

©2013

Mary Barnard

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

DEVELOPMENT DREAMS: HOW THE MIGRANT CAPTIVATED PERU'S
THEATRE AND RESHAPED A NATION

by

MARY BARNARD

A Dissertation submitted to the
Graduate School-New Brunswick
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Spanish

written under the direction of

Professor Camilla Stevens

and approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

January, 2013

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Development Dreams: How the Migrant Captivated Peru's Theatre and Reshaped a Nation

By Mary Barnard

Dissertation Director:
Camilla Stevens

This dissertation explores how the theme of rural to urban migration in Peruvian theatre and performance from the 1950s until the beginning of the twenty-first century constitutes a response to Western discourses on development and modernity. Framing my arguments with decolonial and postcolonial theory from Arturo Escobar, Aníbal Quijano, and Walter D. Mignolo in conjunction with recent works of Peruvian cultural studies and performance criticism by Diana Taylor, Victor Vich, and Paul Connerton, I posit performance and theatre as powerful tools for contesting the colonial aspects of modernity, development, and globalization. This dissertation reveals that the desire to develop is a set of symbols, attitudes, and actions that forms an imaginary of development which sometimes overpowers traditional ties to place and culture. I argue that Peru's theatre from this time period provides alternative interpretations of what it means to progress economically and socially within the metropolis and beyond amongst the country's traditionally disenfranchised indigenous ethnic groups.

This dissertation also examines how Peru's theatre deconstructed development concerns from the latter half of the twentieth century by measuring both the transformation of Lima's metropolitan theatre scene and the growth of theatre and festival in the provinces. By analyzing works by Sebastián Salazar Bondy, Julio Ramón Ribeyro,

Hernán Cortés, César Vega Herrera, Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani, Gervasio Juan Vilca, Javier Maraví Aranda, and Julio Ortega, along with two festivals from the city of Cusco, this dissertation interrogates how Peru's theatre protested racial discrimination and helped to craft regional and provincial identities as a response to the increasing encroachment of "developed," globalized ways of life in the rural Andean countryside. I sustain that many of the plays and the festivals of Inti Raymi and the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño, contrast the indigenous Andean lifestyle of the provinces to that of Lima in order to draw attention to how migration and globalization have caused the disappearance of youth, communal tradition, and capital from the provinces. In short, this dissertation demonstrates how theatre and performance portray popular sentiments toward Peru's economic development by using migration as a connecting theme.

Dedication

First, I must thank God for giving me the ability to seek such a high level of education and for allowing me to see this project through to its end.

Second, I must thank my family for their support and encouragement. I must thank my daughter Basma and my husband Bassam for being so patient with me.

Next, I must thank my dissertation committee, but especially my dissertation director Camilla Stevens. Dr. Stevens was a constant source of support and her positive attitude encouraged me to keep plugging away. I thank Dr. Marcy Schwartz for her incisive commentary and her investment in my growth as a scholar and I thank Dr. Jorge Marcone for his interest in my project and in my career. My committee didn't even let Hurricane Sandy keep it from providing timely commentary. I also thank Dr. Ulla Berg for taking the time to read this work and offer her criticisms.

I also thank the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis for selecting me as a Graduate Fellow for their 2008-2009 Vernacular Epistemologies working group and the Rutgers New Brunswick Graduate School and the Department of Spanish and Portuguese for funding my research in Peru. These opportunities profoundly impacted my dissertation and my development as a scholar.

Next, I must thank the many people who helped me do my research over the course of the past five years: Tania Castro Gonzáles and the entire Castro family of Cusco for introducing me to the cultural community of their city; the Cardoza/Cardozo and Cruz families of Lambayeque, Cajamarca, Piura, and Lima for opening their doors to me; the Alzubi and Alshabibi families for watching my daughter while I taught; Phyllis Zatlin; Jean-Jacques Decoster and Centro Tinku in Cusco; Julie Livingston; Indrani Chatterjee; Camilla Townsend; Jan Kubik; Claudia Salazar; Alfredo Bushby; Juan Villegas; Walter Mignolo; Carlos Rado Yáñez of the Instituto Nacional de la Cultura; Ninochka Carbajal; Carmita Pinedo Yuyarima and Julio César Florez of Teatro Ikaro; Hugo Contreras Rozas of Grupo Kapuli; Hugo Bonet Rodríguez; Guido Guevara Ugarte; Milagros del Carpio and the Asociación Pukllasunchis; and the staff at the Archibald S. Alexander Library at Rutgers, the Esther Raushenbush Library at Sarah Lawrence College, the New York Public Library, the Biblioteca del Centro Bartolomé de las Casas in Cusco, and the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú in Lima.

Index

Abstract	ii
Dedication	iv
Index	vi
Introduction. Defining Development's Hold on Modernity: Peru's Theatre and the Rise of the Migrant	1
Chapter 1. Between Villages and Country Clubs: Development Fears in Mid-Twentieth Century Peruvian Theatre	22
Chapter 2. In the Midst of Revolution: the Migrant in Peru's Theatre from 1968 to 1990	56
Chapter 3. The Theatre of the Fujishock: A Reappraisal of Tradition, Locality, and Migration in a Globalizing Peru	97
Chapter 4. The Once and Future Inca: Contemporary Performance in Cusco and the Polemics of Development in Peru	137
Appendix to Chapter 4	176
Conclusion and Further Considerations	195
Bibliography	201
Curriculum Vitae	221

Introduction

Defining Development's Hold on Modernity: Peru's Theatre and the Rise of the Migrant

The year 2000 marked the end of the twentieth century and the millennia, but for some places it was more eventful than for others. Peru is one example. In the year 2000, after President Alberto Fujimori's government crumbled under the weight of the "Vladivideo" political corruption scandal that reverberated throughout the nation and the world's Spanish-speaking media outlets, another investigatory process was being planned: the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Lacking the intrigue of a corrupt, loquacious Svengali, played by Vladimiro Montesinos (the "Vladi" in "Vladivideo"), Fujimori's head advisor; the sexiness of vedettes, represented by Gisela Valcarcel; and the thrill of talk show host Laura Bozzo's involvement, the TRC did not get the ratings that the Vladivideo scandal did and was largely a quiet process that lacked the same level of media fanfare.¹ The TRC engaged another type of popular performance: Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani and other theatre troupes like Cusco's Grupo Impulso received funding to produce works of art and performance to inspire public memory recollection and confession before the commission's tribunals.

Recent studies on Peru's theatre have duly focused on the role of performance in processing the political violence of the 1980s and 1990s in the country and the involvement of Peru's theatre practitioners in the TRC's investigations. While few book-

¹ Currently, the blog *Vladivideos* on the Peruvian alternative news site lamula.pe is uploading the videos and providing transcripts on the internet. The blog is chronicling this specific instance of Fujimori's corruption for worldwide open access. The site can be found at this address: <http://vladivideos.lamula.pe>.

length projects exist, works such as Francine A'ness' article, "Resisting Amnesia: Yuyachkani, Performance, and the Postwar Reconstruction of Peru" (2004), Diana Taylor's *The Archive and the Repertoire. Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (2003), and Miguel Rubio Zapata's *El cuerpo ausente. Performance política* (2006), among other crucial works, have shed light on the events to outside audiences and draw parallels between Peru's contemporary issues with re-democratization and the institutionalization of human rights policies with those of other countries of the region through the intertwined media of theatre and performance. Voices once thought lost became recovered through performance, testimony, and criticism.

Yet one element of the conflict has been mostly disregarded by arts and literature critics given the pressing need to adjudicate the injustices of this epoch. Forgotten under the weight of Peru's centuries-old ethnic and racial antagonisms, the economic element that informed the actions of both the communist insurgency groups and the governmental counter-insurgency has long been ignored in critical works about the country's art and literature. Peru, as of the writing of this dissertation, is still considered a developing country, but academic criticism of its cultural production rarely if ever attempts to fully gauge what this signifies.

This dissertation will analyze how Peru's theatre practitioners, starting in the 1950s, problematized their country's drama of development using the figure of the migrant. In Peru's theatre from the latter part of the twentieth century, the theme of migration and the character of the migrant represent the underlying economic tensions that, along with racial and ethnic politics, have influenced much of the conflict during

Peru's contemporary history. The obsession to develop and to progress provokes many to migrate from their rural homes to the metropolitan, urban areas of Peru in search of better opportunities. In many of the plays that this study analyzes, the migrant's aspirations for economic and social advancement are met with resistance both from metropolitan elites and from their compatriots in their home provinces as the pressure to develop strains the resources of the city and, in the years of neoliberal economic reform, as globalization threatens to atomize ancestral villages and dissolve community traditions. Measuring how Peru's theatre evolves over the course of this auspicious time period in its representation of the forces that push and pull migrants toward and away from the metropolis will also weave a story of how the country's capitalist development has not been easy and has cost many quite dearly. The plays in this dissertation, in addition, form a type of repertoire that has been mined in recent years in order to protest the exploitation of the Peru's material and cultural resources while it continues to assimilate into the global economy.

Development is popularly defined along the lines of the "Three Worlds" paradigm. This paradigm has wielded an inscrutable influence on how Peru and the rest of Latin America formulate their own interpretations of modernity. But what is "development" and when did it actually become important to "develop"? According to Arturo Escobar, as the buzz-word of the mid-twentieth century, "development" was considered the act of:

bring[ing] about the conditions necessary to replicating the world over the features that characterized the "advanced" societies of the time-high levels of industrialization and urbanization, technicalization of agriculture, rapid growth of

material production and living standards, and the widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values. (3-4)

This definition of development, as Escobar argues in his book *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (1995), essentially created the “Third World” through fashioning a discourse that compares and contrasts the nascent modernization of various impoverished areas of the world with that of the “West.” So prevalent and ubiquitous was talk of development that, according to what Anthony D. King illustrates in his article, “Boundaries, Networks, and Cities: Playing and Replaying Diasporas and Histories,” it became its own ideology:

For an increasing number of Western and subsequently “non-Western” commentators from the mid-1950s, the world was not one but three: the First, Second, and Third. This was a paradigm that, while increasingly contested, has lasted from 1954 till today. Whether referenced as “developed, developing, or underdeveloped,” the “three worlds” were explicitly not part of what today we would call a “global imaginary” but part of another form of ideologically inspired world informed by “development studies.” (4-5)

This new “development studies” ideology regarding world poverty centers itself using the conceit that the countries of Western Europe and the United States were models of human advancement, and thus of “modernity,” and it assumed that these countries benefitted from comparable levels of modernization. This new model for approaching the “non-Western” world set arbitrary markers to measure the progress of underdeveloped countries in their march to modernize like the West and share in its modernity.

The abstract time frame of “modernity” and its constitutive factors of the culturally “modern” and the technologically “modernized” have been examined at multiple instances in albeit, mostly Western, philosophy and cultural production throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The increased hegemonic status of the

United States in world politics and economics during the 1950s and 60s redefined modernity as economically capitalist and politically democratic and solidified the country's conceptual dominance in terms of the culturally "modern." This re-signification of the modern to fit a new and somewhat inflexible model of capitalist development is a problem that Escobar indirectly addresses in his study. For Escobar, the West has unilaterally and ingeniously fashioned the Third World as a primitive Other using the development discourse on the modern and the modernized and, in turn, perpetuates a type of colonialism in this imagined region (13). This colonialism is not one of direct political control, but rather a more indirect one of economic policy and cultural influence that places a metaphoric vise on local political power and histories (King 4-5). Both of these interpretations demonstrate that this discourse has conveniently camouflaged the post-colonial realities of many of the countries of the Third World with a positivistic-style paradigm that measures "global progress" according to the stages that the West met in its own industrialization process. The application of this paradigm disregards the colonially-founded dramas that still unfold in many of the countries of this region, which tacitly forgives the colonial powers of the past for their abuses. In short, and as introduced in brief at the beginning of this section, what transpires is a type of de-historicization.

Latin American thinkers such as Walter Mignolo, Aníbal Quijano and Santiago Castro Gómez contest this type of colonial de-historicization in their work on the "coloniality of the modern." For these critics, the roots of modernity and capitalism are unequivocally born of the European colonial projects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Mignolo 463-84). In their project, capitalism is understood as an ethic born of

European colonialism in that it justifies the control, exploitation, and differential classification of a society's members into ranks of racial and social superiority (Quijano 171-72). Additionally, by using the expansionist motifs of post-Fordist capitalism, namely the concepts of "competition" and "market expansion," the capitalism of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has re-semanticized the principal economic processes that perpetuated colonialism (Castro Gómez 429-32). These arguments illustrate is that what was once "colonialism" has evolved through a series of cultural and historical processes to become the power dynamic of "coloniality" (Quijano 170). And, according to Arturo Escobar, both colonialism and coloniality depend on extensive global networks supported by the movement of goods, ideas, and capital in order to operate. This phenomenon, at present, is termed "globalization" ("Worlds" 181-84).

The colonial ethic of capitalism has far more than economic ramifications; it also wields influence on the politics of formerly colonized regions such as Latin America. What was once a battle between sovereign political entities from the fifteenth through the twentieth centuries for the control of lands, peoples, and raw materials is now increasingly becoming the folly of corporations and other economic interests from both within and without of the Third World. These economic forces successfully exploit local labor and commodity throughout places like Latin America by intervening in the politics of the region at the local and national levels. Jean Franco's *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City* (2002) shows that interventions of this sort have incited regime change in many countries. These shifts have taken place with the complicit support of Latin American political elites whose interests are inline with US-led capitalist development in

the region. Interventions of this sort have also resulted in tens of thousands of massacred dead, tortured, and disappeared persons in Latin America as well.

