian music should be.

As Baca has become more established abroad these initial reactions have begun to subside. Since winning a Grammy Latino in September of 2002, Baca seems to have become the apple of the Limeño mass media's eye. This has led to an award by President Alejandro Toledo, a command performance at the government palace. The potential for the acknowledgement and large-scale acceptance of Baca's accomplishments and stylistic innovations in Peru may signify a larger triumph for all those younger generations of performers that since the early 1980s have been trying to contest the stylistic hegemony that has been promoted and maintained by the Limeño mass media and recording industry. In fact, the Grammy Latino winning album *Lamento negro* (Baca 2001), a recent re-issue of her work from 1986 that was originally recorded for EGREM studios in Cuba, although stylistically different from her more recent Luaka Bop albums and not necessarily an accurate representation of the Baca's current artistic pursuits, seems appropriate given that all of the tracks are experimental musical settings of poems by contemporary Peruvian and Latin American poets rather than selections from the usual canon of Afroperuvian standards. Nevertheless, the light under which Baca is perceived abroad seems to have had some paradoxical consequences in this regard since the category for which Baca won the Grammy Latino was not Best New Artist but Best Folk Album.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Further controversy surrounds the nomination of this particular album that should be noted here. The British record label, Tumi Music re-released the album under license from EGREM, but Baca was never informed about it. Furthermore, it is fairly clear from the liner notes of the album that Tumi tried to take advantage of Baca's recent success. The photographs of Baca used in the album are dated from 2001, not 1986 and were used without Baca's permission. Similarly, the

This suggests that Baca's perception abroad as the embodiment of the Afroperuvian stylistic standard seems to present an ongoing challenge as far as the type of audiences that she is trying to reach both in Peru and abroad. In Lima Baca insists in sponsoring and at times collaborating with young musicians and singer-songwriters who can be seen as continuing in the tradition of Chabuca Granda in their attempts at combining traditional genres with contemporary poetry, artistic innovation and relevant social commentary. Her last album, *Espíritu vivo* for example, includes a song by Javier Lazo, a young composer who has only recently come to more actively engage with Afroperuvian genres under Baca's guidance. Unfortunately in the United States and Europe such aesthetic tastes are more associated, at least in terms of marketing and target audience, not with youth culture but with a more selected and affluent demographic ranging from their 30s to their 50s, many of which have come to discover Baca as a result of their interest in Latin American protest music, something that continues to perplex Baca and her band members. Similarly, the repeated characterization of her music as "jazzy" by foreign audiences and the press has become a point of contention with Baca and her band. From their perspective, these comparisons generally ignore the long and complex process of balancing traditional music making with the desire for innovation and the need to musically represent a cosmopolitan side to contemporary Afroperuvian experience, a delicate endeavor that can only be pursued by someone with intimate knowledge of Afroperuvian

text gives very information as to the actual content of the album. Instead, it only gives brief and general background information regarding Baca and her music, much of which has been compiled from recent newspaper articles and interviews. In fact, nowhere in the recording or accompanying documentation is there any date or other reference that orients the consumer into knowing that this is not one of her recent albums.

tradition. Whether or not this endeavor results in having some superficial similarities to *bossa nova* or Latin jazz is seen as beside the point and these musicians often object to such characterization since to them it implies that they are engaged in a contrived attempt at infusing Afroperuvian music with an artificial sense of sophistication in order to legitimize it in the eyes of foreign audiences.

The possibility to have multiple interpretations of Baca's music and, by extension, the Afroperuvian community that it represents to audiences abroad can be a source of concern for performers who have largely based their authority on the notion that they are keepers of a cultural knowledge that at some level or another is absolute. In most contexts in which Afroperuvian music is performed and consumed in Lima musicians are still able to exert their authority as culture bearers or experts in Afroperuvian matters in order to denounce what they feel as distortions of the tradition. Abroad however, the decontextualization of Afroperuvian music and its partial and multiple recontextualization as part of a collection of virtuoso third world global voices, or another example of the inherently resistive sounds of Africanity, or of the earthy and spiritual sophistication of ethnic jazz, or as another exponent of how the West has historically denigrated the voice of female performers, seems to largely neutralize such an authority.

Consequently, musicians like Baca have begun to pursue different strategies. In a space where the invocation of culture is at best relativistic and where Susana Baca can be placed side by side with Björk and/or Gershwin (Baca

has recorded arrangements of a songs by both of these individuals), she has chosen to do just that, as it is evidenced by the inclusion of songs by both of these other performers in her most recent album. While the notion of being tied to a particular locality and a particular cultural history remains important, this has become only one aspect of Baca's performing persona, another being a performer that aspires to be more than just the Best Folk Album of 2002. To this end, Baca like a number of other performers from a wide variety of musical contexts and cultural backgrounds are able to strategically and selectively invoke a universal musical standard, one in which the authenticity of a performer or group is not measured by their ability to accurately reproduce or otherwise remain within the discretely drawn boundaries of "the tradition," but one that nostalgically draws on the very Western concept of autonomous art as a means of assessing a particular musician's accomplishments in what are deemed at strictly delineated musical standards regarding one's skills and professionalism.

This was the subject of a conversation that I had with Baca during a visit to her home in July of 2000. After recounting her experiences recording a track in collaboration with members of Los Lobos for an upcoming album release in Los Angeles,¹⁶⁵ she wanted me to make an evaluation of these performers strictly in musical terms given that she felt this was the only way in which both of the groups could be compared to each other (León 2002). The strategic need to invoke this sense of universality was particularly evident in this instance since

¹⁶⁵ The album in question turned out to be *Canto* by Los Super Seven, a group comprised of David Hidalgo and César Rosas of Los Lobos and friends Alberto Salas, David Hidalgo, Jr., Will Dog Abers, Steve Berlin, Rick Treviño, Rubén Ramos, Raúl Malo, Louie Pérez and Cougar Estrada (Super Seven 2001).

during the recording Baca had to resort to her own band for backup as a couple of the members of Los Super Seven could not figure out how to appropriately play the *festejo* arrangement that they were trying to record. Clearly the inability of these musicians to interface with Baca's music was being taken as lack in their innate musical ability rather their contextual knowledge of Afroperuvian tradition. By extension, her ability and that of her band to adapt a simple duple Cuban melody to 6/8 *festejo* accompaniment was not attributed to Afroperuvian musicians being used to make these types of rhythmic transformations within the context of playing the *festejo* but to well developed skills that all professional musicians, regardless of background, should have.

In spite of these assertions, it should not be assumed that Baca or any other musician that at times invokes a universal musical standard in order to judge and be judged on what they perceive as a more a level playing field is merely abandoning their local perspective in favor of a global one that is largely defined by Western aesthetic standards. Instead, the identification of what Afroperuvian musicians do as an artistic endeavor that amounts to more than just the iteration of songs, choreographies and accompaniment pattern that have been handed down for generations has become an effective strategy through which musicians can critique other while at the same time shielding themselves from totalizing narratives that seek to reduce them to a functionalist reflection of culture. It should be clear that the power of this move resides not in the actual musical structures that it invokes as a universal standard, but rather on the tradition of criticism of Western art, a complex, polyvocal and often subjectively constructed

set of dialectics where art's ultimate meaning and by extension its transcendence lies in a realm that cannot be fully grasped by logic, reason, objectivity, history, or ethnographic writing for that matter.

As tempting as it may seem to want to attribute this particular move to the recent incursion of Afroperuvian musicians into the global music arena, it should be clear that such discourses about Afroperuvian music as an artistic rather than a cultural form of expression have their own local history. Invoking ambiguity, particularly in terms of musical style and choreography, has allowed musicians to have a space where to experiment and test the boundaries of that which is deemed traditional. Given the rigidity that can accompany the conceptualization of Afroperuvian music as a fixed tradition, ascribing such ambiguity to an aspect of Afroperuvian music making whose authenticity, although very real, cannot be fully verbalized or easily quantified, has become an important way in which the notions of innovation and interpretation can be introduced without necessarily being placed as diametrically opposed to the continued interest in maintenance and preservation. The authority for such a conceptual move by many musicians of recent generations stems their invocation of Afroperuvian music, not as a product or reflection of a particular type of cultural distinctiveness, but rather as a creative an artistic process that uses the traditional repertoire as its basis. In spite of this however, the intention of these musicians is not to replace one strategy with the other. Instead, they tread the overlap between the two, often exploring ways, however subjectively constructed, in which they can introduce innovation

while at the same time staying closely connected to the perceived roots of tradition.

Clearly, the intention is not one of claiming one single and incontrovertible strategy. The advantage of using the invocation of art as an ambiguous rather than totalizing approach is that it gives musicians the flexibility of positioning themselves at different points in the culture/art continuum depending on the needs of the current situation. Just as invoking the authority of history and culture as embodied in the concept of authenticity can lead to reification and stagnation, the invocation of more artistic reinterpretations of the Afroperuvian repertoire introduces the danger of decontextualization. This is particularly the case with some musicians in the Afroperuvian community who are already beginning to feel that the label “Afroperuvian” has become too confining to accurately identify their musical and artistic aspirations. At the same time however, musicians are not willing to simply substitute one set of strategies with the other. After all, this would virtually negate the project of cultural reclamation that was at the heart of the revival of Afroperuvian music dance in the middle of the twentieth century. Instead, there remains a concern with pursuing these new stylistic innovations and experimentation while at the same time remaining close to what is generally identified as “the roots of tradition.” To a large degree, determining who is successful at doing this and who is not is largely a relativistic exercise, reminding us that musicians, as artists, are not exempt from the challenges that others face as members of contemporary society, whether at the local or global level. If anything, the continued debates amongst musicians

and audiences regarding the merits and failures of each approach to Afroperuvian music as well as the merits of each individual approach are an indication that such ambivalence remains unresolved. Furthermore, it appears that they must remain unresolved, not only because of the potential strategic advantage that such ambiguity may provide, but because, as Erlmann suggests, “homogenization and differentiation [are not] mutually exclusive features of musical globalization that can be lamented, denounced, or demanded as needed, but [the] integral constituents of musical aesthetics under late capitalism” (Erlmann 1996, 469).

This chapter has largely focused on the appropriation of the concept of music as an art form within the context of the professional Afroperuvian music circuit both in Peru and abroad. These however, are not the only ways in which the concept of art can be invoked. The partial appropriation of a notion of “art for art’s sake” has also become important strategy with a small group of Afroperuvian performers. Grupo Teatro del Milenio is a case in point. In addition to pursuing many of the strategies discussed in this and previous chapters, these performers have begun to embrace a more explicit sense of music as autonomous art as a way of allowing musicians to use performance as a means of introspectively exploring what they see as their own subjective and individualized truths. The final chapter will discuss some of the specifics of how this is done.

Chapter 5: Art, Theatre, and African Ancestry

*Te digo el comentario de un amigo que fue [a ver Callejón], y que le encantó, y me dijo, “¿Sabes qué? Recién me siento que soy negro.”*¹⁶⁶

—MARÍA MOLINA

POLITICAL RALLY. VENTANILLA. FRIDAY, AUGUST 4, 2000, 7:30PM.



Figure 5.1: *Left to right:* Oscar Villanueva, Lucho Sandoval, Percy Chinchilla, and Williams Nicasio of Grupo Teatro del Milenio performing at a political rally in Ventanilla, Dept. of Lima, 4 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

¹⁶⁶ [I tell you the comment made by a friend who went [to see *Callejón*], and he loved it, and he said, “you know? only now do I feel that I am black.”]

It was going to be a long night. My plan for the afternoon was to visit with the members of Milenio during one of the rehearsals and possibly catching up with them later in the evening at their performance at *La Vieja Taberna*¹⁶⁷ in Barranco. Soon after I arrived, however, I realized that the itinerary for the evening was far busier. Before the performance in Barranco, Milenio was going to play for a political rally in Ventanilla, a small town just outside of Lima and it was clear that the group wanted me to come along. Turns out that a relative of one of the members of the group was running for the office of mayor of a local *poblado menor*¹⁶⁸ and the group had agreed to donate their performance as a show of support for the candidate. After a short afternoon rehearsal we gathered the necessary instruments, costumes and props, loaded them onto a car and the *combi*¹⁶⁹ that had been hired by the organizers of the event. We slowly pushed our way through Friday evening rush hour traffic, past the airport and towards the large oil refineries that sit outside of the city. As we entered Ventanilla proper, a town mainly characterized by a military village that the navy had built for enlisted men and their families, we turned off the highway onto a dirt road, after turning on a couple of streets we arrived the site of the performance, an open lot in front of the house of the candidate.

When we arrived, the place was virtually deserted. It turns out that the candidate and her constituents were gathering on the opposite end of the *poblado*

¹⁶⁷ [*The Old Tavern*]

¹⁶⁸ literally, small settlement. It is a legal term applied to small communities that are in the process of becoming recognized by local authorities as an official subdivision of the a particular city, town or district.

¹⁶⁹ the name for the minivans that are used throughout Peru for public and private transportation.

were going to march towards our location. From the warmth with which we were all greeted upon arrival, it was clear that the members of Milenio were held in high regard by their hosts. At the same time, this event was also important



Figure 5.2: *Left to right:* Oscar Villanueva, Paul Colinó, and Lucho Sandoval discussing logistics before the performance. Ventanilla, Dept. of Lima, 4 August, 2000. Photograph by author.

to some of the performers. One of them explained that, in spite of many of the people present being close friends and relatives, unless they became professional musicians themselves, they were unlikely to have the opportunity to see Milenio perform. To make light of this, some of the musicians teased our hosts by saying that people in Ventanilla did not like to get dressed up just to come to Lima and see their friends perform in one those nightclubs in bohemian Barranco or residential Miraflores. The joking, however, masked a more serious issue,

namely how these venues that cater to the middle and upper classes can be intimidating to those who are perceived as not belonging there due to their financial status, social class, and by extension ethnic background. Soon, the candidate arrived followed by a crowd of approximately one hundred people holding banners and signs (Figure 5.3). After a few opening remarks, the performers were introduced and the show was underway.



Figure 5.3: Some of the supporters who came to see the performance. Ventanilla, Dept. of Lima, 4 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

Throughout the performance my attention was divided, having to alternate between taking photographs and arguing with the sound engineer that had been hired for the event. The instrumentalists on stage had not been happy with the sound check, something that they attributed to the engineer being more familiar amplifying salsa and *teknocumbia*¹⁷⁰ bands rather than predominantly acoustic

¹⁷⁰ a more recent incarnation of a genre of music known as *chicha*, an urban fusion of Andean *huaynos* Colombian *cumbia*, rock and salsa that is mostly associated with second generation immigrants from the Andean regions of the country. *Teknocumbia* differs from *chicha* mostly in

criollo and Afroperuvian groups. Several times during the initial part of the performance, I had to respond to grimaces and shaking heads on stage by running over to the mixing board and attempting to explain to the sound engineer what to do, an exchange that would inevitably result in a shouting match given that the mixing board was positioned just below one of the large main speakers. It was during one of these exchanges that I heard the beginnings of the controversy that would dominate the rest of the evening.

While the dancers were off stage waiting for their cue, one of the performers on stage decided to address the audience. On behalf of Milenio, he mentioned they were very proud of attending this rally not only because they wanted to show their support for a friend but also because this was an opportunity for Milenio to show their commitment to community involvement. His words were heartfelt and he obviously wanted to take advantage of his authority on stage to talk to those present about the need to work together towards the bettering of all marginalized people. In his words I recognized many of the ideas that I had previously discussed with several members of Milenio, particularly the belief that professional musicians, as role models within the Afroperuvian community, had a responsibility to be more than mere icons of financial success and recognition. Nevertheless, other performers in the group felt that the timing of such a speech was inappropriate. Rather than waiting for the speaker to finish, another member of Milenio used a momentary pause by the speaker to urge the dancers waiting by the side of the stage to enter performing the next number.

terms of a higher production value that has made it more acceptable with audiences that extend beyond the vast low-income areas in Lima's suburban periphery.

Later on in the show, the musician who earlier had been interrupted in the middle of his speech took advantage of another pause in between numbers to introduce the next song. At that point in the set, the other performers were expecting a *festejo*, a song genre that is usually in a major key and at a lively tempo and that most people associate with a celebratory atmosphere. Instead, the musician at the microphone announced to the audience that, in spite of this being a festive occasion and the fact that many of his colleagues only wanted to play lively music, that there was also the need for a message. Therefore, he decided to introduce and dedicate to the audience a different song out Milenio's repertoire. The song was a beautiful *landó* composed by guitarist Roberto Arguedas whose lyrics are in the voice of a working mother praying for work so that she can take care of her family and which some of the members of Milenio see as a metaphor for the commitment that all Afroperuvians should have towards overcoming their current social marginality through hard work and social responsibility. As it had happened at the beginning of the unscheduled speech, all the performers quickly responded to the sudden departure from the original performance set so no one in the audience seemed to notice anything out of the ordinary. While from the perspective of the audience the rest of the presentation seemed flawless, my familiarity with the members of Milenio and their performances revealed something else. Body language, lack of eye contact among the performers, and an absence of improvised passages in response to what other performers on stage were doing were all indications that these incidents has sparked some discord among the performers.

Once the performance was over, I helped load the instruments and props back into the *combi*. As I traveled back and forth carrying instruments and masks, I noticed that the two individuals who had led the opposing sides of the disagreement on stage had were quietly discussing what had happened. Their conversation was amiable but restrained and suitably located out of the way so as to avoid offending our hosts. Everyone else in the group gave their colleagues space, hoping that they would have time to let strong feelings subside. By the time all the gear was packed and the performers had gone back to change out of their costumes, the pair had retreated in order to socialize with everyone else present. Unfortunately there was little time for that. Almost as soon as I had been handed a plate of *carapulcra*, a stew made of pork, yucca, dehydrated potato flakes and spices, I was informed that it was time leave. The roads were congested and the group needed to be in Barranco by 10pm for the sound check for their second performance. Since it was past 9pm, we thanked our hosts, quickly climbed into the vehicles and headed back to Lima.

The hour and a half drive return trip was fairly uncomfortable, particularly for those of us who had to quietly sit and listen to the two musicians who had been arguing once again restate the merits behind each of their actions and motivations. Trapped in the confines of a small car with three other people, I was unable to discretely move away and give the parties involved the privacy that such an exchange normally warrants. The musician who had tried to address the audience in the middle of the show believed that a performance without an explicit engagement of those present quickly degenerated into little more than a

contrived political advertisement. From his perspective, if Milenio was donating their performance as a show of support of one of a mere handful of black community leaders in Peru, they needed to be make this clear to all present. Otherwise, people might assume that they were merely entertainers hired to attract people to the event who could care less about the welfare of this particular community. The other performer argued that actions spoke louder than words and their performance, as an art form, was most effective when left to speak in its own terms. Spelling things out for the audience and voicing an explicit political agenda not only robbed their art of such power but also interrupted the flow of the performance and made them look like amateurs rather than the potential role models that they were trying to be for other Afroperuvians. Eventually, the argument came to a frustrating halt stemming out of the realization that neither person would succeed in convincing the other. For the remainder of the trip, no one spoke and only the lively and strangely appropriate music of the Gypsy Kings that flowed from the car stereo seemed to wash away some of the tension.

When we arrived in Barranco, the glances of some of the other musicians who had traveled in the second vehicle seemed to confirm my own feelings of inadequacy. Their eyes silently said “I am glad I was not there to hear all of that, and I am sorry that you were.” Nevertheless, the controversy seemed to have passed. Confronted with new issues with which to deal at the new venue, the differences were soon forgiven and forgotten and Milenio went on to give one the their best performances at *La Vieja Taberna* (Figure 5.4). By 2:30 in the morning the show was over and I sat at the bar with one of the musicians who earlier that

evening had been involved in the argument. We were waiting, trying to catch what seemed like our fifth or sixth wind while some of the other performers changed out of their costumes. One of them had invited us to go back to his house to have drinks and eat some *tamales* that a relative had brought from



Figure 5.4: *Clockwise from the lower left:* Charo Goyeneche, Oscar Villanueva, Roberto Arguedas, Juan Medrano, Williams Nicasio, and Lucho Sandoval performing the closing number of their second set. *La Vieja Taberna*, Barranco, Lima, 4 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

Chincha and we were probably going to be there until midmorning. I thought it best not to bring up the events of earlier that evening but my companion thought otherwise. “I am glad that you were here for this,” he said as if sensing my apprehension over the various events that took place that night. He reassured me that, as uncomfortable as I may have been at the time, that they considered my presence important. They felt that someone needed to witness how emotionally charged debates about the appropriate way of performing Afroperuvian music

could be, a reflection of the ongoing and often times difficult negotiation of agendas by performers from very different backgrounds. Besides, he said, it was the end of the night and it was time to put all of that behind them. Almost as if in confirmation of what he had just said, one of the other performers



Figure 5.5: *Back row (left to right):* Juan Romero, Roberto Arguedas, Juan Medrano “Cotito,” Javier León, Williams Nicasio, *center (left to right):* Charo Goyeneche, and Clara Chávez, *front:* Paul Colínó. *La Vieja Taberna*, Barranco, Lima, 4 August, 2000. Photograph by Yuri Juárez at the request of the author.

who had been changing came up to us, pointed at my camera, and jokingly charged that I had been pestering them all night with my photograph taking. Now

it was my turn, she announced as several of the performers gathered around me and another took our picture (Figure 5.5).

What exactly is the point of performing Afroperuvian music? Who should be its intended audience? Does it accurately represent the feelings and perspectives of members of the Afroperuvian community? Should it provide a form of social commentary? Should it educate people about a history and cultural background that they have forgotten? Should it be historically accurate? Should it avoid romanticizing the past, whether in a negative or positive light? Should there be a message and if so, should it be explicitly or implicitly imbedded into the performance? These are all questions that at some point or another during the research of this dissertation have guided my inquiries into the realm of Afroperuvian music making. Over time, it became clear to me that many of these questions could not be easily answered, especially by direct inquiry from a musician or another expert. As the events that took place that night in July of 2000 made it apparent, part of the difficulty with answering these questions is not that musicians have not thought about these issues, but rather that they are also continually asking, answering and reformulating these in a myriad of different ways.

Clearly, the overlaps and differences of opinion among different individuals in regards to these questions can give rise to emotionally charged debates such as the one described above. However, as the members of Milenio point out, these are the types of contradictions that continue to fuel their creative

endeavors. In a broader sense, debates such as this, regarding the nature and intent of Afroperuvian performance point towards how contemporary musicians are having to address how to strike a balance between the concept of performance as a form of cultural expression and the concept of performance as a form artistic interpretation.

As mentioned in chapter 4, to most Afroperuvian musicians these two ways of thinking about music and dance are not mutually exclusive. The overlap appears to be the result of musicians having used one discourse about music to validate or compliment the other. Most often the invocation of the notion of art has been deployed in support of the preservation of or maintenance of connections to what is perceived to be the roots of tradition. This autonomy remains selectively so and to a certain degree subordinate to the idea that there is a tangible and empirically defined Afroperuvian tradition. Furthermore, the ambiguity with which this conception of art is conceived and deployed appears to be an effective way of strategically blurring those seams, boundaries, and contradictions that are an integral part of any constructed and utopian sense of tradition. Because these strategies are usually invoked at those times when the relentless pursuit of cultural authenticity becomes confining or problematic, the notion of Afroperuvian music as an art form has been greatly overshadowed by debates regarding cultural integrity and authenticity, thus leading to the impression that these are more recent ideas that have influenced those individuals that in some way or another have adopted more Western perspectives.

Although the explicit invocation of Afroperuvian music as an art form may seem relatively new, the notion of artistic interpretation of the traditional repertoire has been an integral part of Afroperuvian music making since the beginning of the revival movement. In fact, more and more musicians are starting to acknowledge the artistic and interpretive agency that allowed for the “re-Africanization” of Afroperuvian genres in earlier decades, as well as the elements of theatre and dance dramatization that were an important feature of the performances of the “Pancho Fierro” company and its various off-shoots, Victoria Santa Cruz, and Perú Negro.

This realization has led some musicians to dig deeper into the specifics of the early days of the revival movement only to realize that, some of its early exponents, like Victoria Santa Cruz, drew quite liberally from the disciplines of modern dance, ballet, and theatre. However, as suggested above, this particular influence on contemporary Afroperuvian music of appears to have been downplayed by many of the intervening generations of performers who have been more invested in the refinement of their skills as musicians and dancers within the context of folkloric dance troupes and/or professional groups that perform in nightclub settings. In recent years, one particular group of performers, the members of Grupo Teatro del Milenio, have begun to re-emphasize this connection and its potential for exploring the ambiguous space that lies between the conceptualization of Afroperuvian music as an art form and Afroperuvian music as a form of cultural expression. This is a means of expressing what they feel are two sides of a multifaceted and sometimes contradictory sense of identity.

This chapter will focus on how the members of Grupo Teatro del Milenio, Milenio for short, have embraced a more explicit notion of performance as a purely artistic endeavor as a means to destabilizing, critiquing and subsequently redefining what it means to be a contemporary Afroperuvian musician, someone who is asked to play multiple and often contradictory roles as culture bearer, professional musician, local celebrity, and artist. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to start with the antecedents of such a move. To this end, this chapter will begin by discussing how the invocation of art has also been an important rhetorical and methodological strategy that has served a number of Afroperuvian performers since the time of the initial revival of Afroperuvian music and dance in the middle of the twentieth century.

ART AS A RHETORICAL STRATEGY

During a trip to Lima in July of 2000, I contacted Juan Medrano Cotito to see if it would be possible to continue taking *cajón* lessons as I had done during other visits to Lima. Having practiced and played along with countless recordings over the years I was eager to meet with Juan since I had many unanswered questions regarding what I had learned and how it fit with what I heard various albums, read on books, and learned from interviews and conversations with other musicians. We spent several lessons reviewing patterns that I had learned before, adding some new ones and working on different combinations. As I had done other times, I would dutifully record, listen and transcribe the patterns covered during my lesson in an effort to make sense of what I was learning by rote. Eventually, we came upon one pattern that was particularly difficult for me to

learn. After one frustrating evening of fruitless practicing, I came to Juan loaded with questions: Why did the downbeat appear to be in a different place? Was this particular base pattern in a different meter than the others associated with this genre? What kind of guitar accompaniment would be appropriate?

As it was common, Juan tried to answer most of my questions through a combination of verbal explanations, demonstrations, and intense repetition of the pattern in question. In the past this had worked well, especially since I was comfortable with Juan's teaching style and by now I also had command of the working vocabulary used by *cajón* players use to describe what they do. This time however, I had asked some questions that could not be answered as easily. Beyond what was going on rhythmically and how I could come to duplicate this in my own playing, this was the first time that I felt comfortable enough with the instrument to ask Juan a different type of question that went beyond the mechanics of performance: why was the pattern played that way? In relation to the other patterns corresponding to this particular genre, a *festejo*, this one seemed to contradict many of the assumptions that I had come to make about its rhythmic organization. Almost anticipating my question Juan smiled and replied without hesitation: "Así es. No sé explicarlo"¹⁷¹ (Medrano 2000c).

This was not the first time that I encountered this particular type of response. Over the years, discussion with musicians about the specifics of what they do has been the source of many questions. As in chapter 2, there are many things that are often said about Afroperuvian music that point towards them being

¹⁷¹ [It is like that. I don't know how to explain it.]

conceptualized as a clearly defined collection of genres. *Cajón* players like Juan have a specific vocabulary with which to identify and describe different types of accompaniment and levels of rhythmic organization. Guitarists talk about the melodic and harmonic features that characterize each genre. Singers talk about the significance of the lyrics as oral historical documents and dancers often point towards specific movements and choreographies as being laden with meaning and intentionality. There is also a general consensus among performers that the only way to play Afroperuvian music correctly is by having an acute understanding of how all the various parts interact with each other, in other words an intimate knowledge of “the tradition.” Nevertheless, my repeated incursions into understanding the details behind these statements usually ended in situations similar to the one I had with Juan. Seemingly simple concepts generally resisted simple explanations and bringing them up in conversation often led to more unanswered questions. Other times, more complex questions were often stopped short by retorts that were all too brief or that provided no answer at all. Like an optical illusion, the relationship between what is said to happen musically during performance and what is executed in practice managed to remain just beyond the reach of my understanding, always further away than I had previously thought, often reminding me of my “outsidedness.”

Over time, it has become clear that those discrepancies between what is said about music and what happens in its execution are another important way in which musicians seek to gain a certain degree of authority over contemporary musical practice. Specific knowledge of origins, accompaniment patterns,

choreographies and their history, whether passed down orally from one generation of performers to the next, or learned through musical and historical research, were not the only sources that have informed the development of Afroperuvian music in the twentieth century. Musicians have had to devise strategies with which to bring together all this tangible knowledge into successful performances. Since much of the reconstruction of these musical practices has required a great deal of extrapolation and “filling in” the gaps, musicians have had to address the role of artistic license. As it might be expected, part of this validation is rooted on the notion that professional musicians, as culture bearers and keepers of musical practices of the past, are the individuals best qualified to undergo this type of interpretation. More pertinent to this discussion however, are the various philosophies to which these musicians subscribe and which are more often based on artistic ambiguity rather than cultural specificity. In other words, by making use of the notion that art cannot be fully understood, described, or pinned down by objective forms knowledge, musicians attempt to bridge and simultaneously blur the dividing line between objective knowledge (i.e. that which is deemed to define music as a form of cultural expression) and aesthetic experience (i.e. that which is deemed to define music as a form of artistic expression).

Much like contemporary strategies that seek to establish a connection to the past as a means of gaining an authoritative voice, these strategies also have a history that goes back a number of generations. Victoria Santa Cruz, for example, has used a concept she calls ancestral memory to validate her recreation of a number of choreographies and to claim interpretive authority over the surviving

musical repertoire (Feldman 2001, 117-130). Over the years, Santa Cruz has further refined, developed and expanded this concept into a complex, poetic, and highly individualized meta-theory that draws liberally from Eastern concepts of duality, transcendentalism, French existentialist philosophy, dialectical analysis, performance and embodiment theory, and Kantian criticism in order to propose potential paths towards the betterment of all human beings through the cultivation of what she calls “inner rhythm” (V. Santa Cruz 2000):

La cultura es viva, es orgánica, y cuando se descubre la propia, entonces, se ha descubierto las [otras] culturas. Si bien las formas y procesos difieren en la esencia, la cultura, cuando orgánica, tiene como meta la integración y el equilibrio del ser humano (V. Santa Cruz 2000, 234).¹⁷²

As most philosophies based on the idea that art is autonomous and transcends cultural specificity, her views are not meant to be prescriptive but rather offer an aesthetic guide for individual exploration and interpretation that must go beyond objective reason and other rational ways of relating to one’s environment. In this way, musical performance, as a form of cultural expression, becomes subordinate to the idea of musical performance as an artistic endeavor based on individual discovery through the bodily enactment of rhythm. From Santa Cruz’s perspective then, culture begins to resemble art in the sense that they are both deemed to serve as vehicles for the exploration of certain universal truths through subjective experience. The paradox that gives this approach its power is the fact that only those who have truly experienced this state are able to discern whether others have been successful in the same endeavor. In this case it

¹⁷² [Culture is alive, it is organic, and when one’s own is discovered, then, [other] cultures are [also] discovered. While forms and processes differ in their essence, culture, when organic, has as its final intent the integration and balancing of human beings.]

becomes clear that very few individuals, other than Santa Cruz herself, have the life experience necessary to put these strategies into motion. Consequently, this exploration generally cannot happen without her expert guidance, thus reaffirming her position as an authoritative figure not only within the realm of Afroperuvian music making but also in relation to other individuals such as those ethnomusicologists who seek to understand her methodology. As Heidi Feldman observes in regard to a visit with Santa Cruz:

Going to see Victoria is like visiting a sage or spiritual guide. She speaks in proverbs and poems, her sentences are like melodies sung in a deep alto voice with remarkable range, she dances as she moves, and she turns every question back upon its asker, interrupting thoughts before they are formulated...I am reminded of the moment in the folklore shows of Lima's nocturnal *peñas* (nightclubs) when the tourist is inevitably called to dance on stage, challenged to perform exaggerated and difficult moves that show of his or her foreignness and unpreparedness. I have danced this dance before but Victoria is my slipperiest, most graceful partner (Feldman 2001, 149-150).

Indeed, my conversations over the years with Feldman, Raúl Romero and Bill Tompkins, as well as my own experiences, reveal that all of us at some point or another have had experiences of this nature. As it was the case with my *cajón* lesson with Juan Medrano, these encounters reveal a dynamic of interaction that seeks to establish a hierarchy by acknowledging from the start who has a command of certain types of knowledge and who does not. Furthermore, Feldman's eloquent narrative also suggests that this authority does not rest simply on the possession of knowledge but on the ability to maintain its source elusive and difficult to grasp. In many cases this strategy has proven to be quite effective. After all, it is difficult to deconstruct that which resists criticism by not disclosing

itself fully or allowing others to pin it down. This should be no surprise. After all, the development of Afroperuvian musical traditions in Lima during the twentieth century has been full of situations where history, experience, supposition, extrapolation, and invention, have all been skillfully embroidered into a complex history of origins and cultural continuity that often blurs the divide between that which is tangibly grasped and that which remains in the elusive realm of myth and metaphor. This is just one more, and rather effective, way of hiding any telltale seams from which the entire canvass can be unraveled.