Following the above arguments, the concept of “coloniality” seems to have been born of the internal colonization theses that arose out of the attempts of the Third World Marxisms of the 60s and 70s to inscribe racial and cultural injustice onto the traditional interpretation of Marx’s dialectic materialism. A few such studies, such as Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), Roberto Fernando Retamar’s *Calibán y otros ensayos* (1971), and even Gloria Anzaldúa’s *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987), have explored the ramifications of continuing to use the colonizers’ epistemologies to define their particular struggles against political and cultural colonialism. These works demonstrate that the desire of colonial and post-colonial subjects to define themselves is, at core, existential. The Modernity/Coloniality Project (M/C Project) sustains that the term “post-colonial” does little to shed light on the existential issues that formerly colonized groups face in forging independent cultural and political structures after colonialism on account of the “coloniality of power” that frames modernity. Instead, the M/C Project proposes that these peoples “de-colonize” their operating epistemes by first, promoting current indigenous modes of thought and then using them to “infect” the hegemonic Western ones that have imposed discriminatory practices in the formerly colonized Third World.

Much like Jean-Paul Sartre’s argument in his essay “Existentialism” (1957), the goal is to de-objectify these subjects by “...establish[ing] the human realm as an ensemble of values distinct from the material realm” through a re-working of the *Cogito* of René Descartes (37). In other words, what happened in European colonialism was not

just the colonization of lands and goods, but the colonization of the Cartesian “I” of other forms of rationality. This “I” subject position defines itself through its knowledge/ dominion of an unthinking, irrational “other” which, like Edward Said has argued, is represented by the oriental (or the indigenous) in Western cultural production (54-55). Through this rational domination, this power of definition, the West was able to justify its colonial projects in the rest of the world and is able to defend its supposed superiority through the “Three Worlds” development paradigm in the present day. The M/C Project scholars argue that it is necessary to “decolonize” the “other” from the grand-daddy of Western rationalism, the Cartesian “I,” in order to transform these colonial-like power relations. As put by Aníbal Quijano:

It is necessary to extricate oneself from the linkages between rationality/modernity and coloniality, first of all, and definitely from all power which is not constituted by free decisions made by free people. It is the instrumentalisation of the reasons for power, of colonial power in the first place, which produced distorted paradigms of knowledge and spoiled the liberating promises of modernity. The alternative, then, is clear: the destruction of the coloniality of world power. First of all, epistemological decolonialization, as decoloniality, is needed to clear the way for new intercultural communication, for an interchange of experiences and meanings, as the basis of another rationality which may legitimately pretend to some universality. (177)

Therefore, in my reading of their work, the M/C Project proposes that we envision a world not in which the Cartesian “I” does not exist, but in which it is rendered passive, much like the existentialist argument about God, but without approaching the solipsism of much existential thought (Sartre 50-51). By approaching the issue of decolonization as an existential problem, I believe we can prevent what Ania Loomba has called the

simplification of Third World problems in relation to colonialism that pervades many postcolonial and decolonial studies (18).²

This dissertation will analyze the issue of development qualitatively by drawing attention to how theatre practitioners in Peru have framed the struggle of their country to abide by Western development policies through the theme of migration. Development, far from only being measured through quantitative benchmarks and statistics, is also an experience. Starting after World War II, development became an existential problem as groups of formerly colonized peoples suddenly became residents of the “Third World.” In Peru, playwrights, artists, literary figures, and popular actors have reflected their own regional and ethnic concerns with this new global economic discourse from its birth in the mid-twentieth century through the beginning of the twenty-first. Works such as those that this dissertation will analyze demonstrate that Peru’s creative sector was and still is exceedingly aware of the metaphoric connections between Western developmental discourses and the colonialism of the past.

Taylor’s concept of the scenario in her work, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (2003), offers an apt explanation of how these artists process the connections between development, modernity, and the colonial nature of both phenomena through their works. Anthropologically based, the concept of

² Another study of note that follows a similar tack toward the question of the connections between European colonialism, modernity, and globalization, but from the perspective of the other “indios” is Partha Chatterjee’s “Five Hundred Years of Fears and Love” in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 33, no. 22, 1998, p. 1330-1336.

scenario expands on Victor Turner's Aristotelian and literarily inspired concept of the "social drama." As Taylor states:

Simultaneously setup and action, scenarios frame and activate social dramas. The setup lays out the range of possibilities; all the elements are there: encounter, conflict, resolution, and dénouement, for example. These elements, of course, are themselves the product of economic, political, and social structures that they, in turn, tend to reproduce. (28)

The scenario is also not distanced from such literary concepts as narrative, leitmotif, and plot but "... demands that we also pay attention to milieux and corporeal behaviors such as gestures, attitudes, and tones not reducible to language" (28). Taylor also uses the scenario's linkage to place to demonstrate how there are some themes portrayed in performances that can be understood universally like in Turner's social drama and posits the scenario "as a paradigm for understanding social structures and behaviors [in a way that] might allow us to draw from the repertoire as well as the archive" (29). In essence, Taylor's scenario draws greatly from the critical works of Anthropology and New Historicism, even though she tries to separate her project from them through supporting a type of "Hemispheric" criticism.³

In her attempts to establish performance studies as a remedy for the colonial-like quality of Western academic discourse in analyzing the cultural production of the Americas, Taylor's understanding of what the M/C Project would similarly call "coloniality," like in the case of this project, is limited because it is primarily race-based. According to Taylor, "No matter who restages the colonial encounter from the West's perspective- the novelist, the playwright, the discoverer, or the government official- it

³ Taylor established the Hemispheric Institute for Performance and Politics at New York University in 1998. Visit www.hemisphericinstitute.org for more information.

stars the same white male protagonist-subject and the same brown, found ‘object’” (13).

While race and ethnicity have played important roles in the perpetuation of colonial power structures throughout Latin America, the power dynamic as of the present is not as clear as Taylor argues. In many circumstances, those who exploit or discriminate are not of different racial or ethnic backgrounds, but rather of different regional and socioeconomic ones. Peru is one example of how race is not the only discriminating factor in determining who might “progress” and gain access to the country’s sites of power.

This is not to say that Peru, for example, is not deeply affected by a deep-seated racism that foments class struggles and strains interprovincial relations. Racism can prevent migrants from the provincial Andean or Amazonian areas of the country from advancing socially and economically in the country’s cities. The country’s colonial history has influenced this attitude concerning the advancement of certain groups in Lima and the departmental capitals. For some, what started with four hundred years of colonialism and outright oppression is now an exceedingly capricious and discriminatory game of inclusions and exclusions from what the Mexican essayist Alfonso Reyes has called “the banquet of European Civilization” or “the banquet of modernity” (Brading 51). Those who have traditionally been allowed to participate fully and equally in Peru’s own “banquet of modernity” are those who come from certain racial and ethnic backgrounds, or rather, the white Creole populations of the capital city Lima (Salazar Bondy, “Lima” 20-21). For example, Sebastián Salazar Bondy has detailed how Creole elites have excluded certain groups from this metaphoric “banquet of modernity” through

their creation of a fetishized and glorified colonial past, or a “Colonial Arcadia.”

According to Salazar Bondy, this Colonial Arcadia is constructed through what in Spanish is frequently called “costumbrismo,” a style of cultural production that pays chauvinistic homage to local custom and tradition. This costumbrismo, while extolling the glories of Lima’s past status as a viceregal capital, also “...exalta la opresión de que se nutría la opulencia dorada del antiguo señorío” (21). Lima’s past glories, as this short quote describes, were achieved by colonial plunder and exploitation and, unfortunately, those who rose to power through these practices continue to use similar tactics in order to secure their status in the present.

Similarly, José María Arguedas’ concept of the “nación cercada” addresses this issue from the perspective of the Andean peoples typically excluded from Salazar Bondy’s Colonial Arcadia. “Nación cercada” is a symbolic term that can be translated roughly as a closed-off, or fenced-in nation. Through this concept, Arguedas explains that it is not just the formidable geography of the Andes mountains that has separated *serranos*, or Andean Peruvians, from the culture of Lima and from the wider, outside world, but mainly Creole Lima’s centralized cultural and political control and disparagement of the Andean provinces. In Arguedas’ words, Creole Lima has considered the peoples of the sierra as “...un pueblo al que se consideraba degenerado, debilitado o ‘extraño’ e ‘impenetrable’” and thus, has purposefully ignored their past grandeur as part of the millenarian Inca Empire. This ignorance stems from past colonial tactics of control and domination. The Andean peoples, or *serranos*, according to Arguedas,

...en realidad, no era sino lo que llega a ser un gran pueblo, oprimido por el desprecio social, la dominación política y la explotación económica en el propio

suelo donde realizó hazañas por las que la historia lo consideró como gran pueblo: se había convertido en una nación acorralada, aislada para ser mejor y más fácilmente administrada y sobre la cual sólo los acorraladores hablaban mirándola a distancia y con repugnancia o curiosidad. (“No soy” 13)

Distance, separation, and social boundary formation, as indicated in this quote, have played an important role in upholding this discriminatory social dynamic in Peru.

How does this concept of the “nación cercada” apply to the elites in the provincial capitals of the Andes, who have also held strong ties and maintained interests with the elites of the capital through trade and heritage? In addition, what happens when these elites have the same racial or ethnic background as the masses they have perched themselves on socially? Marisol de la Cadena explains in her book, *Indígenas mestizos: Raza y cultura en el Cusco*, that while geography in Peru indeed has a racializing, discriminatory function when comparing poor, rural Andean Peruvians to their metropolitan, Creole counterparts in Lima in national discourses, a similar rural/urban divide also exists across the Andes as well. The simple fact of having originated mostly from the rural highland Andean parts of Peru affects migrants prejudicially even in the Andean cities of Peru. Rural Andean migrants bear certain markers of an indigenous cultural habitus in dress, linguistic skills in Quechua, and social traditions that indicate their serrano origins, regardless of whether they identify themselves as indigenous or mestizos in racial composition.⁴ This outward manifestation of indigenous ethnicity would also conflict with what Sebastián Salazar Bondy describes in his 1964 work *Lima la horrible* as the “criollismo” of Lima’s upper class sectors. Related to costumbrismo,

⁴ Here I borrow Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus. See Bourdieu’s work *An Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) for a more detailed discussion.

criollismo is a cultural attitude that extolls the more European and Western aspects of Peruvian culture left by the Spanish colonial project as opposed to the indigenous ones (18). Therefore, upon migrating to the city, Andean and other rural, “campesino” migrants found/continue to find themselves at the edges of Lima’s *criollo*, “metropolitan modernity” due not necessarily to race, but to ethnic habitus.

I have loosely paraphrased the term metropolitan modernity from what Raymond Williams describes in *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (1989) because it explicitly implicates elements that define development within the post World War II models. A metropolitan modernity, according to Williams, is formed by international trade and a high degree of confluence amongst specialists in the arts and technology who, on deciding to reside in the metropolis, contribute to its collective cultural and scientific capital. Through these activities, Williams signals, the metropolis becomes both a symbol and synecdoche of the cultural modernity of the Western world, and thereby a symbol of a type of progress characterized by a telluric Western understanding of scientific and societal advancement (37-48).

Williams’s arguments suggest that the metropolis depends on this migration of knowledge and expertise for it to persist as the vibrant avatar of the avant garde and of “progress” that it commonly represents. However, another phenomenon occurs when the migrants come from the less-educated stratum of their respective societies, such as Peru’s rural migrants. Internal migration of the uneducated, formerly agrarian poor produces “overurbanization.” Patricia Yaeger defines overurbanization “... as urbanization without industrialization, as the fate of cities that grow without the benefit of a supporting

economy and without the jobs and services the West associates with the metropolis” (14). This occurred in the case of the Peruvian *barriadas*, or squatters’ villages that were formed practically overnight in some instances, in part due to the lack of planning on the part of the government to accommodate the uprooted, land-bound campesinos as the country was overhauling the system of agricultural production during the dictatorship of General Velasco Alvarado (Mayer 29). In essence, it is through the multiple waves of migration from the provinces of Peru during the twentieth century that the city of Lima enters a world of not just one Western-style modernity filled with set benchmarks for development, but multiple, heterogeneous ones.

Heterogeneity is what results when drastically divergent and conflicting visions of the world inhabit the same territorial space but fail to form a harmonious national culture (Cornejo Polar 159). Unlike in a hybrid culture where the differences between ethnic groups are lessened through sustained contact over time, in a heterogeneous nation space, the differences between groups remain contentious and racial miscegenation and cultural mixing does little to bridge the gaps between cultures. Heterogeneity as a concept describes modernity as multiple and not as a singular and homogeneous phenomenon. Taking cues from the works of such authors as José María Arguedas, Antonio Cornejo Polar proposes that there is not only one modernity, but various modernities, with each being formed by the epistemological specificities of the multitudinous cultural and ethnic groups occupying the heterogeneous nation space.

Nonetheless, while the idea that multiple types of definitions and measures of modernity exist is a hallmark of postmodernist theory, it is not always useful for gauging

how a nation responds to modernization, thereby adding to the difficulty of seeking to reconcile the need to recognize cultural differences and diversifying access to the tools that people need to progress. Along these lines, Dipesh Chakrabarty questions the efficacy of thinking of multiple modernities. Drawing attention to the impossibility of dismantling the universalizing historical code that determines a global standard of the modern that, in turn, categorizes the time frame of modernity, Chakrabarty asks, if no common measurement of the modern exists, how do we label the culturally avant garde (64)? Latching on to this query, how do we identify and achieve progress in development issues if there is no global point of comparison? The lure of a Western-style metropolitan modernity remains seductive and powerful for many. Rural to urban migration, as will be discussed through the plays covered in this study, demonstrates how the modernity of the metropolis possesses an allure to a wide range of groups who, on migrating to the city, interpret, or perform, this modernity in their own specific and personal ways. The desire to develop in these plays reflects a set of symbols, attitudes, and actions in the popular imagination of migrants, thus constituting an imaginary of development that sometimes even overpowers traditional ties to place and culture.