As it may be apparent, strategies such as this have had very tangible effects in contemporary Afroperuvian musical practice since it has allowed for the establishment of hierarchies within the musical community that rest not on a particular individual's technical expertise, status as culture bearer, or extensive historical knowledge but in their ability to develop corresponding discourses about music, tradition, and authenticity that legitimize their particular interpretations as a creative artistic endeavor. In the process, art and culture have become subsumed as equally nostalgic utopias so that, ultimately, a musical representation of Afroperuvian culture on the professional stage rests as much on the legitimization of particular interpretations as artistic, as on the maintenance of certain stylistic musical elements deemed to be traditional, or the establishment of a particular genealogy to the past. In the absence of new historical sources that can provide a more complete picture of the Afroperuvian musical past, accessibility to and/or validation from those individuals who are recognized as authorities on Afroperuvian musical matters, the idea that the performance of

Afroperuvian music is also an artistic endeavor that transcends the locality of culture has provided alternative means with which to develop effective counter-narratives regarding the perceived authenticity of contemporary musical practice. While there is room for different interpretations and thus for the co-existence of different voices regarding the past, present, and future of Afroperuvian music, it is fair to point out that the synergistic combination of factors mentioned above make some voices, like those of the Santa Cruz family—with Victoria heading the artistic flank and Nicomedes the historical and academic one, have been more influential than others.

Another salient example of how some of these counter-narratives have gone on to gain their own prominence amongst Afroperuvian musicians and their audiences is Perú Negro. In addition to its recognized role as an institution that has trained seven generations of performers, Perú Negro is important due to the way in which the group managed to “re-Africanize” the revived Afroperuvian repertoire during the 1970s (Feldman 2001, 281 and 307-308) and legitimize their interpretations as the stylistic base line for what is now deemed traditional. Over the last thirty years the group has drawn its authority from a variety of sources. Some of the founding members, like Ronaldo Campos, are unanimously recognized as important culture bearers who have contributed greatly not only to the maintenance of traditional musical practice, but to its further development and refinement. Others, like Lalo Izquierdo, have gained a prominent voice not only due to their skill as performers but also because of their continued involvement with research and writing about Afroperuvian music. As it was the case with

previous generations of performers, this proximity and familiarity to the knowledge of musical practices of the past has contributed to the reinforcement of their particular interpretations as authentic. Yet, this authority did not rest exclusively on the explicit referencing and effective command of the surviving musical repertoire.

One of Perú Negro's most important influences on subsequent generations of performers has been the reintroduction of dances, arrangements and choreographies that pushed the boundaries of historical specificity in favor of aesthetic conceptualization of the Afroperuvian past that borrowed quite liberally from a number of other localities, most important among them Cuba. In spite of some of the critique that the group has received by those who have viewed these innovations as straying too far from historical fact, Perú Negro has been able to validate whatever artistic license it has taken over the years by virtue of being the originators of such innovations and because of the close connections that they kept to the past. In other words, the perceived status of several of the members of Perú Negro as culture bearers has validated their creations under the justification that those who are close to tradition are the most capable of determining what innovations are deemed most appropriate. Nevertheless, there has been a need to develop rhetorical and performative strategies with which to further protect the authority of such interpretations by keeping inquiries and potential criticism at arm's length. To this day, performers protect their musical creations, often being very careful not to allow their documentation by individuals outside of the Perú Negro family. Requests for photographs, audio and videotapes of live

performances are generally discouraged and members seldom provide interviews with the press, especially if no formal statement has been prepared by one of the leaders of the group. Furthermore, members of Perú Negro have come to conceive of what they do as an art form that does not require further explanation beyond that which is presented to the public during a performance.

This has become a particularly important strategy with which to deflect inquiries that, from a performer's point of view, may have a demystifying effect that would be detrimental to the legacy established by Perú Negro. These ways of speaking about music and dance have become so naturalized as part of the group's philosophy that it is difficult to claim that any of the performers are purposely trying to be elusive. Rather, much like certain choreographies, costumes, repertoires and accompaniment patterns, this language has become one more element that gives the members of the group their identity, a language that, like the choreographic and rhythmic underpinnings of the *landó*, its alleged sensuality or sexuality, and its historical origins remain ambiguous and difficult to pin down. This ambiguity has become important beyond its rhetorical power. For the members of Milenio it is the ambiguity of the performative space itself that has become a strategic site for the aesthetic exploration of one's identity. Engaging in activities such as experimental theatre is a good way of introducing a new context of performance that is sufficiently separate from the more conventional settings in which professional Afroperuvian musicians present themselves. After all, it simultaneously acts as a disclaimer that in this new setting performers are not seeking to "be authentic" in the traditionalist sense as

well as grant them a different type of interpretive authority based on the perception that the theatre space operates under a different set of aesthetic rules.

THE MEMBERS OF GRUPO TEATRO DEL MILENIO

Who are the members of Milenio? They are professional performers from a variety of different backgrounds that have come together because of their common interests in exploring new performative possibilities. The group was first founded in 1996 when Luis “Lucho” Sandoval, Oscar Villanueva, and Roberto Arguedas came together, each feeling in their own way that conventional performing opportunities for professional musicians did not leave much room for the fulfillment of their artistic expectations and aspirations. Largely due to his own experiences in theatre, Sandoval (Figure 5.6) encouraged his partners to consider the possibilities of this medium since it could allow them to



Figure 5.6: Luis “Lucho” Sandoval and his son Joaquín. Larcomar shopping center, Miraflores, Lima 14 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

synthesize music, dance, poetry, story telling and oratory (Sandoval 2000). The proposition was attractive to Oscar Villanueva (Figure 5.7) who felt that, since the initial theatrical recreations of Afroperuvian music and dance proposed by



Figure 5.7: *Left to right:* Oscar Villanueva, Clara Chávez, and Jaime Zevallos. Clara Chávez's home, San Miguel, Lima, 14 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

Victoria Santa Cruz nearly three decades earlier, no one had pursued theatre as a way of representing the Afroperuvian experience. The project also allowed Villanueva to build upon his training in modern dance, a vocation that he sought as a means of expanding his horizons after having performed professionally since the age of ten with the well-known folkloric dance troupe Perú Negro (Villanueva 2000).

Since its conception, these theatrical explorations have provided its music director, Roberto Arguedas (Figure 5.8), with myriad of compositional and arranging possibilities. In addition to finding a forum in which to try out different



Figure 5.8: Roberto Arguedas. Locale of Grupo Teatro del Milenio, San Miguel, Lima, 10 August. Photograph by the author.

original compositions set to a variety of traditional Afroperuvian genres, Milenio has also allowed Arguedas to experiment with new instruments like the *balafon*, *djembe*, log drum, and stomping poles in order to invent his own interpretation of African music. Ironically, although today Arguedas places a great deal of value on this freedom to experiment, he recalls a time when he showed more reluctance:

Yo [había] trabajado en peñas por mucho tiempo. Hasta que un día vino Susana Baca—me buscó para trabajar con ella. Fíjate tú, Susana Baca se demoró un montón de tiempo en convencerme. Vivíamos muy cerca, a media cuadra en Miraflores, y me venía a buscar y yo le decía “no, tú cantas poesía y esas vainas.” Para mí era mucho respeto, me asustaba esa cosa. Además por respeto, de verdad, que le tengo. Al final ella me convenció y ya comencé a tocar con ella. Ella tenía otros músicos pero yo también me quedé y después fui su director musical. Con ella trabajé ocho años (Arguedas 2000).¹⁷³

During these eight years he arranged all of Baca’s tunes. He even collaborated on the elaboration of the version of “María Landó” that Baca later popularized both in Peru and abroad. Today, Arguedas admits that only recently has he come to like the “María Landó” arrangement. For almost ten years he disliked the arrangement because for the very stylistic ambiguity that he has now come to appreciate. As he explains:

Antes no me gustaba. Pensaba que lo había musicalizado mal porque tiene varias—es landó [combinado] con vals y termina un poco como zamacueca. Tiene unos cambios raros (Arguedas).¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ [I had worked in peñas for a long time. Then one day Susana Baca came over—she sought me out to work with her. Look now, it took Susana Baca a very long time to convince me. We lived very close to each other, half a block in Miraflores, and she would come looking for me and I would say to her “no, you sing poetry and those things.” I had too much respect for that, that stuff scared me. Also, really, for the respect I have for her. Finally she convinced me and I began to play with her. She had other musicians by I also remained and then became musical director. I worked with her for eight years.]

¹⁷⁴ [I used to not like it. I used to think that I had arranged it wrong because it had different—it was a *landó* [combined] with a vals and it ends a little like a zamacueca. It has strange changes.]

The remaining members of the group are people that have in one way or another been associated with one or more of the above individuals. Percussionist Juan Medrano Cotito (Figure 5.9), who is also the current percussionist for Susana Baca, came to the group through Arguedas whom he has known for years both



Figure 5.9: Juan Medrano Cotito, his wife Nachi, and their three children (*left to right*: Yanairé, Anaí, and Carlitos). Juan Medrano's home, Surquillo, Lima, 14 August. Photography by the author.

through their mutual collaboration with Baca¹⁷⁵ and because Medrano's wife, Nachi, is Arguedas' niece.¹⁷⁶ The group also counts with former and current Perú Negro members that include Rosario "Charo" Goyeneche (Figure 5.10), Williams Nicasio (Figure 5.10)—grandson of Guillermo Nicasio Regeira, "El Niño" (*see*



Figure 5.10: Rosario "Charo" Goyeneche and her two sons. Larcomar shopping center, Miraflores, Lima. 14 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

¹⁷⁵ In 1982, Arguedas convinced Medrano to leave his job as an accompanist for a *criollo* group that performed live in Radio Nacional [National Radio] to work with Baca.

¹⁷⁶ Given his busy touring schedule with Baca as well as his accompanying a number of other professional groups when in Lima, Medrano cannot participate in all of Milenio's projects. At the time of Callejón however, he was fully involved with the group, both with Callejón and the *Noche de Negros* presentations.

chapter 3), and Percy Chinchilla (Figure 5.11), also a nephew of Villanueva. Clara Chávez (Figure 5.7) studied with Lalo Izquierdo at the Escuela Nacional de



Figure 5.11: *Left to right:* Percy Chinchilla and Williams Nicasio. *La Vieja Taberna*, Barranco, Lima, 11 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

Folklore José María Arguedas where she recently finished the equivalent of a Master's degree in folk dance pedagogy. She came to the group through Villanueva with whom she taught Afroperuvian music and dance at Lima's Catholic University under the direction of ethnomusicologist Rosa Elena Vásquez. Milenio also counts with creative support from actress Gina Beretta (Figure 5.12), Sandoval's partner and mother to his son Joaquín, and often a consultant in terms of acting methodology, production, and script writing. The



Figure 5.12: *Left to right:* María Molina and Gina Beretta. *La Vieja Taberna*, Barranco, Lima, 11 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

masks, props and stage design for the group are created and maintained by Paul Colínó (Figure 5.13), a graphic design artist who apprenticed with the mask maker for the well-known Limeño theatre company Yuyachkani. He left this

position in order to work with Milenio partly because he saw in the group the potential to begin to promote the emergence of Afroperuvian artisans since mask making, pottery, sculpture are not artistic endeavors historically associated with the Afroperuvian community like music, dance, poetry, literature, and culinary



Figure 5.13: Paul Colinó in his workshop. Locale of Grupo Teatro del Milenio, San Miguel, Lima, [date]. Photography by the author.

arts (Colinó 2000). María Molina (Figure 5.12), a cousin of both Colinó and Arguedas, and a former dancer with Victoria Santa Cruz's Conjunto Nacional de Folklore, rounds off the membership, not as a performer but as the person in charge of handling the door or box office for each performance.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ From time to time the group counts with other participants, friends and members who go in and out of the group depending on the needs of both Milenio and the individuals. In this regard, individuals like Jardiel Cárdenas, Jaime Zevallos, Marco Uribe, Yuri Juárez and Pipo Gallo deserve particular mention. By March of 2001 the membership of the group had changed somewhat. Chinchilla and Nicasio had left the group so Cárdenas, at that point an occasional collaborator, and another dancer joined the membership. Jaime Zevallos a former member of the

In many ways it can be said that Milenio leads a double life. The performers count with an impressive collection of Afroperuvian music and dance, much of which belongs to the traditional canon. Selections from this repertoire are organized in a rotating basis into two or three sets that make up a nightclub and concert hall act entitled *Noche de Negros*.¹⁷⁸ At first glance, these presentations seem very similar to the types Afroperuvian shows that one finds in nightclubs throughout Lima. These consist of a number of songs performed by a lead singer, usually Charo Goyeneche, interspersed with short traditional dance genres that include *zapateos*, *zamacuecas*, *festejos*, etc. Following this format, the group has also incorporated a number of Arguedas' original compositions into the repertoire, as well as short adaptations of some of their dance recreations, scenes from their plays, and vignettes that are modeled after the type of theatrical numbers first pioneered in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A favorite of this latter type is the opening of the show in which Sandoval sits on a stool on stage reciting "Ritmos Negros del Perú," a well-known *décima* by Nicomedes Santa Cruz that speaks the African heritage in Peru. As Sandoval declaims the lines of the *décima* to the accompaniment of guitar and percussion, the *diablo mayor* character from the *son de los diablos* emerges from a cloud of smoke and silently dances to the rhythm of the music and the words. In the spirit of Victoria Santa Cruz, they also include dramatized versions of her *pregones* with performers dressed as colonial food vendors moving amongst the audience members, playfully bickering and

group, returned in August of 2000, largely to fill in the void left when Villanueva left the group to teach in Europe. Roberto Arguedas was also in the process of securing a percussionist to cover for Medrano whose schedule had gotten fairly congested.

¹⁷⁸ [Black People's Night]

competing with each other as they use song to peddle their goods. Milenio occasionally also stretches the boundaries of the more conventional professional music performance contexts, using their experience with theatre in open spaces to take their music to the streets, shopping malls, political rallies and other special events without necessarily having the need for a formally setup stage, sound amplification system, etc.

In spite of there being some room for interpretive agency within the performance of this repertoire, *Noche de Negros* largely serves as the group's bread and butter. The members of Milenio are careful to not push too hard against the boundaries of these more conventional performances given that straying too far from the standard traditional repertoire may lead to a reduction in potential bookings within the Barranco nightclub circuit. The need to remain relatively marketable is an important consideration but not only because this is how the performers make their livelihoods. Out of the proceeds of these performances, each individual donates a portion of their earnings to a collective fund. A portion of that fund is used for the day-to-day needs of the groups such as the making and maintenance of costumes, masks, and percussion instruments. The rest is used to periodically finance experimental plays that are collectively written by the members of the group and that are seen as the primary site where each individual can explore the relationship between performance and his or her sense of identity. To this end, Milenio has secured a modest space in what appears to have been a storage room of a now dilapidated but still operational tennis club in the district of San Miguel. This space doubles as a rehearsal room,

mask and scene shop, headquarters, and if need be, small performance venue, since at times the members don't have the financial resources to present their work at a better equipped, and more audience accessible space.

Milenio's Plays and Philosophy of Performance

To date, Milenio counts with three plays: *Karibú*, a commentary on the alienating and reifying effect of folkloric Afroperuvian performances in the professional nightclub circuit; *Chabelilla*, an exploration of how the historical figure of the *bandolero*¹⁷⁹ can be used by contemporary members of the Afroperuvian community to resist the social status quo and subvert their marginalized status within Peruvian society; and *Callejón*, a reflection on the issue of Afroperuvian identity and "selling out" set against the background of urban poverty. A unifying thread amongst all of these is the metaphor of the *cimarrón*, or runaway slave. Virtually the embodiment of those strategically ambiguous invocations of the concept of art, the power of the *cimarrón* lies in his or her ability to continually move around as a means of coping with and resisting the social forces, both historical and contemporary, that seek to pin them down. These plays are a combination of music, dance, and drama, which the performers

¹⁷⁹ Literally translated as bandit, *bandoleros* where historical figures from the colonial period, escaped slaves or *cimarrones* that banded together in conjunction with other marginal members of colonial society of different ethnicities and lived in relatively hidden settlements in the countryside surrounding Lima. Their existence outside of colonial authority, as well as the fairly egalitarian societies that these individuals appeared to have formed, have been an attractive symbol to many Peruvians, particularly those of African descent. Milenio's interest in one of the leaders of these settlements, Francisco Congo, also known as Chabelilla, seems to stem from this recognition. Their realization also appears to have been informed by the group's acquaintance with some of the members of Movimiento Francisco Congo, a grass roots Afroperuvian rights activist group also inspired by the aforementioned historical figure, by historian Alberto Flores Galindo's account of colonial *bandoleros* (Flores Galindo 1991) and by Afroperuvian novelist Enrique López Albújar's essay on their counterparts from the late 19th and early 20th century (López Albújar 1993).

continually update and revise, often in response to changing personal perspectives, feedback gathered from audience members, and the potential target audience within a particular presentation.

The way in which these plays are elaborated is largely the vision of Lucho Sandoval's background in theatre. Although not trained in a formal academic setting, Sandoval's formative professional experience was the result of ten years of collaboration with a grassroots theater group called Raíces.

Toda mi experiencia ha sido una experiencia de teatro en espacio abierto, en calles, en colegios, en patios de colegios. Eso me marcó mucho en mi formación. Un teatro callejero hace que el actor desarrolle técnicas para proyectar la voz, para manejar códigos corporales, signos que lleguen, que impacten y que atrapen la atención del espectador para poder comunicar recién tus contenidos (Sandoval 2000).¹⁸⁰

As part of his work with Raíces, Sandoval collaborated in the development of play dealing with the issue of Peruvian national identity as it pertained to the negotiation of various notions of race, culture, and social class. In the process of exploring the motivations and contradictions of his character, a Peruvian of African ancestry, Sandoval began to consider and question his own sense of identity. Given his interest in communication and expression through bodily movement, he decided to learn how to perform Afroperuvian music and dance, practices that neither he nor anyone in his family appears to have cultivated. Eventually he became a competent performer and came to work at the Catholic University where he became acquainted with Villanueva later on Arguedas.

¹⁸⁰ [All of my experience has been the experience of theater in open spaces, in streets, in schools, in schoolyards. That deeply marked my perspective. A theater of the streets make an actor develop techniques to project one's voice, to dominate bodily expression, signs that can reach, impact and ensnare the spectator's attention so that you can only then communicate your intent.]

Sandoval traces his theatrical influences to the European theatrical movement known as Third Theatre, most specifically to Eugenio Barba and by extension to Jerzy Grotowski, the latter a major influence on Latin American theater (Watson 1993). As a theoretician, Barba is best known for his systematic study of various Asian theatrical traditions, an endeavor that he terms theatre anthropology. He does so, in order to identify techniques and principles that skilled performers from different cultures and traditions have in common but have discovered independently from each other, a way of accessing that performative intensity that gives an actor his or her commanding stage presence. In the process, Barba concludes that Asian performers, by virtue of having been a part of various traditions where training and performance principles are strictly codified, they have been able to consistently and systematically tap into this energy while their Western counterparts are only able to do so sporadically. Consequently, Barba proposes that actors should develop their own personal, but at the same time systematized ways of moving, vocalizing, and gesturing that would allow them to find their non-ordinary or extra-daily performing personas, personas that are the embodiment of that electrifying presence that he saw in Japanese kabuki and noh theatre, Peking opera, Balinese dance-dramas, and Indian kathakali.

The third theatre's influence on Sandoval, and by extension Milenio, appears to stem from an encounter that Barba and the Odin Teatret organized in the vicinity of Lima in 1988. In spite of not having any formal training as an actor, Sandoval is clearly well versed on Barba and Grotowski's theories both of whom he's mentioned a number of times during our conversations. Adapting some

of their ideas to the his particular case, he suggests that Afroperuvian music and dance traditions, also allow performers to capture that type of energy, what he calls an “extra-quotidian presence.” Because of this, he sought to transpose Afroperuvian music and dance out of its conventional performance setting and into the theatre context. At the same time, his experience with popular theatre also pushed him to explore the possibility of making this theatrical recontextualization of Afroperuvian music and dance socially relevant, a way of commenting on the present-day social condition of the descendants of Africans in Peruvian society. In this way, Milenio could act as an agent of social change, one that could provide other members of the Afroperuvian community with the means with which to assume this “extra-quotidian” persona within the context of their daily lives and thus better deal with adversity (Sandoval 2000).

To this end, he and the other members of Milenio have identified a number of recurring themes and images that they feel are an integral part of Afroperuvian experience and use them as metaphors with which elaborate their philosophy of performance. Much as Barba did with the members of the Odin Teatre, Sandoval has encouraged each member of Milenio to develop his or her own regiment of self-instruction, based on their particular background and their personal experiences. One of the guiding principles for this introspective search of techniques that allow each individual to capture that aforementioned stage presence is the concept of ancestral memory, which was borrowed from Victoria Santa Cruz. To Santa Cruz, the concept of ancestral memory appears to have been largely a rhetorical strategy with which to validate her own reconstructions

of the Afroperuvian past while at the same time shielding herself from critique. The concept was never formally defined under the justification that it could not be expressed in words but only aesthetically experienced and only those who truly had it could put it to use effectively. Furthermore, since she is the one who introduced the concept, she also has become the one to decide who else has been able to duplicate her efforts. Given how Santa Cruz's criticisms are feared by younger generations of performers, it is clear that, to date, no one else has been able to effectively use what she conceives as ancestral memory. Regardless of what Santa Cruz may say about it however, the members of Milenio have decided to appropriate the term and developed their own interpretations of what it means.

Generally speaking, using one's ancestral memory is a term used to explain what happens during one of the successful improvisatory sessions that are then used to write one of Milenio's plays. Given the emphasis that is placed on self-exploration, however, there is no one single answer as to what ancestral memory really is. While it is true that Sandoval as the director is the principal force behind the elaboration of the group's philosophy, this does not mean that he seeks to impose his views in all of the members. In fact, the group's collective creations arise from the conceptual tension that exists between competing notions of ancestral memory. In some cases, as with Victoria Santa Cruz, the concept appears to defy verbal explanation. Jaime Zevallos, a member of Milenio that rejoined the group in August of 2000, simply defines ancestral memory as "una cuestión inexplicable que pasa y brota simplemente"¹⁸¹ (Zevallos 2000). This is a

¹⁸¹ [an inexplicable thing that simply happens and blossoms.]

view shared by some of the other members, including Roberto Arguedas for whom the term appears to be synonymous with those aspects of his compositional process that he cannot verbalize.

Oscar Villanueva and Clara Chávez echo a different aspect of the way in which Victoria Santa Cruz speaks about this concept, to them ancestral memory is closely linked to what happens in their bodies as they experiment with the discovery of new movements during rehearsals and performances. Chávez also echoing Barba's theories at times, theorizes that ancestral memory is the ritualized way of using improvised movements, something that has always been a part of Afroperuvian, and by extension African, experience, which allow performers to react to each other's physicality in such a way that it captivates audience and does not let them go.

Es todo un ritual, una magia en ese momento que nos envuelve y que sin necesidad de estar marcados los movimientos de Oscar, marcados mis movimientos, o los movimientos de Lucho, llega un momento en que tú te habrás dado cuenta estamos interconectados de tal manera que el mismo público se prende (Chávez 2000).¹⁸²

To Oscar Villanueva, ancestral memory refers to the aesthetic realization of the experiences, values, and concepts imparted on to him by his family members. As he describes it, sometimes he develops such a close connection to a particular improvised rhythm or movement that this can even lead to a heightened sensory experience which he relates, not to a deep aesthetic connection that can be traced

¹⁸² [It is a whole ritual, a magic that at that moment envelops us and without the need of having Oscar's movements marked [worked out ahead of time], having my movements marked, or Lucho's movements, there is a moment, that you must have noticed, when we are interconnected in such a way that even the audience is captured.]

directly to Africa but to his family and the culture bearers within it, and only then to a more remote sense of an African past:

Todos esos fantasmas que han estado rodeándome siempre, todos esos ritmos ancestrales...cuando yo lo encuentro un ritmo a veces le siento hasta el olor. Para mí los ritmos—cuando yo les siento un olor a adobe que no se siente—el ritmo no tiene olor ni forma, pero a veces es tanta mi proyección, mi placer, que a veces yo les siento un olor. Y eso ha sido producto de mi familia (Villanueva 2000).¹⁸³

Paul Colínó has a more pragmatic definition. To him, ancestral memory refers to the ways in which he had to “fill-in” his own gaps in knowledge. Unlike other members, Colínó actively sought specific contextual information about Africa before creating the witch doctor mask that the group had commissioned him to design for *Karibú*. However, pragmatic considerations regarding his limited access to such information in Peru led to a more impressionist alternative:

PC: Me propusieron hacer un brujo. Agarré la chamba y opté por no copiar una máscara Africana. Lo que hice fue agarré información, ver fotos, revistas, leer y de todo lo que acumulé hice una máscara. Claro, tú la vez y tú dices, bueno es un diseño Africano, pero ha sido una creación, una propuesta que yo di al grupo.

JL: ¿Y qué tipo de cosas estabas leyendo como referente?

PC: En que momento usaban—cuado usaban las máscaras, para curar enfermedades, para hacer lo que le dicen acá el chamanismo, sanaciones, limpieza. Más que todo leí sobre eso. Muchos libros que estaba agarrando eran en francés, en inglés, que tampoco no entendía mucho. Pero vi un montón de imágenes y eso también me ayudó un montón, los colores, el diseño de la máscara (Colínó 2000).¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ [All those ghosts that have always surrounded me, all those ancestral rhythms...When I find a rhythm sometimes I can even sense a smell from it. Rhythms to me—when I sense from them an adobe smell that cannot be sensed—rhythm does not have an odor or a substance, but sometimes I project so much, so much is my pleasure, that sometimes I [do] sense a smell from them. And that has been the product of my family.]

¹⁸⁴ [PC: They asked me to make a witch [doctor’s mask]. I took the job and decided not to copy and African mask. What I did was gather information, look at photographs, magazines, read and

In this way then, Colinó, like Arguedas uses the term partly to situate his own artistic creativity as being linked to those of his African ancestors, otherwise, the implication is that his design would not have been successful.

By far, the most explicit sense of ancestral memory comes from Sandoval. To him, the concept stands for a creative and artistic process, a means of getting in touch with one's inner self not through reason, logic, or academic research for that matter, but through an aesthetic experience. In this sense he also shares much in common with Barba, both of them believing that their endeavors do not and should not seek to accurately represent other people, places, and events but rather to manipulate these as performative elements that can help an individual find that extra quotidian presence. He explains in reference to the elaboration of their first play, *Karibú*:

Para nosotros la memoria ancestral es lo que vive dentro de nosotros, lo que está dentro de nosotros pero que a veces no lo percibimos, a veces no sabemos que lo tenemos...Cuando nosotros estábamos creando *Karibú*, a parte de algunos videos que habíamos visto de cosas africanas. No sabíamos cómo hacer una danza africana. No sabíamos como en realidad se relacionaban las diferentes naciones africanas, como se relacionaban. Y como se construía, por ejemplo, una ceremonia de iniciación de un guerrero, o la iniciación de un chico que pasa a un estado de adultez. No sabíamos. No teníamos la información. Y que bien que no tuviéramos la información, porque cuando nosotros empezamos a investigar en el espacio teatral, cuando nosotros nos comenzamos a meter a improvisar, ritmos, movimientos, decíamos: “No, eso no va.” “¿Este ritmo?” “Ese sí, por ahí es, ya busca por ahí.” [E] íbamos descubriendo en nosotros

from everything that I accumulated I made a mask. Of course, you see it and you say well, it is an African design, but it has been [my] creation, an offering that I made to the group.

JL: And what types of things were you reading as reference material?

PC: At what times the used—when is it that they used the masks, to cure ailments, to practice what they call shamanism here [in Peru], healing, purification. I mainly read about that. Many of the books that I was grabbing were in French, in English, which I did not understand much. By I saw many images and that also helped a great deal, the colors, the design of the mask.]

mismos—nos íbamos sorprendiendo de lo que íbamos descubriendo. Y entonces a las finales, para mí no es una pose, un esnobismo, de que yo me pinto el rostro y salgo y represento a un africano porque lo represento, porque lo imito...Es el encuentro, el reencuentro con mi africano, que definitivamente no sé de dónde es exactamente...es de varios sitios y es todo. Eso para mí la memoria ancestral...Es una memoria que está impregnada en mi cuerpo, no en mi cabeza. Más bien mi cabeza impide que de que esto brote (Sandoval 2000).¹⁸⁵

Artistic Realization and Activism through Performance

In Milenio's case, what is the result of using the concept of ancestral memory to explore one's sense of identity? There are many. Perhaps the most provocative are Milenio's performative reconstructions of Africa, the most representative of which is the *Danza de las cañas* (Figures 5.14, 5.15, and 5.16). Originally developed for their play *Karibú*, the *danza* has been expanded into a fifteen to twenty minute experimental piece that Milenio performs in parks, parades, and other public gathering places, often with no other accompanying

¹⁸⁵ [For us ancestral memory is that which lives inside us, what is inside us but that we sometimes do not perceive, sometime we do not know that we have it...When we were creating *Karibú*, aside from a few videos that we had seen about African things, we did not know how to perform an African dance. We did not know in actuality the relationship amongst the different African nations, how they were related to each other. And how one constructs, for example, a warrior's initiation ceremony, or a child's rite of passage into adulthood. We did not know. We did not have the information. And it is good that we did not have that information, because when we began to seek that out in the theatrical space, when we turned to improvising rhythms, movement, we would say: "No, that does not work." "This rhythm?" "That one works, that is the way, look in around there." And we discovered within ourselves—we would surprise ourselves as to what we discovered. And in the end, to me this is not an attempt at posing, an elitism, as if I paint my face and go out and represent an African for the sake of representing him, because I imitate him...It is about the process of finding, of reacquainting myself with my [sense of the] African, who I definitely do not know where exactly is he from...he comes from various places and is everything. That is ancestral memory to me...It is a memory that is impregnated in my body, not in my mind. In fact, my mind prevents this from flourishing.]

pieces and without providing spectators with any explanation of what they have



Figure 5.14: *Left to right:* Percy Chinchilla, Clara Chávez, and Lucho Sandoval playing bamboo stumping poles. Larcomar shopping center, Miraflores, Lima, 14 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

seen. Much of the insistence in this lack of context stems from the belief that sometimes a performance should not offer a clear, and neatly packaged, accompanying explanation, but rather challenge the expectations of the viewer and listener by forcing him or her to find the meaning on their own. In that way, people can continually revisit a performance, which may not be completely coherent from their perspective, and in the process of trying to make sense of it continue to discover new things about it. On the other hand, Sandoval suggest, that if you simply tell your audience what is it that they are supposed to be

watching, they will simply file it away in their memory or forget it. Either that

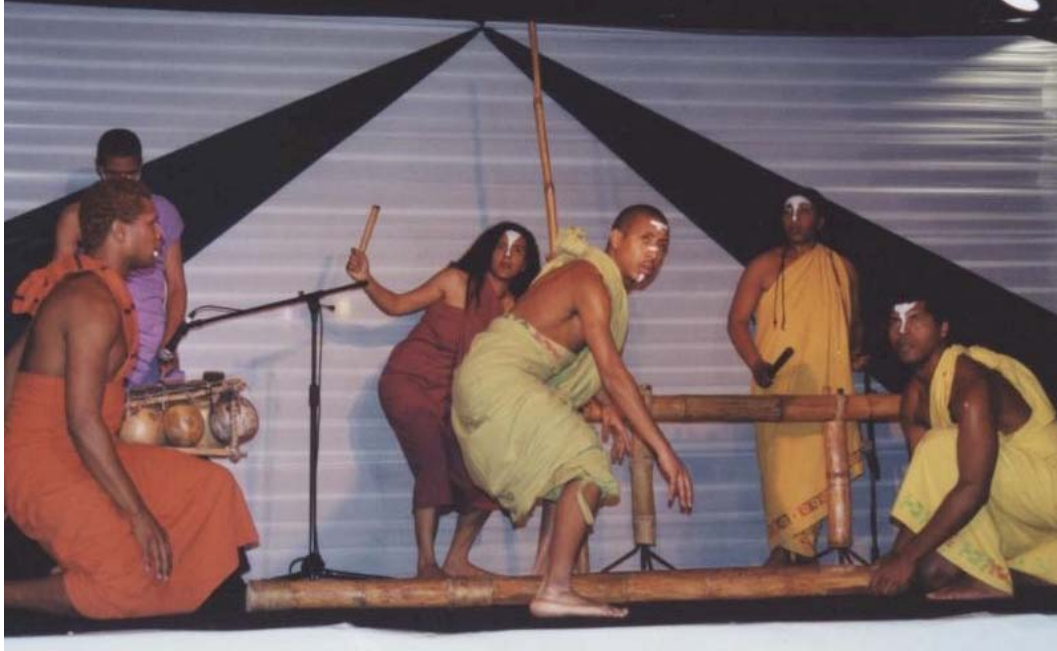


Figure 5.15: Percy Chinchilla (*center*) gets ready to dance in between the horizontal bamboo poles that Lucho Sandoval (*left*) and Jaime Zevallos (*right*) are about to strike against each other and the bottom floor of the stage. Behind them (*from left to right*), Roberto Arguedas, Clara Chávez, and Charo Goyeneche play the musical and rhythmic accompaniment. Larcomar shopping center, Miraflores, Lima, 14 August, 2000. Photograph by the author.

individual will not be as actively engaged with the performance (Sandoval 2000).

For the performers, the *Danza de las cañas* provides a vehicle of artistic expression that is not found in the more conventional Afroperuvian music performing contexts. Performers like Jaime Zevallos very much feel that since the first time that they put on the face paint in preparation for this dance that they underwent a process of transformation, a sense of personal empowerment that they have never experienced when getting ready for a *Noche de Negros*

performance for example. At first glance, it is difficult to ignore how seemingly



Figure 5.16: Roberto Arguedas playing the *balafon*. Larcomar shopping center, Miraflores, Lima, 14 August, 2000. Photograph by author.

divorced this dance is from Afroperuvian, Peruvian, and African reality. There are however, explicit connections being made. As it might be expected, even with the use of ancestral memory, musicians are largely informing their constructions by what they know. Although very effectively masked by the visual presentation and the musical instruments that are used, the *Danza de las cañas* does have some similarities to Milenio's rendition of the traditional dance the *son de los diablos*. Musically speaking, the rhythm being played by the bamboo poles as the performers march towards the stage is a transposition of the pattern that is played

on the *cajita* to accompany the *son de los diablos*. Instead of slamming the lid of the *cajita* down, the performers stomp the pole against the ground while the short bamboo stick hitting the side of the pole is used in the same way that the clapper used against the side *cajita*. Similarly, the rhythmic ostinatos played by the *balafon* are variations of those played in the *cajón* and guitar accompaniment of the *son de los diablos*, even though melodically the music sounds quite different due to the *balafon* being tuned to a pentatonic scale. Some of the other sources from which this visual and musical evocation of Africa is constructed are far more unexpected. One may think that the bamboo poles are a reference to African stomping pole traditions, or to those surviving in other parts of the African diaspora like the Trinidadian *tambo bamboo* or the Afro-Venezuelan *quitiplás*. Following Barba's predilection for Asia however, the bamboo poles, and the manner of dancing, were actually inspired by a National Geographic television program on the Philippines.