This dissertation will center on theatre because, historically, in Peru, it has been a vehicle for a certain political consciousness of the nation's modernity. For example, the Velasco Alvarado government, while reinventing Peru's agricultural system, also created the Teatro Nacional Popular in 1971 as part of an educational propaganda machine to promote its policies. The Teatro Nacional Popular placed great emphasis on the positive revaluation of Andean indigenous culture. Moreover, David Wood suggests that the work

of the Teatro Nacional Popular and the collectives that emerged from it is comparable to that of the indigenist Peruvian narrative from earlier in the twentieth century and that many theatre collectives in Peru like Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani can trace their beginnings to the Teatro Nacional Popular and its artistic and philosophical mission (334).

Theatre in Peru, therefore, became a powerful tool for both shaping how the nation developed and engaging critically with the process through its themes and, like Diana Taylor elaborates, the scenarios it reproduces. This dissertation illustrates how Peru's theatre captures how the migrant becomes both a key protagonist and antagonist in the country's development drama by focusing on the dramatic work produced during four main time periods in Peru's recent history: the 50s and 60s, the 70s and 80s, the 90s, and the 2000s.

The first chapter of my dissertation studies three plays from the 1950s and 60s that address how migrants have contributed to the construction of a metropolitan modernity within Lima and its outskirts. The works, *No hay isla feliz* (1954) by Sebastián Salazar Bondy, *Fin de semana* (1961) by Julio Ramón Ribeyro, and *La Ciudad de Los Reyes* (1963, 1967) by Hernando Cortés, depict a destructive side to development that results from exploitation and abuse, and therefore, contest the triumphant narratives that have traditionally accompanied the concept of progress that drives a great many to migrate to the metropolis. These plays exhibit how post-World War II Western development policies, including the creation of a global standard of middle class living, influenced Peruvian culture. I sustain that the plays show how the urban middle class

lifestyle that these policies promote has inspired migrants to move to Lima. The plays dialogue with these development policies, providing warning to those who see the metropolis as a place of boundless opportunity.

The second chapter of my dissertation examines theatrical representations of migration from the crucial time period around the 1969 Agrarian Reform and illustrates how these works provided a counterpoint to the prevailing concepts of the power of the “popular” in Latin American theatrical criticism. During this time period, migrant voices became more prominent in Peru’s theatre scene as General Velasco Alvarado’s dictatorial government viewed theatre as a powerful political tool to advance both its development policies and its efforts at fostering multiculturalism. This chapter treats the Agrarian Reform and Velasco Alvarado’s cultural programs as efforts to construct a heterogeneous Peruvian modernity and separate it from its former colonial framework but it also addresses how many of these programs did not serve the vast majority of Peruvians on account of their politicization and ineffective execution. For example, *El ascensor* (1973) by the Arequipa born playwright César Vega Herrera draws on the absurd to demonstrate the trials of many migrant groups to Lima during this time period who found no governmental assistance in starting anew once their agrarian economies had been disrupted by the reform. The other work to be discussed, *Los músicos ambulantes* (1982) by Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani, however, optimistically posits Lima as a type of melting pot for Peru’s different ethnic groups. Yuyachkani’s connections to the cultural initiatives of Velasco Alvarado’s government will be examined so as to connect the work with the time of its inception. I will also examine *Adiós, Ayacucho* (1990) by Yuyachkani in order

to discuss how the contestatory discourses on development and modernity that abounded during the 1968 to 1990 time period sparked violence in Peru.

In the third chapter of my dissertation, I analyze how Peruvian dramatists and theatre collectives have questioned the role that migration has in changing village traditions and myths. These plays were produced in the midst of President Alberto Fujimori's dictatorial implementation of neoliberal economic policy throughout the country, or the "Fujishock." This chapter holds that this epoch's theatre overwhelmingly depicts how what Appadurai calls "localism" in *Modernity at Large* (1996) can be a tool for marking a foothold in a globalized economy and perhaps a tactic in protecting minorities from violence. This chapter analyzes *Pishtaco* (1993) by Julio Ortega, *Hatun Yachaywasi* (1993) by Gervasio Juan Vilca, and *Con Nervios de Toro* (1996) by Javier Maraví Aranda to problematize how migrants and provincial village dwellers can use their "Andeanness" as a particular type of localism and how Peru's theatre responded to this new globalized economic climate by employing this tactic.

The fourth chapter of my dissertation analyzes both the Inti Raymi festival and a theatre festival that I documented during my field work in Peru in the summer of 2008. In this chapter, I focus on provincial theatre and how it has been responding in the past few years to the encroachment of a globalized, metropolitan modernity. First, while the Inti Raymi festival does not represent the rural to urban migrant, the provincial politics at play in the commemorative event and the "inventedness" of the festival demonstrate a desire to assert an exclusively Andean identity and to recuperate the past metropolitan Inca glory of Cusco by upholding the city as a type of anti-Lima. The festival started off

humbly in 1948, but it has grown to become a multi-million dollar extravaganza that attracts tourists from around the world (perhaps another type of migrant) and is slowly pushing the local citizens of Cusco out of the spectator areas so it can sell premium tickets to visitors from abroad. The III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño, on the other hand, responds to the increasing encroachment of globalized, Western “metropolitan” artistic production standards and the commercialization of art in Cusco, even though many of the participants also performed in the Inti Raymi festival as well. The plays of the festival, *Collacocha* (1955) by Enrique Solari Swayne, *Conjuros al viento* (1996) by Teatro Ikaro, and *Los chanchos de Pancho Pizarro* (2006) by Hugo Bonet Rodríguez use the theme of rural to urban migration to respond both to the incursion of Western development policies and how external actors have abused the environment and peoples of the Andes.

This dissertation analyzes the theme of development and migration in Peru’s theatre in order to open a discussion in Latin American Performance Studies on the intersections between the economic and the performative, not to mention the creative and the quantitative. As Guy Debord has stated in *The Society of the Spectacle*, the spectacle, broadly defined, “...is not something added to the real world...” it is, indeed “the very heart of society’s real unreality” (13). In terms of this dissertation, it is no coincidence that Peru’s theatre evolved along with the incursion of Western development discourses in the region and the subsequent migration of rural villagers to the cities in search of better lives. The spectacle, or theatre, for this matter, is “...at once a faithful mirror held up to the production of things and a distorting objectification of the producers” (Debord

16). In short, this dissertation aims to draw attention to voices on the Peruvian stage and in its festival who have grappled with the nation's struggle to modernize and to develop.

Chapter 1

Between Villages and Country Clubs: Development Fears in Mid-Twentieth

Century Peruvian Theatre

Introduction

Cities have long been held as arbiters of modernity, suggesting that they occupy space not only in streets and buildings, but in local and global imaginations as well. They commonly represent development and inspire dreams of economic and social progress that provoke many to migrate to their boundaries. Nonetheless, in contrast with this optimistic and utopian picture, many migrants to places such as Lima, Peru face resistance and prejudice from already established groups within the city toward their attempts to participate in and shape its modernity. This chapter will explore how Peruvian literature and performance of the 1950s and 1960s portrays and informs these tensions by focusing on the plays *No hay isla feliz* (1954) by Sebastián Salazar Bondy, *Fin de semana* (1961) by Julio Ramón Ribeyro, and *La Ciudad de los Reyes* (1964) by Hernán Cortés. These three works debate the rights to citizenship, inclusion, and social advancement that provincial migrants claim upon migrating and/or establishing their own cities. These works exposed mid-twentieth century theatre aficionados in Lima to new and contestatory representations of the metropolitan and the “developed” as well. This chapter will illustrate that, as Lima changed vertiginously in terms of demographics and physical geography during this decade, the city’s dramatists questioned these changes and opened Peru’s theatre scene to divergent voices and perspectives that were previously considered “marginal.”

Peru was still a very politically and economically centralized nation in the 1950s. Lima was the epicenter of the country's economic trade and governmental politics and its theatrical activity. The city, however, like many Latin American metropolises during this time period was undergoing a rapid change in demographics and structure because of the massive waves of migration of rural poor. For instance, social scientists estimate that the population of Lima grew from 600,000 in 1940 to 2,900,000 in 1970 due to migration from Peru's coastal and interior provinces alone (Romero 328). José Matos Mar signals in his 1955 study on the formation of *barriadas*, or squatters' villages, in Lima, that the lack of programs to stimulate small agricultural and other forms of micro-economic development in the provinces that was the product of years of centralist governmental policies in Peru caused great swells of migration to the city (21-24). Many of Peru's rural poor either turned to Lima or the regional capitals as places to "progress," or to flourish socially and economically, as the age-old hacienda system gradually started to unravel through indigenous uprisings and a lack of economic stimulus from governmental sources.

The changes in Lima's physical structure and demographics that occurred during the twentieth century manifested themselves in the city's theatre production. According to Estuardo Núñez, theatre in Peru before the 1950s was "(...) con pocas excepciones, únicamente un teatro ligero, intrascendente, superficial, incurso dentro de la sub-literatura con sentido doméstico y ni siquiera regional" (Núñez qtd, in Cornejo Polar, Jorge 61). This criticism is only partially correct. Aída Balta Campbell implies in her *Historia general del teatro en el Perú* that Peruvian theatre did indeed demonstrate a concern for

social and political issues in its subject matter, but through a type of *costumbrismo* that found little recourse in some of the newer, more politically-charged, theatrical techniques coming from Europe (168-74). The prevalence of a Lima-based “criollo” costumbrismo in the theatre of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century is attributable to the fact that theatre patronage and participation during this time period was still an “elite” activity with the vast majority of theatre patrons and practitioners originating from Lima’s upper classes. In consequence, Peruvian theatre before the 1950s was consumed with themes and an aesthetic that were relevant and attractive to the upper classes of Lima who frequently considered European classical theatre as the bulwark of theatrical excellence.

Comparatively, the past indigenist theatre of provincial cities like Cusco was also preoccupied with the official narratives of the city’s social scene and its venerable history. However, this theatre did not use indigenous themes and the Quechua language to promote indigenous rights and raise awareness about the plight of the millions of indigenous peoples disenfranchised throughout the Peruvian Andes, but rather used these traditions and other indigenous Andean ethnic markers for elite political and economic concerns. Elite, upper class groups in the city tapped into Cusco’s vast cultural wealth and history through its monuments and performance traditions in order to present the city as a viable epicenter for national investment projects that would help improve commerce across the region. For example, colonial-era tragedies such as *Qoylluriti*, largely forgotten festivals such as Inti Raymi, and the archeological sites of Sacsayhuaman and Machu

Picchu began a new trajectory of cultural re-semanticization to fit the political and economic purposes of Cusco's elite (De La Cadena 155, Itier 30-49).

Starting in the mid-twentieth century Peruvian theatre as a whole took a critical turn toward more direct social commentary and criticism. Dramatists such as Sebastián Salazar Bondy, Julio Ramón Ribeyro, and Enrique Solari Swayne, for example, scathed the inherent racism that Peru's government and Lima's upper classes directed to provincial and Andean Peruvians in their works. Lima's theatre scene, in this manner, shifted along with post World War II global theatre trends in direction of existential and political commentary. The themes of modernization, social injustice, and women's issues began to occupy center stage as indigenous Peruvians and other disenfranchised groups began to diffusely organize under the banners of such global political and social movements as communism and socialism with the intent of ending centuries of abuse.

The migration of rural poor to metropolitan Lima forced cultural actors in the city to respond to these centuries of colonial-like abuse, or as was detailed in the introduction to this thesis, the colonality of power in Peruvian society. As the hands that have controlled artistic and literary production in Peru have changed from being primarily elite to increasingly popular ones, responses from sectors involved in cultural production have been diverse and, at times, confrontational, over the course of half a century. Through the theme of how rural to urban migration has confounded elite views of the metropolitan and their development schemes, this chapter will contribute to the discussion on modernity and Latin American literary traditions that Ángel Rama started in his 1984 seminal work, *La ciudad letrada*. The changes that have occurred in Peru's "lettered city"

of intellectual and artistic elitism not only mirror the changes that have occurred geographically and demographically in Lima and insinuate a collapse of the old colonial intellectual guard, but also signal the formation of a new social apparatus for cultural production that has increasingly demonstrated the nation's heterogeneity. Starting with how members of Lima's already existing cultural establishment viewed this heterogeneity, this chapter will discuss how dramatists portrayed Peru's fragile relationship with the codes and mores of Western development through the character of the migrant.