To the members of Milenio such disparate borrowings are deemed appropriate given that they are engaged in what they see as an artistic process not accurate representation. True, there might be an element of exoticism to these performances, but as Lucho Sandoval points out, they are not trying to be African or represent Africans, they are merely trying to use a variety of symbols to express certain feeling and emotions that they find within themselves. However, one might wonder whether these types of explorations might amount to little more than a form escapism or whether in fact they are able to have a more lasting impact on other members of the Afroperuvian community, musical or otherwise.

Conveying a message by having audiences passively watch a play or a music and dance performance is not enough for the members of Milenio. Given Sandoval's roots in popular theatre, and the way in which all the members feel that the concept of ancestral memory can empower anyone who engages in the act of performance, he and the other members of Milenio have also been actively involved in introducing their performative strategies to anyone who they feel may benefit from them.

To this end, they have offered music and dance workshops at their locale and in working class neighborhoods in Lima, like the district of Comas where Sandoval was born. These workshops first started as yearly trips that the members of Milenio took, down the Southern Peruvian coast, to the rural community of El Guayabo in the Province of Chincha. Sandoval recalls:

Pedimos dos semanas de vacaciones de enero y nos fuimos a El Guayabo. Armamos la carpa. Convocamos con un pasacalle improvisado que improvisamos entre todos. Convocamos a la gente y los que se acercaron fueron los niños. Empezamos un taller que duró cinco años. Muy lindo. Al principio hablábamos sobre la herencia, sobre la presencia de los negros en todas las partes del Perú, a partir de máscaras. Hacíamos coreografías de una pequeña danza africana. Hacíamos cosas con zancos para hacer pasacalles con esos personajes. El segundo año hablamos sobre los africanos, sobre la identidad africana, sobre la invasión de los españoles acá en el Perú. El tercer año ya hablamos sobre el *son de los diablos*. Y así cada año había un tema diferente (Sandoval 2000).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ [We asked for two weeks of vacation time in January and we went to El Guayabo. We pitched the tent. We called everyone with an improvised parade that we created collectively. We called out to people and the ones who came were children. We began to organized workshop that lasted for five years, [It was] very beautiful. First we would talk heritage, about the presence of blacks in all parts of Peru, as evidenced by masks. We created a choreography of a small African dance. We created things involving stilts to organize parades with those characters. The second year we talked about Africans, about African identity, about the Spanish invasion here in Peru. The third year we talked about the son de los diablos. And, like that, we had a different theme every year.]

Similarly, other members of Milenio have begun to use their experiences in the group as a means of educating those close to them. Jaime Zevallos, for example has gotten in the habit of regularly gathering with as many of his nine older siblings and their families as possible to perfect their dancing skills and to talk about issues of heritage and identity. The concept of ancestry is particularly important to Zevallos since he feels that members of the Afroperuvian community cannot begin to consider in which direction they wish to move until they discover where they come from and why is it that knowledge of that legacy has been almost completely erased from the official Peruvian history record.

Hablamos siempre de cosas Africanas, de cosas que nos identifican. Y a los chicos también, para que tengan identidad, que es algo que en este medio muy rápido se suele perder...Como digo, a donde ir si no sabes de dónde vienes. Entonces los chicos ya no se sienten mal de ser negros como muchísimos se sienten porque no saben de donde son (Zevallos 2000).¹⁸⁷

Freedom and the Limits of Performance

Having said all this however, the members of Milenio are also very aware of the limitations of what they are trying to accomplish. Many members feel that there are people in the Afroperuvian community who are still reluctant to engage in these activities due to lack of financial means, mistrust of what is new and different, and above all due to their having been coerced into believing that the reason for their continued marginalized status within Peruvian society is

¹⁸⁷ [We always talk about African things, about things that define us. And to the young people also, so that they have an identity, which is something that in this fast-paced world tends to get lost...Like I say, where[are you going] to go if you do not know where you come from. Then the young people no longer feel bad about being black like many, many [others] feel because they do not know where they are from.]

predicated by issues of education, and moral decency rather than race and cultural ancestry. Unfortunately, as Roberto Arguedas points out, sometimes people are reluctant to come to a performance in Barranco or a theater in Miraflores because of the way in which they may be looked down upon by those members of the upper and upper-middle classes that would normally frequent presentations like those of Milenio. The night that *Callejón* opened, in a small theater at a private school in the residential district of Miraflores, attendance was largely by invitation and many of those invited were allowed to attend free of charge. The guest list included friends and family of the performers, community activists, politicians, elderly members of the Afroperuvian community, theater critics, and professional musicians ranging from people who played for tips at bars and peñas to people like Susana Baca, Abelardo Vásquez, and Victoria Santa Cruz. Even though the invitation could be used at any one of their performances, not just opening night, many of those individuals that Milenio identified as needing to see their performance did not come (Colinó 2000).

Even in cases when the group managed to make performance more accessible by going to communities that otherwise would not have the means to see Milenio perform, the pragmatic needs of the residents in those communities often undermined Milenio's aspirations of using theater as an empowering performance strategy. Paul Colinó who participated in the workshops in El Guayabo, for example, commented on the difficulties that the performers faced in that community:

Muy, muy fuerte. Es una realidad muy distinta a la que uno tiene acá [en Lima]...Gente muy, muy pobre. No tienen centro de salud, no tienen agua,

no tienen baño. Dormíamos en el suelo con ellos; no habían camas. Nos daban más que comida y pasamos así más o menos una semana, más de una semana.

[Se] les enseñaban cosas para que ellos sigan haciendo, pero eso no [lo] hacían. Aprendían y ahí no más quedaba. Claro, porque su problema era, se despertaban, iban a trabajar al campo, salían a las cinco de la tarde, seis de la tarde a trabajar y a cocinar. O sea, el tiempo no les daba para continuar. Igual los niños. Los que no iban al colegio se iban a las cinco de la mañana al campo y los que estaban en el colegio regresaban a las seis de la tarde, una cosa así. Entonces, ya no les daba tiempo para proseguir con lo que se les había enseñado (Colinó 2000).¹⁸⁸

The group also has had to address the problem of possible multiple interpretations of what they portray on the stage. Chávez acknowledges that there is no way of controlling what others will read into one of their performances, nor can they be held liable for someone else's narrow-mindedness.

Nosotros estamos en un punto en el que no podemos ir tocándole el hombro a todos y explicarles el porque yo me muevo así, por que si él no tiene verdadero interés de ir e indagar yo no voy a perder mi tiempo explicándole por que yo me muevo así...Imagínate si nos pusiéramos a luchar con toda esa gente que lo lleva por el lado malo. Perderíamos demasiado tiempo y quizás al final ni conseguiríamos que lo entiendan (Chávez 2000).¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ [Very, very intense. It is an existence very different to what one has here [in Lima]...Very, very poor people. They don't have a health center, they don't have [running] water, they don't have a bathroom. We slept on the ground with them; they didn't have beds. They would only give us food. And we spent about a week, more than a week, in that way.

We taught them things so that they would continue on doing them, but they would not do so. They would learn and that was it. Sure, the problem was that they woke up, went to work in the fields, returned from work at five o'clock, six o'clock in the afternoon to cook. In other words, they didn't have the time to continue. [It was] the same with the children. Those that did not go to school left at five o'clock in the morning for the fields and those who were in school came back at six o'clock, something like that. So, they didn't have the time to continue with what they had been taught.]

¹⁸⁹ [We are at a point where we cannot go touching everyone's shoulder and explaining why is it that I move in a particular way. Because if he does not have the genuine interest to go and find out, I am not going to waste my time explaining to him why I move in that way...Imagine if we were to struggle against everyone that see this negatively. We would lose too much time and perhaps in the end we may not even get them to understand.]

At the same time however, she like some of the other performers, find it sad that some Peruvians continue to interpret what they do based on commonly held stereotypes regarding Afroperuvians.

The aforementioned concept of ancestral memory is a case in point. To the members of Milenio, the concept of ancestral memory refers to a particular type of performative exploration, largely through improvisation, that validates certain choices that the group makes over others. Unfortunately, due to stereotypes about descendants of Africans in Peru many come to misunderstand what Milenio means when they say that Afroperuvian musicians carry their musical knowledge “in their blood.” To Milenio, like many other Afroperuvian musicians this is not a biological association, one that claims a genetic predisposition towards music making. Most often, the notion of musicians carrying their talent in their blood is not a scientific claim, but an artistic metaphor that, much like the concept of ancestral memory itself, seeks to make music and music making part of the legacy of African experience in Peru as culturally transmitted from one generation to the next. In Milenio’s case, their referencing of images about bloodlines, slavery, bondage, and freedom are consistently used as metaphors with which to verbalize what they are trying to do as artists who are continually trying to reinvent themselves, a way challenging not reinforcing these long standing stereotypes.

Yet, the notion of musicality being a biological inheritance associated with people of African descent is still commonly held by some sectors of Peruvian society and is often projected onto the activities and intents of many Afroperuvian

performers. In August of 2000, for example, Televisión Nacional, the government-owned television station, approached Milenio with an offer to feature their play *Callejón* in the program *Teatro Peruano*. Before the play was aired, the producers of the program recorded an interview with Lucho Sandoval, Clara Chávez, and Charo Goyeneche to give viewers some insights as to the content and process of creating *Callejón*. At one point in the interview, the host of *Teatro Peruano* asked, “El zapateo, ¿hay que nacer con ese talento en los pies, o simplemente puede uno conseguirlo con mucha práctica?”¹⁹⁰ Although her first statement was in the affirmative, the explanation that followed showed that Goyeneche was trying to steer her answer into a different area. In fact, her response did not have anything to do with race or ethnicity. Instead, she wished to address how the fact that the genre is traditionally associated with men has made it more difficult for female *zapateadores* like herself to catch up. After all, most male dancers begin to learn the *zapateo* when they are seven or eight years old while Goyeneche and Chávez only found someone willing to teach them when they were well into their twenties and thirties.

En el grupo, los hombres zapatean, muy, muy bien; todos los hombres. Y nosotras estamos tratando de igualarlos. Es un reto para nosotras que queremos conseguir. Pero para ellos es mucho más fácil, o sea. Yo creo que sí, que es algo de fuerza, que es algo de...no sé...¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ [The zapateo, do you have to be born with that talent in you feet or can you simply do it with a lot of practice?]

¹⁹¹ [In the group, the men do the zapateo very, very well; all the men. And we [the women] are trying to catch up to them. For us it is a challenge that we want to meet. It much easier for them, I think. It has something to do with strength, something to do with...I don't know...]

Sadly, the host missed the entire point of her comments and merely summed up what was clearly the answer that he had wanted to hear and which had been implied in his question: “Algo que se lleva en la sangre ¿no?”¹⁹²

Nevertheless, the fact that there may be problems in the realization of Milenio’s goals and aspirations does not seem to slow the members down. This is particularly the case for Sandoval and Arguedas who tend to be the most vocal members when it comes to the artistic and social relevance of a group like Milenio to members of the Afroperuvian community. They feel that there is a message that they can transmit, particularly to other Afroperuvians, since the performers share many experiences in common and hope that Afroperuvian audiences would see themselves in the characters that they portray on stage:

Lo que estamos tratando de hacer es reestructurar este sistema de valores, de valoración del negro. Queremos hablar con el negro. Queremos decirle al negro, decirle nuestro contenido, decirle: “Mira, siéntete orgulloso. Reafirma tu identidad como negro. Tú eres importante. Tú puedes hacerlo porque tu descendes de una raza, tu descendes de una cultura; tú vienes de un desarrollo cultural importante. Ser africano no es malo; Es muy rico para ti. Y en la medida que tú te asumas como descendiente africano y valores tu identidad y valores a tus ancestros, en esa medida tú vas a ser grande confrontándote con los demás. No te pierdas en los demás, no pierdas tu identidad con la identidad de todos. Tú tienes una identidad, tú tienes un valor y reafirma ese valor (Sandoval 2000).¹⁹³

¹⁹² [Something that is carried in one’s blood, right?]

¹⁹³ [What we are trying to do is restructure the black man’s value system. We want to talk with the black man. We want to say to the black man, say what we have inside, say to him: “Look, be proud. Reaffirm your identity as black. You are important. You can do it, because you descend from a race, you descend from a culture; you come from important cultural developments. Being African is not bad; it is a delicious thing for you. And as long as you see yourself as an African descendant and value your identity and value your ancestors, in that way you are going to stand tall when confronting others. Do not lose yourself in other people, do not lose your identity with that of others. You have an identity, you have value and [you should] reaffirm that value.]

This however, does not mean that Sandoval and his partners naïvely subscribe to an impossibly utopian dream in which artistic performance provides all the answers. As already suggested, they are very aware of the problems and contradictions within their own performative process; it can at times exoticize others, it can at times be escapist, it is not always understood, it can be misinterpreted. This is why Sandoval is the first to admit that “el teatro no va a ser la revolución, el teatro no va ser el cambio total, pero te va a dar luces, te va a dar elementos”¹⁹⁴ (Sandoval 2000). While the notion of art may be invoked due to its redemptive potential, these performers do not completely embrace the accompanying notion of autonomy. In this sense they do not claim to have that all-knowing gaze, but that their voices remain largely the same as those of other members of the Afroperuvian community. In fact, to Sandoval it is the inability of transcending one’s social reality that allows him to comment on its potential for social domination.

Yo te hablo de mi experiencia. Y a partir de mi experiencia yo puedo reconocer los mismos pensamientos que yo tengo, los que yo siempre he tenido, en los otros negros. Y este problema de falta de valoración yo la tengo. Yo lucho cotidianamente con este problema de valoración. Yo no soy un franco tirador que está afuera, el negro que se aclaró, el negro que tiene la identidad clara y le dice a los otros negros pobrecitos: “Uds. aclárense.” No. Yo estoy metido en ese problema (Sandoval 2000).¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ [Theatre is not going to be the revolution, theater is not going to change everything, but it will give you insights, it can give you something to hang on to.]

¹⁹⁵ [I speak from my experience. And from that experience I can recognize the thoughts that I have, the ones that I have always had, in other blacks. And this problem of lack of valorization, I have it. I struggle everyday with this problem of valorization. I am not a sharp shooter who is outside [of this], the black man who became enlightened, the black man who has a clearly defined identity and tells all the other poor blacks: “You need to enlighten yourselves.” No. I am in the middle of the problem.]

From their perspective then, theater can provide musicians and other members of the Afroperuvian community with a means not of escaping one's social condition but a way of critiquing and transforming it, albeit in a limited way, from within. Although the process is imperfect, and one may have to indefinitely table the prospect of redemption through art, this remains a more palatable alternative to members of a community that for the past half a century have been invested in reclaiming a cultural identity that they can call their own. By using the metaphor of the *cimarrón*, a colonial term used for an escaped slave, the members of Milenio explain that true freedom does not stem from breaking out of bondage to then living in fear and hiding for the rest of one's life. To them freedom, however partial it may be, lies in the ability of identifying which restraints, or cages as Sandoval and Arguedas put it, may be preventing one from achieving their full potential. There are restraints, or constraints rather, that need to remain because these are the ones that tie one to a particular heritage, culture, and history that only recently has been recovered. Theatre, like the world it seeks to represent, is also governed by constraints, limitations that define the very tools that are needed to engage on the act of critique. To quote Sandoval one last time,

Los elementos técnicos son como unas cárceles, que son cárceles necesarias para lograr la libertad. Porque nosotros estamos encerrados en determinadas cárceles: de cómo hablamos, de cómo nos movemos, de la vida cotidiana que nos han impuesto, la imitación de otras personas, nuestro medios, nuestros contextos, la televisión, etc. Entonces, lo que estamos tratando es de encontrar estas cárceles, estas otras cárceles, estas otras cárceles técnicas que nos permitan ser libres para poder comunicar lo que llevamos adentro...Postulamos a la libertad siempre, ¿no? Pensamos que la mejor forma de ser creativos es la libertad, pero la libertad sin cárcel no existe...Entonces, lo que hay que encontrar es esa cárcel que nos permita ser libres y liberarnos de las otras cárceles que nos impiden dejar

fluir nuestra tradición y nuestra herencia, nuestra memoria ancestral (Sandoval 2000).¹⁹⁶

Ultimately then, the members of Milenio remind us that, like modernity itself, the project of Afroperuvian identity, whether mediated through music, dance, theater, or any other must remain incomplete.

CALLEJÓN

Having said all this, it is worth examining in detail the content of one of Milenio's plays. The remainder of this chapter will present an abbreviated narration of the play *Callejón* as it was performed on July 31, 2000. While at times there will be brief discussions and interpretations as to what the various images and symbols that are used in *Callejón* mean, most of them are for the sake of clarification and usually in reference to discussions I have had with members of Milenio regarding their significance. Although it is clear that this account very much represents my perceptions of what I saw, recorded, and photographed that evening, I have also tried, in an admittedly very limited way, to respect the members' belief that their art should speak for itself. At this point, it suffices to say that *Callejón* sifts through many of the ideas discussed throughout this dissertation, notions about culture, tradition, ghosts, slaves, music, dance, authenticity, and the mass media. Whether or not *Callejón* is successful in any

¹⁹⁶ [Technical elements are like cages, cages that are necessary in order to achieve freedom. Because we are trapped within particular cages: how we speak, how we move, what everyday life has imposed on us, the desire to imitate others, our surroundings, our contexts, television, etc. So, what we are trying to do is find those cages, those other cages, these methodological cages that allow us to be free to communicate what we carry inside...We always aspire to freedom. We think that the best way to be creative is to be free, but freedom does not exist without the cage...So, what we have to do is find that cage that allows us to be free and to free ourselves from those other cages that prevent our tradition and our heritage, our ancestral memory emanating.]

regard or provides any major insights or revelations is beside the point and open to individual interpretation. I can only say now what Juan Medrano's wife, Nachi, said to me when she handed me the invitation to *Callejón's* opening night (Figure 5.17): "es sobre las contradicciones de la vida."¹⁹⁷



Figure 5.17: Invitation to *Callejón*. Reproduced with permission by Grupo Teatro del Milenio.

Theater of the French Alliance. Miraflores, Lima. Monday, July 31, 8:45pm

As most of other nights during *Callejón's* three-week run, the small theatre was full. This was the last performance of *Callejón*, and my fifth viewing

¹⁹⁷ [it's about life's contradictions]

of the play. Each night that I attended the members of Milenio had made changes to the play, some big, some small. I was particularly interested on what would



Figure 5.18: Promotional poster for *Callejón*. Reproduced with permission from Grupo Teatro del Milenio.

happen this night for a number of reasons. First, this final show represented the culmination of three weeks worth of refining the story to be told. Second, this final incarnation of *Callejón*, was to serve as the template for the televised version that was scheduled to be taped a few days later. Most importantly however, this performance along with the two previous ones had been the result of intense reflection and introspection by some of the members of Milenio. Only a few days earlier in downtown Lima, what had started out as a peaceful demonstration to protest the inauguration of President Alberto Fujimori's third term in office, escalated into riots that led to several deaths and fires. Some of the members of Milenio had attended the march the day before the riots feeling that, as artist, they needed to support any movement that wanted to give voice to those who were marginalized. Even though *Callejón* did not directly address the current political situation, in the aftermath of the riots, they all hoped it could inspire others to persevere against all types of adversity.

I

The lights go down on the house and the audience begins to quiet down. The *callejón*, an alleyway lined at either side by rows of one-room residences, comes to life. Through a single lit windowpane in the darkened *callejón*, one can see the silhouettes of two figures playing dice. The first figure (Roberto Arguedas) says, “Oiga compadre, usted que sabe, ¿Desalojaron a los del callejón?”¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ [Listen my friend, since you are knowledgeable, did they evict the people of the callejón?]

The second figure (Juan Medrano) with a resounding laugh replies, “Ahora te voy a contar...”¹⁹⁹ and he begins to play a simple *festejo* base at a medium tempo.

A spot light comes on and focuses on Matías (Lucho Sandoval) as he enters the theatre through a door on the house left. With his hair dyed blonde, sunglasses, multicolored shirt, bright white and pink striped windbreaker, and holding a suitcase, Matías confidently struts from the aisle onto the center of the stage. He puts the suitcase down and sits on it as he waits, surveying his surroundings (Figure 5.19).

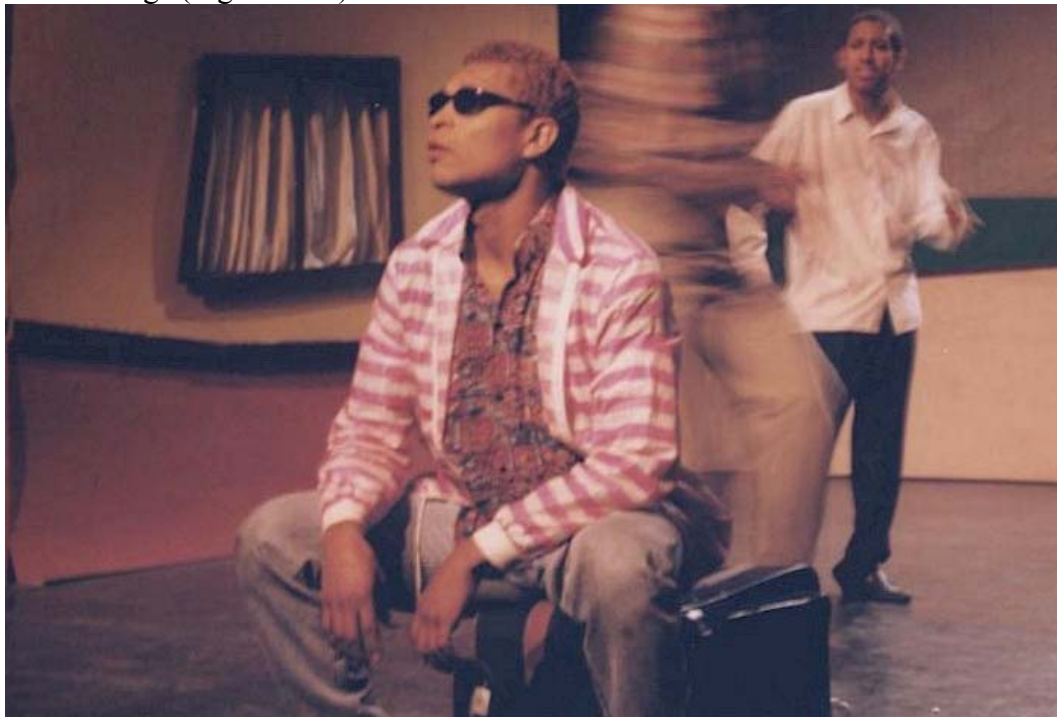


Figure 5.19: Matías after arriving at the *callejón*. Theatre of the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 31 July, 2000. Photograph by the author.

¹⁹⁹ [I will tell you now...]

Slowly, the residents of the *callejón* begin to emerge from their respective homes. The steps of each resident are timed to the *cajón*, each tapping a different rhythmic fill in succession. They begin to hover around Matías who is apparently oblivious to their presence. In the form of rhythmic and melodic ostinatos that combine in counterpoint to each other the residents begin to ask, “¿Y ése quién es?” “¿De dónde salió?”²⁰⁰ They all slowly begin to approach Matías and some seem to begin to recognize the visitor: “Creo que es...” “Puede ser...” “¡Sí, ése es él, cómo no, claro que es...!” “¡Matías!”²⁰¹ They finally declare in recognition. Matías turns around, opens his arms to the man in front of him (Oscar Villanueva) and greets him in response “Manongo, my friend.”²⁰²

As Manongo and Matías catch-up, two of the young male residents of the *callejón* (Percy Chinchilla and Williams Nicasio) are hanging on Matías’ every word. Manongo remarks on how much Matías had changed while Matías points out how everything in the *callejón*, including Manongo, looks exactly the same.

“Está crazy,”²⁰³ declares Matías.

“Sí, sí, dale, dale,”²⁰⁴ the young men excitedly rap in response.

“Está crazy,” he says again and again, each time the young men replying in a more excited manner until they begin to dance American hip hop to accompany their rapped response.

²⁰⁰ [And that one? Where did he come from?]

²⁰¹ [I think it is...It could be...Yes, it is he, how could it be otherwise, of course it is...! Matías!]

²⁰² [Manongo, *my friend*]

²⁰³ [It’s *crazy*]

²⁰⁴ [Yes, yes, go on, go on.]

Manongo, visibly irritated by this, shuts everyone up. He then tells Matías that they need to organize a *jarana* in the evening to celebrate his return to the *callejón*. “Thank you, Manongo. Pero tengo que ir a ver a my mother.”²⁰⁵

Manongo insists, “Esta noche tenemos que ir a bailar *zamacueca*, con una chica que está para chuparse los dedos.”²⁰⁶

“No, Manongo,” replies Matías. “Ya no bailo *zamacueca*. Ahora la onda es el rap.”²⁰⁷

“Sí, sí, dale, dale,” confirm the young men.

“El trance,”²⁰⁸... (“Sí, sí, dale, dale”)

“El tekno,”²⁰⁹... (“Sí, sí, dale, dale”)

“Y la salsa cubana.”²¹⁰ On this last reference the young men in unison utter a couple of nonsensical statements that sound like the Afro-Cuban language *Lucumí*, to which Matías responds with Celia Cruz’s signature cry, “¡Azucar!”²¹¹

The action on the stage freezes and Roberto Arguedas begins to play “Amor inconcluso,”²¹² an original composition, which Medrano accompanies by simply marking the pulsation of Arguedas’ guitar on the *cajón*.²¹³ At the same time, clouds of smoke begin to appear over the *callejón*. From the smoke emerge

²⁰⁵ [*Thank you* Manongo, but I have to go see *my mother*.]

²⁰⁶ [Tonight we have to go dance the *zamacueca* with this succulent girl.]

²⁰⁷ [I no longer dance the *zamacueca*. Now rap is what’s in.]

²⁰⁸ [Trance] This is a sub-style of techno that, at the time, was very popular in Lima’s dance clubs.

²⁰⁹ [Techno]

²¹⁰ [And Cuban salsa]

²¹¹ [Sugar!] This is a spontaneous exclamation used by the famed singer in a number of her recordings.

²¹² [Unfinished love]

²¹³ Later on, Arguedas and Medrano decided to accompany this piece, which is used as transition in between scenes, with a *festejo* pattern.

two masked figures from Andean folklore: the *qhapac negro* from the Virgen del Carmen patron saint fiesta in Paucartambo, Cuzco, and one of the characters from the Danza de los negritos from the city and department of Huánuco (Figure 5.20).



Figure 5.20: The *qhapac negro* (left) and *negrito* (right) characters dancing on the rooftops of the *callejón*. Theatre of the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 14 July, 2000. Video stills from footage shot by the author.

They hold a staff in one hand, a symbol of power and prestige, and chains on the other, a reminder that these are representations of former slaves. These are the ancestors of the residents of the *callejón*, who watch over their unknowing descendants as they slowly stomp their staffs and rattle their chains to the sound of Arguedas' music. The residents below, with limp bodies looking downward, begin to slowly turn to the sounds coming from above and, under their spell, exit the stage. The masked characters follow soon thereafter.

At first, their appearance seems paradoxical. It is rare for Afroperuvian musicians to reference representations of Afroperuvians by *mestizos* from the highlands as part of their own identity. To Milenio however, these characters, particularly the *qhapac negro* became important symbols, after some of the members had the opportunity to repeatedly visit Paucartambo and began to learn

about the history behind that masked figure. Lucho Sandoval, expanding on a concept first proposed by Gina Beretta explains the reasons for the inclusion of these characters in *Callejón*:

En realidad, la herencia del negro está en la máscara, porque ellos [los mestizos de Paucartambo] se ponen la máscara para representar al negro. O sea, que detrás de esa máscara está el negro. De generación en generación han pasado la máscara y se ha ido cambiando, transformando. Y los vestidos [de los danzantes enmascarados] se han ido acondicionando a los gustos andinos. Los gustos andinos y la ropa que le imponían...Pero siempre detrás de esa máscara, detrás, detrás, detrás de esa máscara está el negro...La música, todo lo demás ha cambiado, pero el negro está ahí. Y es el negro [el que está representado por la máscara] que delata la presencia del negro en la sierra y la influencia del negro en la sierra, algo que los negros de ahora quieren olvidar, o nos quieren hacer olvidar. Por eso es entonces que están ahí [en *Callejón*] esos personajes, porque esos son nuestros ancestros, son nuestros referentes, son los abuelos de nuestros abuelos. Es un reconocimiento a esos abuelos. Es un reconocimiento al aporte de estos abuelos negros a la cultura andina también (Sandoval 2000).²¹⁴

The lights on stage come up about a third of the way up, and the masked figures quietly disappear. Evening has arrived to the *callejón*, and in the twilight, Manongo and one of the young men (Chinchilla) enter the stage bare-chested and carrying washbasins. In a very slow, solemn, almost ritualized way, they begin to wash themselves, always looking pensively at the ground (Figure 5.21). Their

²¹⁴ Actually, the heritage of the black man is in the mask because they [the *mestizos* of Paucartambo] put on the mask in order to represent the black man. I mean, that behind that mask, there lies the black man. Generation upon generation they have passed the mask and have changed it, transformed it. And the dress [of the masked dancers] have been adapted to Andean tastes. Andean tastes and the clothing that was imposed on them...But always behind that mask, behind, behind, behind that mask lies the black man. The music, everything else has changed, but the black man is there. And it is that black man [the one represented on the mask] that denounces the presence of the black man in the highlands and the influence that the black man had in the highlands, something that black people of today want to forget, or that they want to make us forget. That is why those characters are [in *Callejón*], because they are our ancestors, they are our point of reference, they are the grandparents of our grandparents. It is an acknowledgement of those grandparents. It is also an acknowledgement of the contribution of those black grandparents to Andean culture.]

dance is not based on any traditional Afroperuvian genre, but rather seems to be



Figure 5.21: Manongo bathing. Theater of the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 31 July, 2000. Photograph by the author.

something that draws from Villanueva's experiences on modern dances. The accompanying music is sparse, often getting lost amongst the background wash of the pre-recorded sounds of waves crashing on the beach and a rain stick. The reference to the ocean and to rain is important since both point towards the irony that although all these natural sources of water surround the city of Lima, many *callejones* do not have indoor plumbing or running water. The music features no guitars, *cajones*, *quijadas* or *cajitas*, only the sound of Roberto Arguedas unobtrusively improvising melodic ostinatos on the *balafon*-like instrument that the group obtained from some Afro-Ecuadorian musicians during a visit to that country a few years earlier.

After the music fades and the actors leave the stage, Juan Medrano begins to play a *zamacueca* on the *cajón*. Meanwhile Maruja (Clara Chávez) and Chula (Charo Goyeneche) each, carrying baskets of clean clothes. As the *cajón* continues to play, the two women begin to fight over single clothesline stretched across the *callejón*. Their arguing brings out the two young men who, while pretending to play dice, entertain themselves by eavesdropping and commenting on the whole argument. Eventually, the guitar begins to play a *marinera limeña bordón* and the two women begin to sing (Figure 5.22). Their song moves from the animosity that each feels towards each other, which stems from romantic



Figure 5.22: Chula (*left*) and Maruja (*right*) gossip about the lives of the other residents of the *callejón*. Theater of the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 31 August 2000. Photograph by the author.

encounters that they both had with the same individual in the *callejón*, to gossiping about the private lives of all the other residents. Throughout the song, the two young men interject, “Zamacueca, zamacueca, que chismosa es mi zamacueca. Zamacueca, zamacueca, que chismosas son esas negras.”²¹⁵

Once again, the music fades out and the actors leave the stage.

Suddenly one of the young men (Chinchilla) burst into the center of the stage with a handful of documents and calls to everyone, “¡Nos van a desalojar!”²¹⁶

The residents come out of their homes, first there is shock and then indignation. “¿Cómo?” “¿Qué mierda me va a desalojar?” “¡Eso sí, que no, virgen santa!” “¡A mí nadie me saca de acá!”²¹⁷

Concerned, all the residents huddle together trying to figure out what to do. Arguedas begins to perform “Amor inconcluso,” once again, while the Medrano’s silhouette laughs knowingly and continues to play dice. At the same time, one by one, the different residents run towards different doors, both on the stage and on the side entrances to the theatre (Figure 5.23). Each time, they knock on the door with the eviction documents in hand. Each time, they are turned away and doors are slammed on their faces. Their mounting frustration is signaled by a sudden burst of drums, which fades just as quickly, and the residents remain in the *callejón*, very visibly demoralized by the whole situation.

²¹⁵ [Zamacueca, zamacueca, how gossipy is my zamacueca. Zamacueca, zamacueca, how gossipy are those black women.]s

²¹⁶ [They are going to evict us!]

²¹⁷ [How? What [piece of] shit is going to evict me? Absolutely not, Holly Virgin [Mary]! No one takes me out of here!]



Figure 5.23: The residents of the *callejón* receive the news that they are being evicted. In the background the two silhouettes laugh and continue to play dice. Theater of the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 31 July, 2000. Photograph by the author.

Unaware of what has happened, Matías enters the *callejón* laughing to himself. He asks where everyone has been. “Oigan, tienen cara de funeral,”²¹⁸ he jokes.