Sebastián Salazar Bondy and the Middle Class' Fears of Failure

Perhaps best known for his 1964 essay, *Lima la horrible*, Sebastián Salazar Bondy was born into Peru's middle class. Salazar Bondy was also the descendant of migrants to Lima, both from the provinces and from abroad. His father was from a land-owning family in Chiclayo and his mother's family was descended from Czech Jewish immigrants to Peru (Salazar Bondy, "Intervención" 59). Salazar Bondy's multiculturalism marked his own perspective of Lima. Known for his biting wit, Salazar Bondy was a playwright and influential theatre director who played an integral part in the development of a new Peruvian theatre. Juan Caballero illustrates in his 1975 study, *El teatro de Sebastián Salazar Bondy* that the dramatist formed many new theatre groups, actors' workshops, and contracted foreign talent to perform in Lima. For example, one such notable effort that Salazar Bondy undertook in order to promote theatrical activity in Peru occurred when he encouraged many of the actors of the exiled Catalan actress and

director Margarita Xirgu's troupe to stay in Peru and help instruct new generations of Peruvian theatre practitioners (14-15). This effort, as would be acknowledged by critics in years to come, revolutionized the study of acting and directing in Peru by infusing what was perceived as a stagnant national theatre scene with new theatrical practices and critical perspectives (Balta Campbell 186-87, 195-96). Another example of his influence on Peru's theatre scene can be seen in the works of his students. One student of his workshops, Sara Joffré, would become Peru's foremost woman playwright of the twentieth century and the founder of the Los Grillos theatre group and the Muestra Nacional de Teatro Peruano (MOTIN), a yearly festival showcasing Peruvian theatre.

While Sebastián Salazar Bondy performed a crucial role in renovating Peruvian theatre technically and aesthetically, he also had helped shift its subject matter toward a more pointed social critique. Many of Salazar Bondy's plays critique the Peruvian upper classes and the country's insecure, but emergent middle class, a class to which he and his family belonged. His multiple dramatic works capture this world in performance. For example, his works, *En el cielo no hay petróleo* (1954) and *El fabricante de deudas* (1963), satirize the importance of maintaining appearances amongst Peru's middle class and small land-owning sectors. In these two works, the characters aspire to be of high society and wealthy economic standing, but do no work of their own to achieve their dreams of higher social status. Content with living off of their families' past grandeur in dilapidated colonial-era mansions, they rather hope to strike it rich by easy means, such as by finding oil on their property as in *En el cielo no hay petróleo*, or by marrying a European noble in the case of *El fabricante de deudas*. In these two cases, ironically, the

Peruvian middle class and small land-owning sectors are not associated with the levels of productivity needed to maintain their fragile position in Peruvian society, but rather with the preservation of an image of wealth and prosperity amongst their cohort.

In these plays, the middle class is consumed with protecting a cultural fiction that supports their claims to preferential citizenship in Peruvian society. As Salazar Bondy criticizes in some of his famous essayistic work, this “mythology of the middle class” is informed by:

(...) ideas recibidas, heredadas y aceptadas irracionalmente y con aspiraciones incumplidas, con esperanzas siempre frustradas y con terrores al hundimiento en la masa anónima. Creo haber expresado esa tensión, esa polarización que vive la clase media en el mundo entero y especialmente en un país subdesarrollado. (Salazar Bondy “Hacia” 10)

Taking into account the middle class’ received notions of progress is critical to understanding how this group anxiously treads the tenuous path of cultural and economic development in Peru. These notions of progress, as I will show in my analysis of the play, also shape those of rural migrants as they move to Lima and/or form their own cities. As we will see, these migrants’ dreams of progress were realistically tempered and quite sanguine. Most only hoped to be a part of the burgeoning Peruvian middle class, a group that at the middle of the twentieth century was largely concentrated in the capital. *No hay isla feliz* (1954) by Sebastián Salazar Bondy, for example, details the frustrations of rural migrants as they attempt to advance economically in Lima and its surrounding provinces. Parting from the typical theatrical costumbrismo of the earlier part of the twentieth century, this play disturbed Lima’s cultural scene and its predominantly bourgeois patrons with its treatment of the theme of economic development amongst migrant groups. While

the play does not address migration to Lima directly, the city functions as an abstract and distant character with which the migrant protagonist Daniel compares the small desert town he establishes.

In *No hay isla feliz*, the city of Lima and the modernized lifestyle that it represents becomes a silent, inanimate, and unattainable object of desire that drives the main character to madness once he realizes that he will never be able to replicate it. Cities have long been fashioned off of utopian plans, and those who migrate and form their own cities renew these plans by carrying their own impressions of what the city should be and what it should provide its citizens with them to their new abodes. Still, like Krishnan Kumar argues, a utopia is, by definition, an impossible place because the abstract plan for such a new and perfect place can never accommodate any actual physical space (3-13). In *No hay isla feliz*, the inability of Daniel to shape his space as he likes confounds his utopian dreams for progress. Daniel clings to a belief like that which Arthur Schopenhauer contends in his study, *The World as Will and Representation*: that utopian dreams are an example of the crucial role that human will plays in shaping the physical world. Will, according to Schopenhauer, is exclusively governed by human logic and ability (129). Through its treatment of Daniel's efforts to develop his small desert town, *No hay isla feliz* illustrates and contests a similar conceit: that we can completely control and master our environments through pure effort and determination.

In *No hay isla feliz*, the will of the migrant subject to shape his own personal utopia drives him to his tragic downfall. The protagonist Daniel is the founder of a town along Peru's desert coast. He and his young wife Lucía moved away from the city of

Lima where they worked menial, low paying jobs in order to establish a *tambo* or a rest-stop snack restaurant in the desolate desert lands that surround the outer reaches of the city. Lima, for many of the town's inhabitants, is viewed as a place of past failures.

Daniel justifies his double migration in the play by stating, "En Lima no hubiera llegado a ganar ni siquiera lo necesario para vivir decentemente. En cambio aquí no nos podemos quejar" (23). Daniel and Lucía left Lima to escape the frustration they felt as they failed to make successful new lives in the city as Andean migrants, and others, including their friends Ramón and Natalia, soon followed Daniel and Lucía looking for a new start.

The play builds on the juxtaposed fortunes of these two migrant couples to provide a wider commentary on how ethnicity complicates the migrant's dreams of development and progress in Peru. For example, Daniel and Lucía's good fortune in establishing new lives in their new town is contrasted with Ramón and Natalia's bad luck throughout the play. Ramón came from even humbler origins than Daniel and, on migrating to the capital city from his unnamed native Andean province, struggled as a shoeshiner in the streets of Lima. He follows Daniel to his desert outpost in search of better life opportunities for economic advancement. While Ramón fatalistically accepts his fate as a *cholo*, an indigenous Andean, Daniel strives to surpass the social stigma of his ethnic origins and achieve economic success by capitalizing on the Peruvian government's announced plans to construct a section of the new Panamericana highway alongside his store and restaurant.

Similarly, Michael Jiménez has observed that the middle class subject in Western discourses on development is almost always “paradigmatically male” (217). Similarly, in *No hay isla feliz*, procreation and fatherhood are synonymous with progress and figure prominently in how both Ramón and Daniel perceive their successes and failures in starting anew in their desert town. As established in the first act of the play, Ramón and his wife Natalia were expecting a child until an accident tragically terminated her pregnancy. Daniel’s wife, Lucía, by contrast, is also expecting a child, and, as the spectator learns in the second act, gives birth to two children over the course of ten years. Natalia’s tragic experience is presented as a background event in the play that triggers Ramón’s descent into depression and madness. Unlike Daniel, whose blind and chauvinistic optimism in his quest for personal progress leads him to consider himself as some sort of town patriarch, Ramón easily succumbs to fatalistic thinking and becomes an alcoholic vagrant after driving his wife Natalia away with his litany of complaints. For Daniel, hard work and optimism can help a man achieve his dreams and shape his world, but for Ramón, these dreams and man himself are as fleeting as the dust:

RAMÓN: (*En seco tenso e inmóvil*) ¿Pero no te has dado cuenta de qué porquería estamos hechos? Tú, yo, Natalia, tus hijos... Es algo como el barro. ¡El tiempo nos convertirá en terrones y los terrones se harán polvo! ¡Polvo sin alma, polvo estéril, polvo entre polvo! (Ríe nuevamente) ¡Pobre Daniel! ¡Pobre barro orgulloso! (*Sale*) (52)

This statement is not purely a reflection on human existence as a whole. Ramón likens Daniel, himself, and his family to such elemental, insignificant materials because of their race. Race and ethnicity, like the work suggests, complicates the migrant’s desire to progress economically in Peru’s metropolitan modernity.

For instance, in the play, while Daniel is regarded as the town leader, forefather, and moral compass of their community, all of the town's inhabitants are considered cholos, a derogatory term for Andean Peruvians used by the various officials and precocious well-off youngsters from Lima who visit the tambo. Expressing disgust for Daniel's establishment's humble appearance, these visitors evoke either their illustrious family statuses or their experience with Western, or "gringo," models of economic development to insult not just Daniel and his wife, but Andean migrants in general. In the second scene of the first act, two government officials charged with the planning process of the highway's construction comment on how cholos like Daniel "No tienen nada en la cabeza y son cochinos como chanchos" and that "Tienen razón los gringos... A esta gente hay que meterle bala" (42-43). While the spectator can clearly perceive the progress that Daniel's humble tambo has made through the installation of a gas pump and can hear the sound of construction workers and see props such as gasoline cans and tools on the scene, the government officials disdain this progress by reducing Daniel's efforts to sheer luck. In their estimation, "[...] la carretera nueva la gasolina va a ser pan caliente," but lament that Daniel and his family will not be able to appreciate it due to their lower class status and ethnic and cultural origins:

FUNCIONARIO I: No los conoces. Este, ahí donde lo ves, tiene más plata de lo que parece. No quieras saber ni cómo duerme ahí dentro su familia. Unos sobre otros como animales. No se bañan, y tienen el mar a unos kilómetros; no se visten, porque no necesitan aparecer bien en ninguna parte; no tienen compromisos, pues el pueblo es una birria... Como animales... (42)

Despite the racism and prejudice of a few, all the characters in the play recognize the future benefit that Daniel will receive once the government completes the section of the

Panamericana highway that will run directly in front of his tambo. Daniel, especially, ardently awaits its termination in order to not only provide a better life for his family, but to seek a type of poetic revenge from these types of prejudices as well (45).

In *No hay isla feliz*, just as in Enrique Solari Swayne's play of the same time period, *Collacocha* (1955), highway construction is portrayed paradoxically: it is both a heroic measure and a mad endeavor, both necessary for national development projects and destructive for the environment. The highway in these very Aristotelian and naturalistic works symbolizes a path toward progress for those like Daniel who established himself along the Panamericana's projected future route. As Daniel states tempestuously interrupting his wife at the end of the first act, "Hace diez años que venimos pensando en la bendita pista. Por fin veremos si es cierto aquello de la prosperidad" (45). Therefore, once our protagonist learns that the government altered its plans and decided not to build the highway close to his tambo in the third act, he goes mad over the prospect of losing all control over the development of his coveted town and his dreams for future prosperity.

Paved highways in Peru have been markers of progress and future development and, to this day, remain a pressing issue because many parts of the country lack safe roadways to support the passage of people and freight to regional and international capitals. In the prologue of the 1954 first edition of *No hay isla feliz*, Jorge Basadre comments on the play's reference to Peru's mid-twentieth century highway construction project:

Hay un personaje principal en esta obra que en ningún momento sale en escena, un personaje que es también un primer actor en la vida del Perú a lo largo del

siglo XX: la carretera. Su ausencia, su llegada, el efecto que ella tiene, la modificación de su trazo para ir por otros derroteros gravita sobre el destino del pueblecito de la costa que es el lugar de la acción dramática, “insignificante soplo humano en medio de una estéril soledad”; y gravita, lo cual es más importante para el autor, sobre el destino de las gentes humildes que aquí desfilan. (Basadre in Salazar 7-8)

In this quote, the construction of the highway, a symbol of the linearity of Western ideals of progress, is the force that determines the characters’ fortunes, but the fact that the migrant character Daniel chose to move away from the city of Lima to advance socially and economically is not questioned. Instead, the critics of the time, consisting of theatre reviewers for such Lima daily newspapers as *El Comercio*, *La Prensa*, and *La Crónica*, critiqued the play for having chosen “un pulpero complicado para derrotar la fe” and named the piece “una pieza derrotista” (Caballero 84). The faith that these critics so vehemently defend in their criticisms is the time period’s hegemonic perspective regarding development. Unfortunately, however, they also conveniently elide the politics behind race and ethnicity in Peru that make preserving faith in the promise of Western-style development difficult for those not born into certain groups or classes. Similarly, María Teresa Pérez illustrates that these same newspapers also largely preached in alarmist tones about the “invasions” that Peru’s rural poor were performing on Lima, previously lauded as a “ciudad jardín” (22-23).

The failures of migrants like Daniel revealed Peru’s “inconsistencias y debilidades” to these critics (Matos Mar, “Nuevo rostro” 14). According to Matos Mar, the chief weakness of Peru’s social structure was “la nula o escasa existencia de fuentes ocupacionales modernas en el mundo rural, en tanto que las existentes se hallaban concentradas en Lima, la capital, y en contadas ciudades” (“Nuevo rostro” 14). The

shortcomings that Daniel experiences in *No hay isla feliz* in trying to etch out his own middle class position in his coastal desert town demonstrate Peru's quest to successfully and equitably assimilate to a larger historical process of global advancement.

The Peruvian middle class, like most Latin American middle classes, developed at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as export capitalism took hold in urbanized port cities and the continent's capitals (Jiménez 217). Mostly an urban phenomenon these middle classes were tenuously sustained by budding new urban economies of the time and in what Michael F. Jiménez calls in his essay, "The Elision of the Middle Classes and Beyond: History, Politics, and Development Studies in Latin America's 'Short Twentieth Century,'" a "middle-class imaginary" which was fed by Western European and North American cultural values and later by the United States' cold war politics in the region (217). While growing silently in the face of class struggles between landed elites and impoverished servants and farmers, these middle classes were the most influenced by the developmentalist doctrine of the post World War II, Cold War era.