“¡Nos van a desalojar!” explains Manongo.

Instead he washes his hands from the situation, “Oye, oye, oye, esos problemas de callejón no me incumben. Yo ya no vivo acá.”²¹⁹

“¿Y Doña Mayo [la mama de Matías]?”²²⁰ asks one of the young men.

²¹⁸ [Hey, you [all] have a funeral face]

²¹⁹ [Listen, listen, listen, those callejón problems are not my concern. I no longer live here.]

²²⁰ [And Doña Mayo [Matías’ mother]??]

“El próximo año me la llevo a los United,”²²¹ says Matías smugly.

With visible disdain he continues, “Yo no entiendo, ustedes creen que rezándole a la virgen van a solucionar sus problemas.”²²²

“No seas blasfemo, Dios te va a castigar,”²²³ admonishes Chula.

“Dios, ya me castigó cuando viví en este callejón. Ahora que vivo en New Jersey, Dios me ha perdonado.”²²⁴

“Aquí o en New Jersey sigue siendo el mismo atorrante de siempre,”²²⁵ challenges Manongo. Barely restraining his anger he approaches Matías, points to his bright pink windbreaker, and asks, “¿Y éso? ¿tu uniforme con el que lavas los excusados en el extranjero?”²²⁶

Matías backs away defensively and jokes, “Tranquilo Manonguito. Te salió todo lo salvaje, negro africano.”²²⁷

“Pero Matías, ¿qué solución planteas?”²²⁸ one of the young men (Chinchilla) interjects.

“Tumbo todo y lo dejo bien tumbado,”²²⁹ declares Matías.

Suddenly drums begin to play and Matías and Manongo begin to fight to the music. The danced fight is a combination of modern dance, movements

²²¹ [Next year I will bring her to the *United* [States]]

²²² [I don't understand, you think that by praying to the Virgin [Mary] you are going to solve your problems.]

²²³ [Don't be blasphemous, God will punish you.]

²²⁴ [God already punished me when I lived in this callejón. Now that I live in New Jersey, God has forgiven me.]

²²⁵ [Here or in New Jersey, you are the same old freeloader.]

²²⁶ [And this? The uniform with which you clean toilets while abroad?]

²²⁷ [Calm down dear Manongo. All your savagery came out, you black African.]

²²⁸ [But Matías, what solution would you propose?]

²²⁹ [I [would] knock everything down and leave it knocked down.]

vaguely reminiscent of Brazilian capoeira, and what seems like the stylized posturing of two rooters in a cockfight. Eventually Matías defeats Manongo and all the residents hang their head in shame and leave the *callejón*. In the darkened *callejón* Matías see the ghosts of his ancestors and discovers that he is not immune to their influence. As they dance, he too falls under their spell, and eventually, the music carries him off the stage.

A frustrated Maruja enters the stage. It is late at night and she is waiting for Manongo to return home. Manongo walks into the *callejón* drunk, staggering to the beat of Medrano's medium tempo *festejo* accompaniment, which relentlessly provides rhythmic backdrop for most of the action in the play. Maruja sees him and begins to scold him, again in time with the rhythmic accompaniment. "¿De dónde es que tu vienes, mulato, mulato? ¿De dónde es que tu vienes?"²³⁰

Manongo tries to defend himself, "No te molestes mamita, sólo vengo de una jaranita."²³¹

Some of the other residents come out of their rooms, in counterpoint to the *cajón* accompaniment, begins to comment on what is going on. "Ese negro es un saco largo, su mujer lo tiene pisao',"²³² declares Chula. One of the young men (Nicasio) comes out in Manongo's defense, "¿Cómo es posible que, cómo es posible que, cómo es posible que a los negros los traten así?"²³³

²³⁰ [Where do you come from mulatto, mulatto? Where do you come from?]

²³¹ [Don't get mad honey, I only come from a small jarana.]

²³² [That black man is a whimp; his wife has him on a leash.]

²³³ [How is it possible? How is it possible? How is it possible that a black men get treated like that?]

The commotion and arguing continues until the other young man (Chinchilla) enters the *callejón*. He is also drunk and looking for a fight. He demands to know what the entire racket is about since he claims to be the most important person in the *callejón*. He punctuates his posturing with a *zapateo* and the other young man answers his challenge. The residents gather around them and comment on whether they actually had the courage to fight each other or whether they are nothing more than talk. After all the goading, they begin to fight. At the same time, Maruja and Manongo continue their arguing and she eventually slaps him, much to the shock of those present. Their movements are slow and deliberate, making their physical confrontation look like an instant replay of a boxing match. This is just a temporary distraction, as the young men start fighting again, this time incorporating certain elements of the *zapateo* and capoeira (Figure 5.24). In the midst of all the fighting, Matías (although it is not clear whether this is in fact the same Matías or just another prototype of the type of person that returns to the *callejón*) arrives once again, suitcase in hand and sits on the middle of the *callejón*.

II

Again, all the residents gather around wondering who is this visitor until he is recognized. This time however, after Matías and Manongo embrace, Manongo is more openly critical of his old friend's attitude. "A su madre, que agringado."²³⁴

²³⁴ [Wow, how Americanized]

“Desarrollado compadre, del primer mundo usted sabe,”²³⁵ replies Matías and he continues to show off his otherness by continuing to speak in a mixture of



Figure 5.24: A fight breaks out at the *callejón*. Theatre of the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 14 July, 2000. Video still from footage shot by the author.

English and Spanish. Given that Manongo seems to be playing along Matías happily declares, “A ver Manongo, aquí estoy. He regresado.”²³⁶

Manongo replies bitterly, “Yo soy el que se ha quedado, huevón.”²³⁷

This prompts Matías to explain, why he had suddenly left the *callejón*. Their dialogue was organized in a loose *décima* format and, at the end of the

²³⁵ [Developed my friend, from the first world you know.]

²³⁶ [Look Manongo, here I am. I have come back.]

²³⁷ [I am the one who stayed behind, asshole.]

narration, both Manongo and Matías go off to celebrate the latter's return while doing a *zapateo*:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | <i>Manongo:</i> | |
| (1) | Saliste del callejón | You left the <i>callejón</i> one |
| (2) | un jueves pateando tachos. | Thursday with no prospects. |
| | <i>Matías:</i> | |
| (3) | Me fuí caminando hasta Acho ²³⁸ | I walked over to Acho and |
| (4) | y ahí apareció la ocasión. | there the chance appeared. |
| (5) | (<i>Manongo</i> : ¿un gringo?)
en medio de su vacilón, | (<i>Manongo</i> : an American?)
in the midst of his
partying, |
| (6) | borracho cómo una puba, | drunk as a skunk, he yelled, |
| (7) | gritó, “El que quiera que se suba.” | “He who wants to, climb in” |
| (8) | (<i>Manongo</i> : A su carro) Me subí | (<i>Manongo</i> : In his car) I
climbed in |
| (9) | y a los tres días me ví | and in three days I was |
| (10) | sirviendo tragos en Aruba. | servicing drinks in Aruba. |
| | <i>Manongo:</i> | |
| | ¿A los tres días? | Three days? |
| (1) | no jodas, pues ¿y la visa? | Yeah right, and the visa? |
| | <i>Matías:</i> | |
| (2) | Uy hermano, desde el tono, | Oh brother, since the party, |
| (3) | sale la plata, baile del mono, | there's money, I do the
monkey dance, |
| (4) | las cosas se acomodan. | things get worked out. |
| (5) | Visa, pasaporte y toda | Visa, passport and all |
| (6) | la papelería lista. | the paperwork ready. |
| (7) | Seis negros más en la lista, | Six more blacks on the list, |
| (8) | de frente a su avión privado | straight to his private plane, |
| (9) | que estaba estacionado | which was parked |
| (10) | del aeropuerto en la pista | on the airport's runway. |

²³⁸ A plaza in the district of el Rimac, best know for its bullfighting arena and as the main stop for inter-provincial taxis and buses arriving to and departing from Lima.

The residents come back to the *callejón*, this time bringing chairs with them, and calling for beer and guitars to start the *jarana* in celebration of Matías' return. Maruja brings over the table and they all sit to eat, drink and celebrate. Every movement during the *jarana* is timed to the rhythmic accompaniment. Chairs, plates and cups, are moved and struck together, often mimicking the rhythmic patterns that are more commonly played by cowbells, conga drums, *bongos* and other auxiliary percussion in both the *festejo* and *landó*. During the celebration, it becomes apparent that Maruja is making eyes at Matías behind Manongo's back (Figure 5.25). Manongo notices and pulls Maruja away from the party to express his frustration. At that point the ubiquitous medium tempo



Figure 5.25: Maruja flirts with Matías during dinner. Theater of the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 31 July, 2000. Photograph by the author.

festejo accompaniment on the *cajón* is replaced by a *zapateo* accompaniment on the guitar, and the couple precedes to quietly tap dance their argument. There was no dialogue, but the body movements, face and hand gestures by Manongo and Maruja were clear enough. Manongo was worried and jealous of the attention Maruja was giving Matías and she kept trying to reassure him that nothing was going on between them.

In addition to the body language, portions of the argument could be discerned in the *zapateo*. For example, when Maruja is first pulled aside, her lips lightly but impatiently mouth the question “¿Qué pasa?”²³⁹ as she stomps her feet to each silent syllable, all in time with the guitar accompaniment. Similarly, Manongo’s jealous rants are paralleled by a significantly “busier” *zapateo* style that spills out of his body in bursts. This perception was not just my own. After talking with some of the dancers of Milenio, I found out that they had been exploring the notion of using the *zapateo* as a form of non-verbal communication, an idea that had been inspired by what the members had learned about the use of talking drums in certain parts of Africa.

After Maruja calms Manongo down (all the while waving at Matías behind Manongo’s back), they return to the *jarana* and they all begin to sing and dance *marineras*. In song, the two young men critique Matías, telling him that he lost out for having left the *callejón*. They also make fun of his hair, likening his blonde head to a snow cone. Matías largely dismisses their comments by remarking how he’s come back as an American and now he has the power to

²³⁹ [What is going on?]

leave whenever he wants. As the tempers rise, the *marinera* stops abruptly. To dissipate the tension, Chula calls for a *festejo*. The music begins and everyone quickly forgets all the animosity as they dance in celebration.

The dancing goes late into the night and, as the music fades, attention is diverted to a lonely voice up on a balcony singing a *landó* entitled “Ayudame,” also an original composition by Arguedas. She is Matías’ mother (also Charo Goyeneche) (Figure 5.26). Unaware that her son has returned and that all her



Figure 5.26: Matías’ mother sings alone while the others continue to celebrate at the *jarana*. Theatre of the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 14 July 2000. Video still from footage shot by the author.

neighbors are celebrating with him, she is sitting on a rocking chair, partially turned away from the audience, singing to God and asking for help to get her through the day. She laments her having been abandoned (presumably Matías or his father), and she hopes that some day he will come back:

El hombre partió y se fué,
yo no sé si volverá
el viento lo llevó ayer
el viento lo ha de traer
el viento lo llevó ayer
mañana lo traerá
el viento lo llevó ayer
el viento lo ha de traer

The man departed and went away
I do not know if he will come back
the wind took him yesterday
the wind should return him
the wind took him yesterday
tomorrow it will return him
the wind took him yesterday
the wind should return him

Ayúdame,
que el trabajo no me falte hoy
Ayúdame,
que el trabajo es una bendición

Help me,
may I not lack work today.
Help me,
because work is a blessing.

Once again, we find all the residents of the *callejón* upset over the news that they are going to be evicted. This time however, instead of fruitlessly seeking help from the authorities, or the owners of the *callejón*, they decide to do exactly what Matías had mocked them about: to pray to the Virgen del Carmen. A festive instrumental *vals* begins to play in the background as the residents decorate the *callejón* for the celebration of the Virgen del Carmen. The music then slows down and Chula sings the *lamento* “Santa Libertad.” As Roberto Arguedas indicated in his interview, in this context, the song is more of an anthem to hard work, perseverance and the dedication rather than a lament:

Negro libre, vamos a trabajar.
Negro libre, vamos a vivir.
El trabajo y la vida enseñan
y el que no lo hace,

Free black man, let’s get to work.
Free black man, let’s get to live.
Work and life teach us
and he who does not do it,

no será verdad .
Tendrás lo que quieras,
santa libertad

will not be true.
You will have what you want,
blessed freedom.

Maruja and Chula bring out the incense that is going to be used in the procession and begin to sacralize the *callejón*. The young men appear carrying long candles and, as they all begin to take their place in the invisible Virgen del Carmen procession, the back doors to the *callejón* open and a third masked character emerges, the *diablo mayor* from the *son de los diablos* (Figure 5.27). Beyond the doors of the *callejón*, there is a path lined with torches, which the *diablo mayor*



Figure 5.27: The *diablo mayor* dancing while guarding a torch lit path. Theater for the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 14 July 2000. Video still from footage shot by the author.

guards. From this vantage point he dances, accompanying the procession with his gaze, although the residents of the *callejón* are not aware of his presence.

One final time, our attention is diverted to the two silhouettes playing dice. The first asks the second, “Bueno compadre, ¿llegaron a desalojarlos?”²⁴⁰

“Claro,”²⁴¹ replies the second. “¿Tú que pensaste? ¿que los dueños les iban a dejar el callejón? Dime tú, ¿cuándo los negros hemos tenido algo en este país?”²⁴²

As this last statement is made, there is a sudden burst of noise from the drums. Manongo and Matías re-enact their fight. This time however, Manongo, bare-chested and proud is the victor. In spite of his triumph, he looks down at Matías’ limp body and screams at it in disgust, “¡Hijo, de la gran puta!”²⁴³ The masked characters, who have been silently watching the altercation from the rooftops, begin to dance and the drums start playing again. As the rhythm pounds violently, the ghosts begin to stamp their staffs and rattle their chains. The sound seems to ensnare Matías lifeless body and he struggles to rise, as if pulled up by invisible strings controlled by these masked characters. They force him to dance and thrash about under their power until Matías is broken and exhausted.

The music continues playing and all the residents of the *callejón* come out again. Like Manongo, they are all wearing stylized version of what might be interpreted as the dress of colonial slaves. They have transformed themselves into

²⁴⁰ [Well my friend, did they end up being evicted?]

²⁴¹ [Sure.]

²⁴² [What did you think? That the owners were going to leave the callejón to them? Tell me, when have we black people ever had something in this country?]

²⁴³ [Son of a bitch!]

cimarrones who, in spite of having been thrown out of their *callejón*, and not having anyone one other than themselves, are free to encounter the next challenge of their lives. They are also playing drums, among them a *djembe*, and as they physically take over the space that spans the stage, Matías hangs his head in shame and disappears. The back doors to the *callejón* open once again and we see the *diablo mayor*, watching over them and silently dancing to the music they are playing. Manongo then uses his *djembe* to signal an outcall and the play comes to an end. In the darkness of the theatre, the audience cheers and applauds. When the lights come back on all the actors, including Matías, the musicians, and the masked ancestors, come out and line up along the edge of the stage. Without explanation, they gaze defiantly, pointing above and behind the audience's heads, perhaps an indication of hope, perhaps a warning (Figure 5.28).



Figure 5.28: *Callejón* comes to an end. Theatre of the French Alliance, Miraflores, Lima, 31 July, 2000. Photograph by the author.

EPILOGUE

Derrida has observed that both the simultaneous embrace and denouncement of modernist utopias and their continued reinvention and failure are the ghostly apparitions of late capitalism, the contradictions that have been a part of the system since before Marx, which continue to haunt us, as if appearing for the first time:

What costs humanity very dearly is doubtless to believe that one could have done history with a general essence of Man, on the pretext that it represents only a *Hauptgespenst*, arch-ghost, but also, what comes down to the same thing—*at bottom*—to still believe, no doubt in this capital ghost. To believe in it as do the credulous or the dogmatic. Between the two beliefs, as always, the way remains narrow (Derrida 1994, 175).

Something similar could be said of the issues discussed throughout this dissertation. Whether music and music making are conceived as activities that are primarily designed to mark a distinct sense of cultural difference, or largely as an artistic endeavor that aspires to amount to more than a mere reflection of such discretely bounded sense of culture, the space between these is far more narrow than it is generally conceived. Since the time of the revival of Afroperuvian music and dance in the middle of the twentieth century, both ways of thinking and speaking about Afroperuvian music have been an integral part of the project of recapturing and elaborating a sense of Afroperuvian identity through performance. In this sense, both the notions of cultural autonomy and artistic transcendence have been utopian pursuits, each affording musicians different sources with which to gain an authoritative voice and performative agency over their interpretation of the Afroperuvian musical past and present. At the same time, as the critiques of Afroperuvian musicians themselves imply, each of these

pursuits has its limitations. Invoking a cult of cultural authenticity that nostalgically yearns for an imagined past can lead to the stagnation of the very musical practices that musicians have tried to recapture and recover. On the other hand, calling on the redemptive power of artistic performance is an equally nostalgic exercise requiring one to decontextualize the same practices from a particular history and cultural heritage. Jameson suggests that the failure of both utopian pursuits stems from the social, political, and economic transformations that characterize late capitalism. Derrida in turn suggests that simply embracing these failures constitutes in itself a utopian pursuit paradoxically built on the absence of such utopia rather than its existence. Yet, knowing this does not appear to resolve the situation. To some of his critics, this is an indication that Derrida ultimately avoids addressing the issue of agency, his deconstructions not leaving the neutral ground of existentialism.

This dissertation has tried to show some of the ways in which Afroperuvian musicians have tried and continue to try to navigate through that narrow path, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. In their case, cultural difference and autonomy remain important notions with which musicians validate their performances as belonging to an unbroken lineage of cultural practices that stretches back into the past. In those instances where music and dance genres did not manage to survive into the twentieth century or where the performance of this repertoire only remained transmitted orally among families of musicians, musicians were able to take advantage of shifting views in the Peruvian national imagination to reinvent themselves as culture bearers and experts—those

individuals most capable of maintaining and preserving the Afroperuvian musical legacy in the present. The process of reconstruction also taught Afroperuvian musicians that engaging in various forms of historical research and writing about it could also afford them further authority as experts on Afroperuvian matters. Furthermore, in the absence of first hand knowledge of some of these forgotten Afroperuvian musical practices, association with academic research as well as the accumulation of materials regarding the nearly forgotten Afroperuvian past (books and other publications, songs fragments, anecdotes by older individuals, etc.) have provided some individuals with alternate means with which to gain prominence both within the Afroperuvian community as well as in the eyes of their audiences.

Over time, all of these strategies came together to reinforce the notion that there was such a thing as an “authentic” Afroperuvian tradition that needed to be preserved and maintained. In the social and cultural climate of the 1960s and 1970s, this notion “authenticity” quickly conflated with the emergence of folklore schools and other institutions interested in identifying, defining, and promoting the Peruvian nation not as a single group of individuals, but as a collective of individuals from many localities, ethnicities, and cultural heritage. To this day, Afroperuvian musicians continue to point towards this time period as the moment in time when Afroperuvian musical traditions were finally recognized and accepted by Limeño audiences as unique and different from other the Peruvian coastal traditions. At the same time however, contemporary musicians have also come to critique this same time period as being responsible for the

commodification of Afroperuvian music. The recording industry boom that took place during that time period is blamed for having created a number of copy-cat groups that were not interested in truly learning about the “correct” way performing Afroperuvian music. The process of standardization and formalization that some Afroperuvian genres such as the *festejo* undergo during this time period became symbolic to many musicians of the commodification of Afroperuvian musical traditions. Both this process of commodification as well as the traditionalist backlash that followed, became signs of how the invocation of such a notion of “authenticity” could easily lead to the reification and stagnation of musical practices often leaving little room for the creative input of younger generations of musicians.

At the same time however, Afroperuvian musicians have continued to insist that Afroperuvian music should be considered as different and separate from other those musical traditions generally identified as *criollo*. Professional musicians remain unwilling to abandon their commitment to the reintroduction of an Afroperuvian sense of identity through music, one of the main intents of the initial revival of movement 1950s and 1960s, largely because this is seen as an unfinished project and one that is still necessary if other members of the Afroperuvian community, those who are not musicians, are going to re-evaluate their own sense of what it means to be Afroperuvian in twenty-first century Lima. Consequently, rather than throwing out the notion of belonging to a particular history and locality as an antiquated way of thinking about the world that is no longer valid in the late capitalist global arena, Afroperuvian musicians have

looked at other aspects of the Afroperuvian revival as a means of finding alternative strategies regarding music and music making that can be invoked at those times when discourses of cultural authenticity begin to fail. To this end, Afroperuvian musicians have more recently focused on the interpretive agency behind the representation of the Afroperuvian past in the professional stage. Largely influenced by individuals who saw Afroperuvian genres as suitable for the elaboration of a new vernacular musical art, the further development of Afroperuvian music in the early 1990s has been characterized by musicians moving away from the aforementioned process of standardization and formalization. The emergence of the *landó* is perhaps the best example of this emphasis on subtlety and ambiguity. As indexical of Afroperuvian music as an interpretive art form, the *landó* defies formal definition with choreographies and accompaniment patterns affording a variety of different interpretive readings and hearings.

In spite of the new possibilities that such a conceptualization of Afroperuvian music as a vernacular art can afford, some musicians have begun to question whether the very context in which most Afroperuvian music making has come to take place since the mid twentieth century has limited the potential of Afroperuvian music as a means of re-awakening a sense of cultural pride among all members of the Afroperuvian community. To this end, musicians like the members of Grupo Teatro del Milenio have come to supplement their professional performances with experimental theater pieces that in their mind provide a space where they can explore the possibility of reconceptualizing Afroperuvian music as

the pursuit of art for art's sake. From the start, the members of Milenio acknowledge the limitation of this pursuit thus suggesting that both the notion of art for art's sake as well as that of the notion of cultural "authenticity" are not so much absolutes, but discourses that have been subordinated and appropriated as tools with which to continue to promote the development of Afroperuvian music making. In fact, Milenio's experimentation with theater has not been done at the exclusion of professional performances but rather as a compliment to them, thus acknowledging the importance that the professional stage has had and continues to have in the dissemination and promotion of Afroperuvian genres both within and without the Afroperuvian community.

As the epigraph in the first chapter of this dissertation suggests, this process of aestheticization of what once were folk musical traditions reminds me of the parallel process of aestheticization in ethnomusicology. Over the last two decades our work has become more interpretive and complex. Nevertheless, most of us continue to be committed to the project of writing as a means of giving voice to those groups whose voices have often been drowned by more pervasive ones emerging from the West. In this sense we too remain committed to the validation of locality and cultural specificity rather than simply throwing up our hands in decontextualizing postmodern celebration. These connections became clear to me as I began reading *The Specters of Marx* while doing fieldwork in Lima in 2000. At that time, I started to notice the parallels between the metaphor of the ghost or specter in Derrida's text and key role that ghosts have for the members of Milenio. The more I talked with different musicians, the more I

could hear in their words echoes of other theorists that I read at one point or another during my graduate school career. Gina Beretta's theory about masks reminded me of Baudrillard's discussions on simulacra. The critiques of commodification and institutionalization of Afroperuvian music by musicians and audiences alike were reminiscent of not only Adorno and/or Benjamin, but also of countless ethnomusicologists, musicologists, and popular music critics concerned with the relationship between music and mass culture. The assertion made by younger generations of Afroperuvian musicians that one can pursue avenues of exploration and hybridization while at the same time maintaining a strong connection to the "the roots of tradition," was consistent with García Canclini's idea that artists are capable of creating such hybrids out of their ability to plug themselves in and out of modernity. Lucho Sandoval's conception of freedom as a process of critique rather than a place almost paradoxically seems to conflate Simone de Beauvoir's existentialist assertion that: "for man [freedom] is a matter of pursuing the expansion of his existence and of retrieving this very effort as an absolute (de Beauvoir 1997, 79)" with Frederic Jameson's concept of cognitive mapping. And the list goes on.

Perhaps this should be no surprise. After all, much like the performers discussed in these pages, so do we who write about them have come to wrestle with the narrow path that lies between ethnographic data, theory, and the use of one to critique, destabilize, and reconceptualize the other. Although some of the artistic aspirations of Afroperuvian performers may have an existentialist streak with which we ethnomusicologists may not necessarily identify, ultimately, their

acknowledgement of the limitations of the notion of art for art's sake constitutes a political stance that insists in the relevance of asserting an Afroperuvian identity based on the reclamation of a particular cultural heritage. From this, I believe that ethnomusicology, and by extension anthropology, can and should learn to continue to make its own political stances in order to place constraints in the endeavor of theory for theory's sake. If in fact, those who we write about in our ethnographies are also the ghosts who haunt us, then we should as Derrida advocates: "learn to live by learning not how to make conversation with the ghost but how to talk with him, with her, how to let them speak or how to give them back speech, even if it is in oneself, in the other, in the other in oneself" (Derrida 1994, 187). I cannot say with certainty whether this dissertation has managed to do such a thing, but I hope that at least it has been written with that spirit in mind. It is perhaps for this reason that the words of Roberto Arguedas, rather than my own, should bring this narrative to a close:

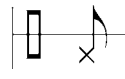
Lo que yo pienso es en esa cuestión de los cimarrones, por ejemplo. Lo siempre le digo a Lucho [Sandoval], “tenemos que ser cimarrones modernos,” o lo que yo te diría a ti también, Javier. La lucha es diaria, la lucha es continua. No recibimos nada material a cambio, recibimos otras cosas, y también recibimos cómo adquirir la libertad, o, cual es mi verdad...Y las cárceles te llevan al cielo, te llevan al infierno, pero es igual. El cielo o el infierno es la libertad también, pero ¿qué día la voy a encontrar? No lo sé (Arguedas 2000).²⁴⁴

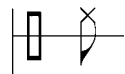
²⁴⁴ [I believe in that notion of the runaway slaves, for example. I always tell Lucho [Sandoval], “we need to be modern day runaway slaves”—I would say that to you also, Javier. The struggle is daily; the struggle is ongoing. We do not earn anything material in return, we earn other things, and we also learn how to earn freedom, or, how to find my own truth...And these cages take you to heaven, they take you to hell, but it is the same. Heaven or hell is also freedom, but when I will find it? I don’t know.]

Appendix

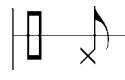
Notational conventions employed in transcribed examples.

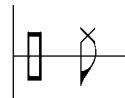
CAJITA

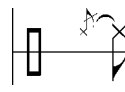
 Low tone produced by slamming down the lid of the *cajita*.

 High tone produced by striking the side of the *cajita* with its clapper.


CAJÓN


 Low tone produced by hitting near the center of the face of the *cajón*.


 High tone produced by hitting near the edge of the face of the *cajón*.


 High tone flam produced by hitting both hands in quick succession.

GUITAR

 Upward strum with the fingers.

 Downward strum with the fingers.

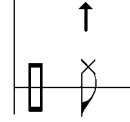
 Downward strum with the thumb.

 Downward strum while fanning the fingers.

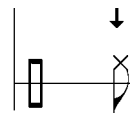


Downward finger strum with a partial stop with the heel of the hand.

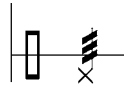
QUIJADA DE BURRO



Upward scrap along the teeth of the jawbone.



Downward scrap along the teeth of the jawbone.



Rattling sound produced by striking the jawbone with a closed fist.

Glossary

Agua 'e nieve—another competitive form of tap dancing similar to the *zapateo* that is rarely, if ever performed.

Alcatraz—a dance that appears to have been a form of courtship dance. In its present form, the *alcatraz* consists of groups of men and women taking turns at trying to light a piece of raw cotton or cloth hanging from the back of their partner's pants or skirt with a candle. *Callejón*—an alleyway lined on both sides by single-room family dwellings. Throughout the late colonial period and well into the twentieth century, this was the primary type of residence occupied by members of the working classes in Lima, particularly by those of African descent.

Cajita—literally meaning “little box.” A wooden box with a lid that is generally hung from the performers neck. The *cajita* is played by alternately slamming its lid with one hand while using a clapper to hit one of its sides with the other.

Cajón—Literally meaning “large box,” the *cajón* is the most widely used Afroperuvian percussion instrument. The instrument consists of a wooden box with four sides made of mahogany and two opposing vertical faces made of plywood. The performers sits with open legs and leans over to hit the front plywood face with bare hands as if its were a drum. The back face has a round hole that allows for the body of the instrument to act as a resonator.

Canto de jarana—also known as *marinera limeña*. Local variant of the *marinera* largely associated with members of the Afroperuvian community. Unlike some of

its other regional counterparts, these *marineras* are not through-composed by improvised in performative competition.

Centros musicales—social organizations that promote gatherings where people cultivated the performance of local musical genres. *Centros musicales* began to emerge in Lima in the 1930s as more institutionalized incarnations of the working class *jarana* that were open to *criollos* of different social classes.

Cumanana—term used to identify those *décimas* that are performed with a musical guitar accompaniment.

Décima—a ten line octosyllabic poetic genre of Spanish origin, but widely known in Latin America. In coastal Peru, the practice of the *décima* is generally associated with members of the Afroperuvian community.

Festejo—fast and lively Afroperuvian genre generally associated with the spontaneous expression of joy and celebration.

Huachafo(a)—Limeño slang used to identify anything or anyone who is perceived as being in bad taste. It was originally used by the upper classes during the early part of the twentieth century as a means of identifying and continuing to marginalize those individuals who, as one of their social climbing strategies would attempt to emulate the so-called high breeding of the upper classes. According to popular belief, the word was an adaptation of words White Chapel, which some Limeños appropriated after a couple of prostitutes from the famed London working class neighborhood pretending to be members of high society visited Lima, causing much scandal among the elite.

Huayno—Andean popular music genre first developed and popularized in the 1960s.

Ingá—a dance in which performers stand in a circle and then proceed to take turns dancing while holding a large doll, pillow or other object meant to represent a small child.

Jarana—literally meaning “celebration,” is the term for the turn of the twentieth century social gatherings among the Limeño working class. Usually, in the occasion of a birthday, anniversary or other momentous occasion, individuals would spontaneously gather in a private home to sing, dance, eat and drink into the early hours of the morning. In some cases, if a *jarana* was particularly good, the hosts were known to lock the doors from the outside to keep the celebration going, sometimes as much as a two or three days.

Lamento (sometimes also identified as a *danza canción*)—Afroperuvian genre consisting of a slow ballad with a guitar ostinato accompaniment set to a *habanera* rhythm. It is usually in a minor key.

Landó—reconstructed Afroperuvian genre generally considered by most musicians to be the progenitor of several dances, including the *zamacueca*, *tondero*, and *marinera*.

Marinera—handkerchief dance dating back to the nineteenth century. Today, the *marinera* is considered Peru’s national dance and it features several regional styles and variants.

Marinera limeña—see *canto de jarana*.

Peña—initially *peñas* were less formal versions of *centros musicales* where members of Lima’s bohemian community would gather to play music and recite poetry. By the 1970s, the term was appropriated by a number of restaurants and nightclubs that featured *criollo* and Afroperuvian music for the delight of tourists and the upper classes.

Quijada de burro—an Afroperuvian idiophone made of the jawbone of an ass. The instrument can be played by scraping a stick or bone across the teeth as if it were a *guiro* and by striking the side of the bone and making the teeth rattle in their sockets.

Son de los diablos—literally means the *son of the devils*, a recreation of a masked street dance associated with Carnival season (January 6 through Ash Wednesday) that was popular in Afroperuvian communities in Lima during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Tondero—a variant of the *marinera* associated with the rural areas in the northern coast.

Vals—*criollo* genre in simple triple meter associated with the working class of turn of the twentieth century Lima.

Yunza—a genre of music used to accompany a popular Carnival dance by the same name that is practice throughout the Peruvian coast and the highlands.

Zamacueca—nineteenth century variant, and to some precursor, of the *marinera*. Unlike the *marinera* which is considered to be genre shared by Afroperuvians, *criollos* and *mestizos*, the *zamacueca* is considered to be a genre exclusively associated with members of the Afroperuvian community.

Zaña—another variant of the *marinera*, considered by many to be the earlier, Afroperuvian progenitor of the *tondero*.

Zapateo—a competitive form of dance tap dancing associated with the Afroperuvian community that is generally accompanied by a guitar ostinato.

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Vita

Javier Francisco León Quirós was born in Lima, Perú on February 27, 1970, the son of José Francisco León Auza and Ana Victoria Quirós Raffo. In March of 1984, after the death of his father, his mother along with he and his sisters Natalia and Cristina, emigrated to the United States and settled in Davis, California. After graduating with high honors from Jesuit High School in Sacramento, California, in 1988, he began his studies in physics at The University of California at Berkeley. During his time at Berkeley, he also pursued his growing interest in music, particularly ethnomusicology, by taking supplemental course work at the Music Department with Benjamin Brinner, Jocelyne Guilbault, and Olly Wilson. He received a Bachelor of Arts in Astrophysics from the University of California at Berkeley in December 1993. While at Berkeley, he was also an active performer, playing trumpet with a number of local orchestras, opera companies, musical theaters, chamber groups, and bands. In August 1994, he entered the ethnomusicology graduate program at The School of Music of the University of Texas at Austin under the supervision of Gerard Béhague. A grant from the Tinker Foundation in 1996 facilitated fieldwork in the city of Lima, Peru, which, along with preliminary work conducted in Lima in 1995 served as the primary sources for his master's degree on *criollo* popular music (December 1997). Some of the data collected during these two trips along with field work in 1999 and 2000 both in Lima and Austin, TX were the basis for this dissertation. Javier León has published articles in *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* and

Latin American Music Review as well as dictionary entries and book reviews in *MGG*, *Revista de las Indias*, and *Latin American Music Review*. While at the University of Texas at Austin he has taught courses in world music and Afro-Caribbean, Andean, and Brazilian ensembles. He has also been an active performer with a number of local bands. Currently he is a Visiting Professor of Ethnomusicology at Tulane University in New Orleans, where he will be assuming a tenure-track position starting in the Fall of 2003.

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This dissertation was typed by the author.