This middle class imaginary served to uphold this historical framework as it placed middle class living as "the principal ideal object of historical change, a goal to be reached through historically orderly processes of modernization" and was summarily promoted and defended through national media like in the case of the newspaper theatre reviews cited above (Jiménez 217). The character in Salazar Bondy's play, Daniel, migrated to Lima in order to acquire a middle class lifestyle that was absent in his rural Andean surroundings. The play outlines that his failure to succeed in Lima prompted him

to start anew and build his own town where he can acquire the honor and the status that he could not acquire in neither his Andean village nor in the capital. Therefore, like others who aspire to hold on to the middle class lifestyle that they have constructed in Peru, Daniel was in “a constant struggle to locate [himself] as [...] of a certain social status, [...] of the gente decente” (Jiménez 217). In the next section on *Fin de semana* (1961) by Julio Ramón Ribeyro, this “constant struggle” reaches inhuman levels of callous indifference that are supported by the engrained cultural prejudices of Lima’s high society. Like in *No hay isla feliz*, the marginal migrant character in *Fin de semana* holds the key to unravelling the optimism that capitalist development promises for the spectator.

Julio Ramón Ribeyro’s View of Lima and Development from the Margins

As playwright Hernando Cortés comments, “a diferencia de su obra narrativa, Ribeyro creía que el teatro debía ser el campo de batalla de verdaderos luchadores que combaten por la sociedad” this section will argue that both Ribeyro’s narrative and his theatre discuss social injustice in Peru by presenting Lima as a type of microcosm of the nation’s tensions (114). In his plays and short stories, Ribeyro illustrates the contrast between characters of the racialized lower classes and migrants and the elite figures of the “gente decente,” or the “gente bien,” and displays how middle and upper class standing in Lima is maintained through a type of performative distancing. The upper and middle class characters in Ribeyro’s works protect their economic privilege in a rapidly changing society through discriminatory actions and passive-aggressive avoidance.

Nevertheless, regardless of the taboo quality that social mixing has in Ribeyro's Lima, his narrative and drama depict multiple desirous encounters between members of drastically different social and racial castes. These encounters, therefore, demonstrate a lure toward the marginal that is mirrored in Ribeyro's own particular marginal position in Peruvian society.

While the marginal can be easily understood to imply a geographic distance and even an out-of-touch irrelevance in regards to a supposedly concrete cultural center, Rob Shields argues that:

“Marginality” is a central theme in Western culture and thought [...] Margins, then, while a position of exclusion, can also be a position of power and critique. They expose the relativity of the entrenched, universalising values of the centre, and expose the relativism of cultural identities which imply their shadow figures of every characteristic they have denied, rendered ‘anomalous’ or excluded. (277)

Ribeyro's works draw out such shadow figures and illustrate how subjects of the center react to them. As James Higgins has stated, “Ribeyro suele usar la figura del marginado como un medio de dar un enfoque crítico sobre la sociedad de la cual éste se halla excluido...” (41). Yet, more than critiquing metropolitan Lima's elite social classes, Ribeyro's work with marginal characters reveals a system of arbitrary exclusions and inclusions in Lima.

This system of exclusions informs how much and when certain groups can benefit from Lima's metropolitan modernity in trying to achieve middle-class prosperity. Social taboos also support how this system operates. Transgression into taboo activity does not automatically exclude a person from his or her society's cultural sites of power because society depends on potential transgressions to define the ever-changing limits of how

much taboo can be accepted. For instance, Daniella Gandolfo claims in her exploration into the more modern history of Lima's geographical and social stratifications that:

[...] Lima's history teaches us that, even in its allegedly glorious past, the exclusion of the socially heterogeneous was never total, despite great efforts and appearances. The transgression of limits is not something society seeks to avoid by imposing and enforcing taboos; being dialectically inextricable from taboo, transgression, or at least the threat of it, ensures that we remain engaged with what lies beyond the prohibition, exceeding it, but not destroying it. Bataille writes, "Transgression does not deny the taboo but transcends it and completes it." (xiv)

The marginal subject, therefore, holds a taboo-type allure that attracts those who consider themselves the "gente bien" at the center of Peruvian societal power.

The lure the taboo, marginal migrant subject holds for the "gente bien" is exhibited in *Fin de semana* (1961) by Julio Ramón Ribeyro. In this three act play, Hugo, the male protagonist, is an upwardly mobile young architect who struggles to provide the standard of living that his wife Dora demands. *Fin de semana* follows an Aristotelian format that highlights a certain social realism, much like in Ribeyro's narrative, that depicts the common conflicts between social classes and ethnic groups that arose in urban Peru at the mid-twentieth century. In the play, for instance, Hugo's wife's uncle is the proprietor of the country club that the two frequent during their vacations. However, this closeness to social and economic prestige only puts increased pressure on Hugo to provide for their future amongst Lima's well-to-do. This desire to prosper economically and socially becomes complicated by Hugo's taboo paternal attachment towards his young Andean house servant, Pancho. Hugo's willingness to help Pancho learn to read and do basic arithmetic receives much criticism and ridicule, for those in his privileged environment find indigenous Andean migrants as subhuman and unworthy of their time.

For example, Gustavo, Dora and Hugo's friend, jokes in the first act about Hugo's belief in Pancho's abilities:

Entonces será nuestro colega... entonces te llamarán el "regenerador de los indios" y te pondrán en un pedestal, así (levanta un pie y adopta una pose ridícula) con un letrero abajo que diga "El Gran Hugo, Héroe de nuestro tiempo"... (115)

Hugo has to constantly prove to such people that Pancho is just as capable of learning as any child, regardless of his impoverished indigenous Andean origins.

The play seemingly reaches its climax near the end of the first act as Pancho trips on some loose electrical wires on the country club's property and is electrocuted. Given that it occurs in the first act of the play, the spectator/reader is lead to believe that Pancho's death serves a catalyst for a more sinister development. Indeed, Pancho's death is only the beginning of a series of events that depict Lima's country-club frequenting upper class in a very dark manner. As the play advances, Dora's uncle quickly works to cover up evidence of the accident and present an alternative version of the event so as not to be held liable for the tragedy. Hugo is indignant and outraged at his family's callous disregard for Pancho's life, but in the end, he too becomes an accomplice to this malpractice because he sacrifices his ideals to appease his wife's wants and needs.

While a few critics have focused on how Dora uses her sexuality to manipulate Hugo and cause him to stray from his noble ideals, it can be argued that Dora's sexuality only provides the final convincing impetus for Hugo in what is really a more complicated struggle to conform to the ideals of Lima's upper class. More traditional readings of the play posit, for example, that "la influencia femenina" in other words, the character Dora, "...sirve de apoyo para que Hugo abandone sus últimos escrúpulos de

conciencia...” (Hopkins 141). Ribeyro’s own staging suggestions stating that “es indispensable que Dora sea guapa y salga en el primer acto en shorts, luciendo lindas piernas...” because such a “simple detalle explicaría algo que no figura en el texto y es la potestad sexual que ejerce Dora sobre su marido” produce this interpretation (109). However, focusing on Dora’s sensuality as the cause of Hugo’s fall from grace provides a limited reading of the nature of the economic and social issues at hand.

Trying to fit into and maintain one’s status in society is the principle need that drives the drama in *Fin de semana*. Belonging to high society is an indicator of future economic prosperity. In the play, interpersonal connections facilitate the attainment of high social status and the acquisition of sources of income. Dora’s sexuality, while playing a role in guiding Hugo to abandon his principles, is not as key to the play as some critics have interpreted. Instead, the attraction of the “club” and the society it represents is far stronger. Dora is a symbol of what Hugo can attain through associating himself with Lima’s high society, or the “club.”

The club, as Hugo’s wife’s uncle “El Presidente” points out, is a place to be used to one’s best advantage. It is a place of strategic importance amongst Lima’s higher classes:

PRESIDENTE.- ¡Tú no tienes idea de lo que es un club, Hugo! Es un negocio, o mejor dicho, un lugar de negocios. Con el pretexto de beber un drink o de jugar una partida de tenis se planean una infinidad de proyectos, generalmente lucrativos. (120)

The indigenous serranos inhabiting Lima are seen as solely fit for hard labor, and are worked accordingly, while the upper-crust regards leisure as an essential right and a useful tool for establishing beneficial social connections (Ribeyro “Fin de semana” 127).

Hugo's powerful contacts in the club, gained through being related to its president, have proved useful to securing his own future as an architect. For example, despite Hugo's reticence to participate in club activities due to his hectic work schedule, El Presidente finds Hugo a lucrative contract to work on the club's expansion (121-22).

Hugo's moral scruples and concern for Pancho's untimely death risk destroying his burgeoning career and his place among Lima's upper class. His passion for social justice and his tenacity in upholding Pancho's human rights are perceived by El Presidente as antagonistic to the interests of the club. Furthermore, to El Presidente, Hugo's principles only incite class warfare:

PRESIDENTE.- Escúchame Hugo, no te pongas difícil. Quiero ir a esto: que por el accidente de tu muchacho no podemos comprometer la reputación del club. Nuestra institución está en pleno crecimiento y no podemos arriesgarnos a que estas personas que nunca faltan, los pobres diablos, los resentidos, en suma, se aprovechen de lo ocurrido para desprestigiarnos. Los periódicos, sobre todo, que hacen tanto escándalo por la muerte de no importa qué títere con cabeza. Si el nombre del club cae en la letrina de la crónica policial quedará sucio para toda la vida. ¿Tú eres el único testigo del accidente? (131)

Appearances and connections ensure future sources of income, and the Presidente does not want to jeopardize his club's position amongst Lima's upper class as a key venue for social networking with the death of someone who he deems as a lesser human being. Thus he proceeds to the police station in nearby Canta to retract what Hugo had reported earlier in the day. With his considerable influence, the Presidente is able to erase all record of the club's culpability in Pancho's death and Dora, though knowing the truth, plays along (137). At this moment, the play truly reaches its climax. Hugo is met with a desperate situation that places his beliefs in crisis. He faces complete ostracism from his

family and his social milieu for his defense of migrant Pancho's dignity. However, in the end, he tragically yet silently sacrifices his ideals for the sake of his wife's happiness and his own concern for his social status. In Hugo and Dora's world, economic success occurs through both maintaining a competitive advantage and not diverging greatly from one's social circle, as personal contacts spur future gain. Therefore, in Hugo's case, our protagonist's principles prove detrimental and burdensome to his success in Lima's upper class.

In the plays *Fin de semana* and *No hay isla feliz*, Lima is the epicenter of this discriminatory system of exclusions and inclusions. Like many migrants, Daniel and Pancho moved to the city to take advantage of its economic opportunities, but they quickly became consumed by its relentless inhumanity. Both Pancho and Daniel could not survive the social and economic forces that rendered them insignificant in the metropolis. As Dora poetically waxes at the beginning of *Fin de semana*: “(Mirando el cielo) ¡Sol, sol!... Nube que tapas sol... Viento que te llevas nube... Pared que detienes viento... (Se ríe en alta voz) ¡Pero si esto parece un poema!...” (111). In this passage, natural forces eclipse and halt each other's progression just like Pancho's death was covered up to protect the club. In addition, as Eduardo Hopkins has noted, the same gardening shears that Pancho used to tend the young couple's garden and that the Presidente used to cut a flower for his lapel on the stage are used to free his burnt body from the club's poorly installed electrical wires (Hopkins 141, Ribeyro 127). These examples of poetic symbolism draw attention to the exclusionary system that provokes

Hugo and others of Lima's upper class to dehumanize others, especially those of non-hegemonic ethnic groups, in order to progress.

Fin de semana shares a similar plot line to a short story that Ribeyro also published in 1961 in his collection entitled *Las botellas y los hombres*. In "La piel de indio no cuesta caro," as the title signifies, the marginal indigenous subject is reduced to being a disposable economic good by members of the upper class. However, my analysis suggests that the attraction that Ribeyro's upper class characters feel toward the marginal in Lima compliments the desire that the migrant and middle class characters express for Lima's implicit promises of modernity and economic progress. This two-way, yet unrequited attraction appears decidedly in "Los gallinazos sin plumas" (1954) and "De color modesto" (1961), two other works from *Las botellas y los hombres*.

In these short stories two common literary themes of Ribeyro's appear that also converge in his theatrical work, *Fin de semana*: how social and economic need informs acts of injustice and how people envision belonging to Lima's "la gente bien." In "Los gallinazos sin plumas" (1954), the two main characters, the young brothers Efraín and Enrique, scavenge amongst the waste of the urban upper classes to gather scraps for the pig their domineering grandfather, don Santos, is raising for slaughter. The boys inhabit the margins of the city and only penetrate the center in order to rifle through the refuse of the affluent during the cover of dawn. As they can not count on education or economic assets to help them better their lives, their humble attempts at progress are always thwarted by such vicissitudes of life as illness or injury. For the three, fattening Pascual, their pig, is their one hope to be able survive in the capitalist market of the big city.

However, in the end, they realize that surviving this market is frequently a question of eating or being eaten. Once both brothers fall ill and injured, Pascual the pig risks losing weight, and thus, being sold for slaughter at a lower price. As don Santos is disabled, Pascual spends days with little to nothing to eat, until the abusive grandfather feeds the pig the boys' beloved dog. This enrages the boys and when don Santos falls into Pascual's pen and is devoured by the starving pig at the end of the story, they indifferently walk away from their shanty dwelling, ignoring the sound of violent pig squeals and their grandfather's desperate cries for help.

"De color modesto" (1961) demonstrates the racial and class-based social taboos that govern social relations in Lima. In this story, the male protagonist Alfredo flirts with a black servant woman at the party of one of his upper-crust acquaintances after not being able to woo one of the young ladies in attendance. Older, balding, and having dedicated himself to painting as a career, he finds that he is largely unattractive to the young ladies of Lima's high society. In one particular scene, the two are discovered dancing slowly in the dark by the crowd of socialites as they enter the garden area for another part of the soiree. "¿No tiene usted respeto por las mujeres que hay acá?", one of the party-goers asks (200). Fleeing the embarrassing situation, Alfredo meets up with the woman on the malecón, one of Lima's seaside park areas where lovers typically meet. Unfortunately, their black and white pairing arouses police suspicion and the authorities take Alfredo and the woman into custody for potential prostitution charges. In trying to avoid being arrested, Alfredo claims that the woman is his fiancée, a claim that is dubious to all including the reader for Alfredo never learns the black woman's name and nor is it

mentioned in the story. The police decide to call Alfredo's bluff and take him to Parque Salazar, a public venue for Lima's upper class lovebirds. As they get out of the car to stroll in the park, as ordered by the police, Alfredo darts away to not be publicly embarrassed. Like Hugo in *Fin de semana*, Alfredo sacrifices his spirit of nobility and egalitarianism to maintain his status in society and callously allows an innocent to suffer.

Ribeyro's depiction of how the grotesque and sarcastic elements of human nature manifest themselves in increased frequency in the city has warranted Augusto Tamayo Vargas to name him the standard bearer of the "realismo urbano" of the 1950s generation of writers in Peru ("Literatura peruana" 887). From his own particular place on the margins of his society, Ribeyro exemplifies, as Higgins argues, that "el desarrollo capitalista, lejos de remediar las injusticias socio-económicas del Tercer Mundo, las exagera, puesto que los beneficios de tal desarrollo se distribuyen de manera desigual" (26). As more impoverished Peruvians from the various interior provinces were moving to the city during the 40s and 50s, the city's elites quickly found themselves "suplantada por una clase comercial más dinámica y emprendedora," and Ribeyro, one of these elites, "...vio la transición de una sociedad tradicional, pre-capitalista, a una sociedad entregada al desarrollo capitalista" that was occurring in his social milieu (Higgins 16). Throughout the course of the twentieth century, elite groups in the city began to feel increased pressure from these migrants as the boundaries between the social classes became more porous and traversable, partly due to the new developmentalist doctrines that were reshaping global politics along pro-capitalist lines. In the next section, *La Ciudad de los Reyes* (1964) by Hernando Cortés, these doctrines will be revealed as

exploitative tools for upper class self-preservation. The migrant and the urban under class depicted in Cortes's play will discard the hope that middle class comfort can originate from hard work and determination. Whereas in *No hay isla feliz* and *Fin de semana*, the migrant characters expressed an initial optimism toward social advancement, the characters in *La Ciudad de los Reyes* will discomfort the spectator with its pessimistic take on city life.

Hernando Cortés and the Beginnings of Revolutionary Change

La Ciudad de los Reyes (1964) by Hernando Cortés depicts Lima through a distanced, yet morbid aesthetic reminiscent of the *esperpento* of Ramón del Valle Inclán and in a manner that resembles *Historias para ser contadas* (1957) by the Argentine playwright, Osvaldo Dragún. In Cortes's work, the social issues affecting the city's poor and migrant populations are addressed through a type of detached realism that focuses on the cruel and violent aspects of modern city life. Curiously enough however, despite the play's pessimistic and cynical vision of the city, the work was performed for its second showing as part of a celebration of the four hundred and thirty-third anniversary of the foundation of Lima in 1968 (D'Amore 7). Accordingly, to understand the play's importance in Peruvian theatre and its improbable diffusion amongst Lima's more bourgeois theatre venues, we must contextualize the time period historically and theatrically.

During the time period of the play, Latin American theatre was profoundly influenced by the philosophies of the 1959 Cuban Revolution and other leftist movements

(Rizk 39). Across Latin America, many dramatists aligned themselves in solidarity with the world-wide student and peasant protests against continued European colonialism and the spread of exploitative capitalism. These movements rocked the globe as the capitalist powers of the West, most notably the United States, started to amplify their economic and political interests in Latin America. Newly formed Western organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund started imposing the infamous “Three-Worlds” development paradigm detailed in the introduction of this thesis all through the region as a contingency tool for determining future financial aid and investment. In turn, many “Third-World” subjects whose modes of sustenance did not fit within the West’s capitalist wage equation would be ignored or even quarantined from their countries’ new models for economic progress. This newly defined Third-World underclass would become what Julio Ortega calls “[los sujetos] del drama del subdesarrollo o de la modernización desigual” and would react in increasingly vocal and violent manners in order to reclaim what, at the time, had only recently become established in global discourses as their basic human rights (130).

During this time period, theatre, literature, and the arts increasingly became part of the multiple, daily acts of creative dissidence that Latin Americans performed in resisting and seeking alternatives to oppressive ways of life. Jean Franco argues in her book, *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City*, that starting at mid-twentieth century Latin American elites progressively lost ground in the fight over public perception of their own self-endowed rights to cultural and economic power. Taking a Gramscian approach to the issue of the fall of “the lettered city,” Franco traces how these “subaltern”

actors first diverged from and contested the ideological apparatus of elites only to take what were very organic, diffuse creative endeavors and assimilate them into larger, dissident narratives on cultural change and resistance throughout the continent. The scenario that Franco describes is as such: the sites of artistic and literary production started to shift from traditional elite circles at the same time that Western developmentalist doctrines were shifting and redefining power relations across Latin America through North American Cold War policies. These policies further prolonged the colonial-type effects that the new capitalist economic paradigm had on the region in that many Latin American governments, headed by largely indifferent elites, began repressing popular protest against these policies and dissident political movements in brutal fashion. Additionally, elites simply regrouped and adapted to the new economic order by using their extensive resources and connections. The vast majority were paradoxically hindered in their attempts to “progress” even though the new economic scene promoted an environment of boundless economic growth.

In this scene, the migrant enters. The migrant, as this dissertation holds, is key to understanding how elite and non-elite groups of people react to and process the developmentalist doctrines of an unforgivingly capitalist world. According to the latest 2009 report by the United Nations, beginning in the mid-part of the twentieth century onward, the world’s urban centers grew astronomically, in large part, due the migration of poor rural dwellers in its least developed and or developing nations (UN 3). This migration spurred the formation of shanty-towns and, as can be deduced from the report, this activity has no indication of abating as world population is projected to reach 8.1

billion by the year 2050. Population growth, as the report concludes, “is therefore becoming largely an urban phenomenon concentrated in the developing world” (UN 1). However, these shanty-towns have become sites of resistance and cooperation that consistently confound economists and social scientists alike due to their resilience despite their astonishing accounted poverty and lack of infrastructure and resources. Migrants in Peru, for example, from the 1950s on, would prove their strength in years to come through inspiring social and cultural change in the city of Lima (Ramos García “El teatro” 108).

In *La Ciudad de los Reyes* by Hernando Cortés, migrants play a pivotal role in highlighting class conflicts, corruption, and fear amongst some of the city’s most powerful inhabitants. Originally from Piura, the playwright Hernando Cortés is also an example of a migrant who has gained success in Lima’s theatre scene through the experimental and political nature of his works. His 1964 play *La Ciudad de los Reyes*, for instance, is an example of the spread of the Brechtian theatrical aesthetic to Latin America. While the practices of Brecht would not have as influential a reach in Peru’s theatre, because Grotowski’s “poor theatre” resonated far more with theatre practitioners and collectives in the country, nevertheless, it is worth noting that both aesthetics influenced Peruvian theatre’s growth concurrently, with Brecht’s approach being more popular amongst university theatre groups and Grotowski’s method informing many of the works of Peru’s small theatre collectives (Balta Campbell 198).

La Ciudad de los Reyes presents the city of Lima through a Brechtian *tableau vivant* of corrupt characters that are constantly engaged in class struggle and feed on the

weak in their society. The upper-classes are callous and abusive and the under-classes are victims of exploitation who have to resort to morally questionable actions to survive. In *La Ciudad de los Reyes* these class struggles refer in one way or another to the international workers' movements of the sixties. Both groups, the abusers and the abused, however, suffer from a degradation of morals and a certain level of dehumanization that is presented as a product of the various cultural practices and institutions that maintain life in the city.

Seven short, block-style episodes that do not show any logical build-up or progression connecting them all compose the play. This apparent lack of a singular, centralized theme demonstrates a lack of social cohesion and a common moral center in the city haptically, in that the spectator must form a judgment from the play through the experience of viewing the play and wading through its various symbols and stimuli. This tableau vivant effect, in short, replicates the experience of walking through a city and playing the part of a Baudelairean *flâneur* who observes the sundry acts of injustice and depravity that plague daily urban residents.

In *La Ciudad de los Reyes*, Lima is presented as a veritable snake pit where rich and poor, white and colored, are constantly battling over resources and the right to exist in the city. Development and the ethnic difference that rural to urban migration brings to Lima attribute much to the social strife presented in the work. In many scenes, a woman's sexuality is either a tool or a hindrance for future progress goals. For example, in one of the scenes from the work, "Abuse usted de las cholas," a migrant housemaid finds herself pregnant for a second time from rape. Her first pregnancy, as she narrates in the play, was

caused by the son of her boss and ended in an abortion instigated by her uncle, who wanted her to continue to be able to work and contribute to his household expenses. Her second pregnancy, problematized in the temporal present of the work, is the product of a forced encounter with a distant, non-blood relative who also wants her to abort the pregnancy for economic reasons. In the end, she circumvents this male relative and decides to keep the baby. The indigenous woman's, or the chola's, body is portrayed as something to be used and discarded by male figures who do not want to be held responsible for their actions but want to be able to continue exploiting the women they haphazardly impregnate. The metaphoric economic implications of these actions help us understand the subalternity of the indigenous woman as she is frequently reduced to an object to be ignored or a resource to be utilized by others.

A woman's reproductive faculties are an object to be controlled for gain again in "Los niños están a la venta." In this scene, the characters simply named the Man and the Woman sell their fair-complected child, el Gringo, to a rich engineer in order to make some fast cash to buy a television. Before, the Gringo earned money as one of the many child shoeshiners that run about the plazas of Lima. In the scene, the two show little longing for the child they sold. Instead, they celebrate his sale by living it up with the money they earned from his sale. They buy new shoes, nice clothes, they eat expensive food and, only at the end, do they plan to use what they have left over to buy their new television set. The two are not from Lima but instead are from the province of Pativilca, along the northern coast of Peru. Racially, the two are what are commonly called *zambos* or people of mixed African, indigenous, and Spanish heritage. At the end of the scene, the

Man convinces the woman that what they did was justified because it has helped them assimilate better into Lima economically. As poor migrants, they want to progress and follow the same mode of life that they see more established residents of Lima lead, and, according to the Man selling the Gringo was the best way to achieve this in the short term. In the end, the Man spiritedly sings the glories of Lima, his adopted city, to quiet the sobs of the Woman as she begins to regret having sold her child to a questionable figure (16-17).

In “Se hace labor social” a woman’s sexuality figures for a third time as a tool for others’ progress and development. The scene opens as a businessman speaks about his plans to re-zone Lima so that he can develop a parcel of land he owns that is not in a prime location in the city. He plans to first push the prostitutes out of their established zone out into the more “respectable” areas of the city and engineer a public moral outcry with help from his wife’s various charitable organizations. As he describes in this verbose, heavily dialogue-dependent scene, once he has developed his plot of land, he plans to gather public support for effectively quarantining the prostitutes inside it and profiting off of the new hotel and storefront rents that their activities will draw. In this scene, the space of the city is seen as a malleable resource that can be reconfigured by land development speculators who have no qualms about moving and using people to their benefit and with their influential connections. Additionally, instead of inspiring the charitable organizations to help the prostitutes leave the sex industry, the organizations, led by the upper crust of Lima’s society, only care about future gains from their charitable actions.

Throughout the play, Cortés carefully captures Lima’s insidious culture of corruption and abuse without casting an overarching judgment on Peruvian culture and customs as a whole. The characters use a mixture of Peruvian Spanish dialects and refer to many artifacts and organizations associated with Peruvian culture, but the work presents a multitude of societal ills in a way that transcends facile cultural identification through various Brechtian techniques such as ample dialogue, sparse indication as to setting and costumery, and a lack of singular rhetorical argument. Like described by the chorus in the work’s prologue, “todos los hechos son históricos. Nosotros no haremos más que presentarlos bajo el disfraz de los actores” (Cortés 12). In other words, while some of the situations presented in the scenes seem specifically Peruvian, Cortés appropriately distances them from an easily identifiable cultural source in order to demonstrate the more universal, historical issues at hand.

Reynaldo D’Amore comments in his prologue to the 1990 printed version of the play that many of the play’s shorter episodes have been interpreted as stand-alone short pieces of theatre. “Abuse usted de las cholas,” for example, has been performed at many national theatre festivals as a short monologue since *La Ciudad de los Reyes*’s debut in 1967. The play has also been noticed by international organizations like UNESCO, which can be taken as proof of the force and reach of its piercing social critique. As D’Amore, one of Peruvian theatre’s most noted critics and practitioners, has stated about the piece:

La pieza... [toca] muchos aspectos todavía insolubles en nuestro medio. La comedia se mezcla a una realidad dramática. El género es difícil de establecer. Si miramos la profundidad, es una tragedia. Si nos quedamos en la superficie, la comedia desborda de algunos personajes. El objetivo de la obra, naturalmente, es hacernos tomar conciencia de esa realidad que el autor ha respirado y rechazado

[...] El teatro no hará revoluciones, pero sí puede hacer tomar conciencia de los cambios necesarios para corregir las injusticias patentes. (7)

The play's genre is slippery, as in the case of many works that emerge from the Brechtian aesthetic, but the core motive behind its disparate structure and unsure genre classification is to inspire critical thought about social change.

In conclusion, unlike in the other plays discussed in this chapter, the middle class does not figure directly in *La Ciudad de los Reyes*. Cortés presents two main socioeconomic classes in his play: the poor and the rich. This limited class delineation does not signify that such an experimental, class-conscious work as *La Ciudad de los Reyes* fails to implicate the Latin American middle class in its portrayal of the struggles between Peru's elites and its most destitute. Rather, in works like *La Ciudad de los Reyes*, the middle class subject is the silent spectator who must watch nervously as the rich carve out larger pieces of his/her potential prosperity and render more people otherwise unable to achieve their aspirations and feed their families with honest work. While middle class subjects aspire to increased economic growth and standing, or at least maintaining their status quo, the fear of losing it all is ubiquitous and many pretend to immunize themselves by distancing themselves from the lower classes, as we have seen in the multiple prejudicial acts that the characters of *No hay isla feliz* and *Fin de semana* experience on the part of the more affluent characters. Plays such as *La Ciudad de los Reyes* depict the corrupt and exploitative elements in Peruvian society that prevent its members from progressing economically and socially through hard work and diligence.

In the chapter that follows, militant force becomes a tool for those who seek to mould a more equitable Peru with greater urgency. As the country undergoes a series of

rural revolutions and experiences its first socialist dictatorship, the relationship it maintains with external discourses on development and progress changes as rural migration to the cities increases. Theatre, again, will prove to be a telling indicator of Peruvian's hopes and fears about their nation and its place in a "developing" world.

Chapter 2

In the Midst of Revolution: the Migrant in Peru's Theatre from 1968 to 1990

On June 24th, 1969, a day already celebrated triply in Peru as the Day of the Indian, the feast of St. John the Baptist, and the renovated Inti Raymi festival, as part of his *coup d'état* the General Juan Velasco Alvarado shrewdly added a new level of signification to the day and what it represents in Peruvian culture by enacting revolutionary legislation calling for immediate and far-reaching land reform in all of the country's large land holdings. Calling indigenous subjects "campesinos" instead of the long-derogatory term, "indios," Velasco Alvarado dramatically claimed, "Campesinos, el patrón ya no comerá de tu pobreza," and therewith ratified a bold land redistribution program that sought to galvanize collective agrarian production. Part of the 1969 Agrarian Reform was a set of governmentally sponsored cultural programs that aimed to vindicate indigenous and Andean contributions to Peruvian society (Mayer 20). Multiple cultural initiatives and organizations were founded with the express purpose of incorporating indigenous culture into Peru's pedagogical and political establishments in the years to come, such as the 1975 educational reform that established bilingual Quechua-Spanish education (Turino 142).

Like many political leaders before him, Velasco Alvarado understood how to harness the "popular" through performance in order to secure political power. Néstor García Canclini's *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (1990) has noted that throughout the twentieth century in Latin America the boundaries between politics and performance merged and blurred as actors such as Velasco Alvarado

have tried to cultivate support for their political goals. This process occurs through the creation of “populisms.” Populism, according to García Canclini, is a “way of using culture to build power” and has deep performative implications (191). For the duration of the twentieth century, the indigenous “campesino” was at the foreground of the “popular” and the construction of political populisms in Peru. This chapter will measure how performance, notably the Peruvian dramaturgy and the work of theatre collectives from 1968 to 1990, has portrayed another, less poeticized element of the popular in Peru: the migration of indigenous campesinos to urban settings.

Historically, much of Peru’s theatre has been sensitive to the migrant’s status as a de-territorialized subject. Theatre and literature have represented the migrant as not belonging in the city nor in the provinces. Representations of the “campesino,” or agrarian worker, however, have been heavily territorialized, connecting these subjects directly with the land as part of highly politicized attempts to draw attention to the global workers’ struggle and its Peruvian counterpart since the 1960s.¹ Apart from a few street theatre initiatives in the *barriadas*, or slums, of Lima, theatre never romanticized the life of migrants in the city on the same level as that of the campesino and “his” quest for egalitarian treatment (Ramos-García “El teatro” 109-110).² The three works to be

¹ The second chapter of Enrique Mayer’s *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform* (2009) is an excellent source of how film was used to cull popular opinion toward the workers’ struggle and indigenous rights.

² The Peruvian *telenovela* and *serie*, however, tell a completely different story. Starting with the *Simplemente María* telenovela produced by Panamericana Televisión in 1969, Peru’s nationally produced television programs have made generous use of the theme of the migrant and have romanticized the aspirations of both female and male migrants in their subject matter.

discussed in this chapter, *El ascensor* (1973) by César Vega Herrera, and *Los músicos ambulantes* (1982) and *Adiós, Ayacucho* by Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani, contest the newly glorified status of indigenous people in Peru's popular political discourse starting during the dictatorship of Juan Velasco Alvarado by drawing attention to the stark realities and the obstacles that indigenous Andeans face on migrating. These plays do not tout the migrant as an optimistic symbol of the efficacy of Chicago School-style laissez-faire capitalism, nor do they present the migrant as an example of dependency school theories on development that directly link Peru's postcolonial situation to the unequal treatment that migrants receive as disenfranchised subjects in the state.³ Peru's theatre from this epoch (1968-1990) suggests that the migrant cannot be easily classified in one discourse or the other. He exposes the hypocrisy of governmental development doctrines and their employ of popular imagery to influence collective opinion.

This time period starting in 1968 is a crucial one in Peruvian politics and theatre. After his coup, Velasco sought to usher in a new era of economic justice for many of Peru's provincial poor through the 1969 Reforma Agraria. However, the bureaucracies put in place by Velasco Alvarado's dictatorship were unwieldy and tried to implement a system of cooperative land cultivation that was unpopular and unsustainable amongst

³ Emile Doré's 2008 article "La marginalidad urbana en su contexto: modernización truncada y conductas de los marginales," printed in *Sociológica* describes how the migrant's experience does not fit classification in one economic theory on development or the other.

both former hacienda and plantation owners and workers in the Andes (Mayer 29-33).⁴

Velasco Alvarado had hoped that agrarian reform would modernize Peru's mostly agricultural economy, quell the sporadic peasant uprisings throughout the large land holdings of the country, and halt the tide of rural migrants flooding the large cities of Peru in search of economic progress (Seligmann 59). The reform also tried to loosen the hold that the nation's elite held on national development by breaking up large economic land institutions such as the *hacienda* but, in its wake, created large power vacuums in Andean society that allowed radical power players such as the nascent Sendero Luminoso/Shining Path to move in and fill the void in the years to come (Mayer 40, Seligmann 4).

Velasco Alvarado's regime viewed theatre and media such as television and film as instrumental in distinguishing itself from previous dictatorial and democratic governments in Peru. In 1971, Velasco Alvarado's military regime established the Teatro Nacional Popular, the first national theatre organization in Peru's history, as part of one of its cultural initiatives to secure political support across the country (Ramos-García, "Introducción" xxiv-xxv) and also to decolonize Peruvian culture (Slawson, "Teatro" 91). Around the same time, Peru's dramatists started to incorporate elements of experimental theatre production techniques and form collectives of "New Theatre" which used

⁴ Velasco Alvarado's government, even though it seems so, wasn't quite socialist, but rather what I'd call "socialist-inspired" in that it tried to foment collective land cultivation projects. However, the regime inaugurated these collectives in order to stem countryside insurrection, the spread of communism, and increase agricultural production for export, three very capitalist concerns.

indigenous imagery, symbolism, and linguistic elements to express a burgeoning multicultural political consciousness.⁵

The trend of incorporating indigenous elements in theatre, however, existed before the establishment of Velasco Alvarado's cultural initiatives. Starting in the 1960s, artists such as Víctor Zavala Cataño and his Teatro Campesino drew from Andean cultural traditions such as storytelling, dance, religious observance and music to present a new popular theatre that made political demands (Ramos-García, "Introducción" xxii). In Zavala Cataño's own words, while other literary and artistic genres had represented the indigenous campesino in, albeit, mostly colorful naturalistic terms, Peru's theatre had yet to reflect the cosmovision and the specific political, economic, and social issues concerning this group:

El teatro es la isla a la que la imagen del trabajador agrario no ha podido arribar aún. O cuando ha llegado no ha sido él mismo, sino un fantoche, un "indio", un "serrano", un "cholo", un "animal", en fin, dentro de una concepción despectiva de su realidad. La verdadera faz del labrador agrícola, llena de contrastes, frustraciones, sufrimientos, protestas contenidas y esperanzas, no ha sido iluminada por los dramaturgos. Nuestro teatro ha incidido principalmente en la conducta de la pequeña burguesía de la ciudad. Los personajes del pueblo, especialmente los del campesinado, no han podido subir a escena todavía. (1)

Velasco Alvarado's cultural programs helped to officialize Zavala Cataño's efforts by giving Peruvian indigenous cultural and artistic traditions equal billing with those of the West in the Teatro Nacional Popular's (TNP) programming. The TNP gave nascent collectives such as Yuyachkani and Cuatrotablas sponsorship to perform their works

⁵ Malgorzata Oleszkiewicz's book *Teatro popular peruano: Del precolombino al siglo XX* (1995) describes this process.

alongside the works of such well-known, classic dramatists of Western theatre as Henrik Ibsen and Arthur Miller in the same institution (Ramos-García, “Introducción” xxv-xxvi).

Luis A. Ramos-García attributes this play with the meaning of the “popular” in the Teatro Nacional Popular to how the institution’s first director, Alonso Alegría, understood the term. Alegría, known for his work, *El cruce sobre el Niágara* (1969), and his decades of work as a theatre professor and critic for many of Lima’s newspapers, decided that the “popular” part of Teatro Nacional Popular’s mission and name should encompass both the word’s political charge and its use in defining what theatre goes for and like most (xxv-xxvi). Richard J. Slawson in his 1991 article in *Latin American Theatre Review* directly links this broad definition of the popular to the Decree Law No. 19268 which defined the functions of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, the parent organization of the Teatro Nacional Popular and the “Bases para la política cultural de la Revolución Peruana” or the PCR (91).

According to Slawson, Alonso Alegría, the director of the Teatro Nacional Popular for much of its short existence (1971-1979), followed the government’s definition of popular culture, which divided it into three main types:

- (a) anonymous tradition (folklore); (b) the works of known authors, written in a folkloric style, which are traditional, but inevitably bear the author’s stamp; and (c) popular works written in a free style, which are not traditional, but may become so, if by virtue of their inherent qualities, they become popular, are praised and changed, until they are perfectly adapted to the popular mentality [...]. (PCR qtd in Slawson, “Teatro” 92)

Alegría took advantage of the universality and grand-arching themes of many works of Western theatre if they were supportive of the Velasco Alvarado government’s

revolutionary goals of protesting the imperialism and domination of Peru by Western developed states (Slawson, “Teatro” 91).

The official policies of Velasco Alvarado’s regime mostly ignored the “cholificación” of Lima and other provincial capital cities through migration.⁶ The migrant “cholo” existed in a “third space” which could not be easily romanticized for the regime’s political purposes.⁷ In his artistic tastes, the migrant cholo listened to and produced *cumbia* and *chicha* music and, like in these genres of music, reflected a type of hybridization between provincial Peruvian and Latin American musical genres and capitalist musical production methods. Like in the case of their perception of *chicha* music’s artistic value, cultural and political elites also underestimated the migrant’s role in shaping Peru’s culture and politics. However, by settling in Lima’s underdeveloped or abandoned districts, the migrant grew in economic power in the city from the 1970s until the rest of the century and current cultural production trends reflect the tastes of this emergent class (Ramos-García, “El teatro” 108, Subirana A16, Turino 142-44). But during the 1970s and 1980s, while the cultural and pedagogical projects of the Velasco Alvarado regime changed perspectives on Andean culture, the regime also unfortunately underscored the cause of the migrant because of political expediency (Turino 33-4, Seligmann 58).

⁶ “Cholificación” is a term that Ramos-García uses to describe the diversification of Peru’s arts and cultural production to reflect its heterogeneity better. He connects this process with rural to urban migration to Lima.

⁷ Here I refer in passing to Homi Bhabha’s concept of the “third space”. Many migrants from differing provincial cultural traditions inhabit a third space on attempting to forge a new life in Lima.

By migrating to capital cities and urban metropolises, rural to urban migrants engage in quiet, everyday forms of resistance to the overarching developmental policies that countries like Peru employ to modernize, many times due to pressure from the West, or the United States. Like what Asef Bayat has acknowledged in studies about Turkish migration, migrants also resist facile classification within revolutionary discourse through their “surreptitiously offensive” tactics for surviving in the city, such as through forming large, widespread informal support networks (54). Their “prosaic” forms of resistance, as James C. Scott also claims, are rarely if ever captured by the history books in their narratives on great revolutions because they cannot be properly condensed into a political ideology, nor do they originate nor are lead by an intelligentsia, or a lettered elite. Similarly, these migrants confound because they almost never call for wide-sweeping changes, for most are content, according to Hobsbawm, “to work the system to their minimum disadvantage” as they seek to partake in the benefits of metropolitan life (Hobsbawm qtd. in Scott 301). In the case of Peru, their existence in the city did not bring rapid change to Lima but, over time, it has caused its cultural and governmental institutions to pause and re-consider their role in shaping the city (Scott 26).

The first work that this chapter will analyze, *El ascensor* (1973) by César Vega Herrera, portrays the quotidian struggles of the migrant in an environment of growing political and economic instability. Written with the capital city Lima in mind, *El ascensor* presents a migrant’s precipitous descent into madness, but perplexingly ends with the audience and the characters themselves going back to their daily business and occupying themselves with their mundane concerns. This work’s Brechtian-style questioning of

revolutionary discourse through the character of the migrant demonstrates Scott's concepts of "everyday resistance" and "minimal compliance" but also questions their viability as methods for surviving in the metropolis. Through the critical distance that the play demands of the spectator, the play questions the Velasco Alvarado regime's, not to mention the epoch's, revolutionary discourse on development and social inclusion.

César Vega Herrera, the Migrant, and the Crisis Point of Revolutionary Rhetoric

César Vega Herrera (Arequipa, 1939) is a prolific literary and theatre figure that has received little attention in Peru, and has gone mainly unnoticed by academics outside Peru. Vega Herrera has published innumerable works of theatre since the mid-1960s, winning Honorable Mention in the Casa de las Americas competition for theatre in 1968 for his absurdist and, since then, continuously performed one-act work, *Ipacankure* (Luchting 49). He earned international attention a second time when he won the Tirso de Molina prize for theatre for his work *¿Qué sucedió en Pasos?* in 1976 (Benites).

Vega Herrera's work, *El ascensor* (1968, 1973), sarcastically presents the story of a migrant named Fortunato through an epic format that borrows heavily from Brechtian aesthetic and the absurd. Using off-stage commentary, *El ascensor* critically comments on a few of the contentious social issues that beleaguered Peruvians during the late 60s and early 70s, specifically during the time of the dictatorship of Juan Velasco Alvarado. By observing Fortunato's misfortunes, the spectator becomes cognizant of how rural migrants to Lima negotiated their aspirations for advancement against the stark and difficult realities of city life. In this milieu, this traditionally disenfranchised group

encountered many challenges in its attempts to integrate into Peru's urbanized modernity. Migrants frequently confronted a general lack of economic opportunity coupled with a rising cost of living, a lack of access to the resources of the state, the condition of being urban outsiders in a time of growing insurrectionary violence, and the increasing relegation and obsolescence of traditional labor skills in a rapidly modernizing society.⁸ These issues became compounded by the troublesome politics of race and ethnicity in Lima which traditionally excluded Andean and other provincial influences in mainstream culture and politics.

Vega Herrera's use of the absurd accentuates its commentary on these issues. As Aída Balta Campbell has stated,

esta obra, a la mejor manera del teatro del absurdo, se dirige en gran medida a aquellas zonas de la psique que naufragan en el subconsciente, constituyendo una dinámica propuesta contra la falta de comunicación entre los seres humanos, contra su aislamiento y degradación. (219)

Fortunato's difficult life and ignored disappearance in the play represent society's inhumanity. The absurd theatrical aesthetic that gained popularity during the 1960s throughout Latin America pushed social problems to the fore of an artistic genre that had traditionally been considered a mere entertainment form for the region's bourgeois elites (Villegas 176). In addition, Peruvian theatre's use of absurd aesthetics would become intrinsically linked with an overwhelming sense of civilizational tragedy over the course of the mid-twentieth century. More than any other theatre in Latin America, the country's colonially founded racial and ethnic discord bore heavily on the themes in Peru's theatre. Many works from the 1970s and beyond presented these issues as causal factors in many

⁸ This is akin to what Mike Davis describes in *Planet of Slums* (2009).

of the country's ongoing internal conflicts during the latter part of the twentieth century. Along with *La Ciudad de los Reyes* (1964) by Hernando Cortés, *El ascensor* marks the beginning of the spread of an absurdist trend in Peru that makes use of ethnic conflict for the foundation of its subject matter.

The first act of the work traces Fortunato's early years in the Andean highlands and his migration to Lima. In the beginning, the ironically-named Fortunato is an orphan who wanders around looking for care and direction in life. He works in mines and haciendas under harsh conditions and, in an absurdist manner, even tries dressing up as a sheep in order to obtain the resources he needs to survive (116). After such difficult experiences, Fortunato migrates to Lima as a young adult in search of a better, more secure life on having heard tales of guaranteed success and opportunity in the city circulate around his Andean community. Yet once he arrives in Lima at the age of twenty-one, Fortunato encounters a reality that is far different from the tales that he heard. Lima is a very dangerous place where he is constantly exploited, swindled, and abused. He sleeps in the street as a vagrant and works odd jobs for little pay until he gains an interview for a position at the ironically named company, La Esperanza, S.A., or in English, "Hope Incorporated."

The work makes multiple analogies between colonialism, capitalism, and the existential struggle of the Andean migrant in the metropolis. For example, the chorus of supporting actors extolls "La Esperanza, S.A." as contributing "cinco siglos al servicio/de un mundo mejor," thus drawing a connection between the evangelizing mission of the Spanish colonial project and modern day capitalism (114). Fortunato serves in the humble

and redundant position of elevator operator in this company, which provides the title of the work, “El ascensor.” His job, as he signals in the first act, can be done by anyone who is capable of simply pushing a button, yet, he must maintain a professional appearance and assert his utility in order to keep it, as he fought bitterly to obtain the job in the face of high competition with other uneducated rural migrants. His occupation, as we learn from the various short scenes in the first act, symbolizes the absurd mechanics of a capitalist, modernized, and technologically advanced society. In an economic system that depends on a survival-of-the-fittest-type ethic where those who are considered weak are summarily pushed to the bottom rungs of society, technology, while being lauded as a key to human progress, only exacerbates and accelerates this process if it is not equally accessible across the socio-economic spectrum.⁹ In addition, as more traditional, artisanal skills are not associated with the middle class bourgeois of the metropolis, growing numbers of people will vie for positions that employ technology, even if they are redundant and insipid in nature like Fortunato’s.

The dreams of advancement of a poor, metropolitan underclass are vital to any urban market economy and are fed by the tales of progress of people who have migrated before but in *El ascensor*, Fortunato realizes the futility of his own personal dreams of progress and grows increasingly disappointed and despondent about his life.

LOS ACTORES SIGUEN ENTRANDO Y SALIENDO. PASAN LOS
DÍAS Y LAS NOCHES.

FORTUNATO: Hasta luego señor Belaunde. Buenas noches señora
Quezada. Buenos días señorita. Buenas tardes señor. Buenas noches
señorita. Buenas tardes señor. (BOSTEZA)

⁹ Guy Debord touches on this concept in thesis 45 of his work *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967).

ACTRIZ 2: Los días se le amontonaban. ¡Lo exprimían!
 ACTOR 2: Cada vez era peor. (RUIDO DE LA CIUDAD)
 ACTRIZ 2: Un curandero le aconsejó comer el corazón de una golondrina.
 (FORTUNATO SE QUEDA MIRÁNDOLA)
 FORTUNATO: ¿Dónde voy a conseguir una golondrina?
 ACTOR 2: Yo creo que mejor te irá en el burdel, hombre.
 FORTUNATO: Mi malestar es más fuerte que yo, ¡no tiene principio ni fin! (Vega 123)

Overcome by the tedium of his life, he seeks psychiatric and even psychic, otherworldly help only to find that such help is to no avail. Those who are supposed to help him become amused at his situation and, as a joke on Freudian theory, brush off his problems as sexual (124-25). At the end of the first act after having secured a job, married, and started a family, Fortunato decides to commit suicide and boards the elevator to jump off of the building.

In the second act, the work becomes increasingly more symbolic, plunging the spectator into a vortex of seemingly non-sensical theatrical stimuli that aid its commentary on life as a poor migrant in Peru. For example, as indicated in the stage directions, the building that houses La Esperanza, S.A. changes, accommodating a more oneiric setting and the elevator takes on a life of its own, not following Fortunato's commands. In the play, Vega Herrera gives little indication to how the multiple settings of the work should appear but this does not detract from the scenes in the second act, which are less realistic and more fantastic in nature. For instance, in the midst of his suicidal anguish, the elevator transports Fortunato to a party scene where the levity and the insensitivity of the revelers, played by the six chorus actors, reaches the height of the absurd. Their attitudes and gestures show a lack of comprehension of the severity of

Fortunato's impending demise through their insistence on throwing a bacchanalia filled with humor and eroticism.

El ascensor shows a silent, but decisive influence on twentieth century Peruvian theatre in this second act. For example, in the second scene, a group of scamps with names like el Apestoso, Mano Tiesa, el Cardiac, el Cojo, and el Piojoso await the arrival of a prophet who will make them cultured and educated, thereby lifting them out of the poverty and misery of their current lives. They scour a particular floor of La Esperanza, S.A. looking for handouts and engaging in crude behaviors. This scene is filled with biblical allusions and sarcastic commentary on religion as they first attempt to kill Fortunato for refusing to give them charity, only to paradoxically name him their long-awaited prophet later. This same theme would be used in other plays such as *Réquiem para Siete Plagas* (1975, 1979) by Grégor Díaz.

The subject of *Réquiem para Siete Plagas*, like in this scene in *El ascensor*, also revolves around an urban underclass that lives in filth along the outskirts of Lima.¹⁰ In this play, the characters engage in sordid activities as a type of protest against the morals and standards of bourgeois Latin American society. *Réquiem para Siete Plagas* begins *in media res* at the already occurring funeral for Siete Plagas, named so for his seven congenital handicaps. Aesthetically and thematically daring because of its representation of morally transgressive activities like lewd sexual acts, vulgar gestures, and verbal profanity, the play reaches its putative climax at the moment Siete Plagas's mother

¹⁰ Bruce Boggs' masters thesis, *Experimental Techniques in Three Plays by Gregor Díaz* (1989) discusses this theme in Gregor Díaz's theatrical work in detail. Very little critical work exists on Díaz's works.

confesses to having masturbated her son before he died. Arguing that her deaf, dumb, blind, horribly disfigured, de-limbed, and monstrous-looking son experienced no joy in his short life, Siete Plagas's mother decided to flaunt social taboo and give Siete Plagas at least one moment of pleasure from the physical world through stimulating the only fully functional part of her son's body. While the characters, at first, make judgmental comments about Siete Plagas and his mother's semi-incestual relationship, in the end, they recognize Siete Plagas as a type of patron saint and his mother, a martyr, for the poor and disadvantaged.

Réquiem para Siete Plagas does not follow the same existential argument as *El ascensor*, but it dialogues in a similar way with existential and religious conceptualizations of a Judeo-Christian God, biblical law, and demonstrates how these religious ideations contribute a society that operates on the basis of exclusion. The migratory poor who occupy the *barriadas* or slums of Lima are the victims of these exclusionary tactics and, as Daniella Gandolfo has argued in her book, *The City at its Limits: Taboo, Transgression, and Urban Renewal in Lima* (2009), are considered taboo subjects in the eyes of the bourgeois elite and governmental decision makers due to their "heterogeneity." Taboos function to support the foundational structures of society, and often delimit what societies have come to call "profane" and "sacred" (Gandolfo 14). The contestatory perspective regarding religion, Lima's bourgeois urban populations, and the city as symbol of progress that these two plays advance flaunts the commonly advanced position of the rural, provincial migrant as a profane pariah and outsider in Lima's society and thus illustrates the potential of heterogeneous, marginal characters in shaping

Peruvian culture and its institutions. These works etch a very distinctive mark on twentieth century Peruvian and Latin American theatre. They confront the “taboo” presence of the poor migrant in the metropolis by staging the morally transgressive and questioning the nature of political and economic disenfranchisement.

A similar take on Latin American class differences and the effect of revolutionary discourse on metropolitan life was also being developed in the works of the Chilean dramatist Egon Wolff in his works *Los invasores* (1963) and *Flores de papel* (1970), however, with a more optimistic view of the revolutionary potential of this urban underclass. Peru’s theatre of the 1960s, 70s, and until the end of the 80s, for the most part, did not express optimism for the leftist revolutionary discourses that were circulating around the world, but did champion their preoccupations with social justice. As a migrant from the northern Andean province of Celendín, Cajamarca, Grégor Díaz was especially sensitive to the cultural and economic needs of migrant communities in Lima. Cultivating the absurd perhaps more than any other modern Peruvian playwright, Díaz’s works express the stark class differences and indifference of the established bourgeois and emergent urban middle class concerning the metropolitan poor. As exemplified by their critical theatrical treatment of the country’s lower classes in their works, both Vega Herrera and Díaz’s condition as migrants in the city of Lima endowed

them with a special perspective toward the plight of other provincial migrants flooding to the city in search of economic progress (Benites).¹¹

El ascensor also comments on how the revolutionary movements of the 60s and 70s often failed to address immediate human material needs and the challenges of migratory urban poor. In scene five of the second act, Fortunato is transported to yet another place that he does not recognize in La Esperanza, S.A. and is greeted by two women who speak cryptically about the transcendental ideas of the time period. Between calling themselves such intangible, abstract things like "...el agua que bebieron los hombres..." and "...una sombra donde jugaban los niños," these female characters signal how the work plays with the imagery of the transient to demonstrate the impermanence of existence and the futility of establishing a better world (145). Their metaphoric statements, however, crystallize as they ask a markedly existential question: "¿Importa quienes somos? ¿O quienes fuimos, importa?" (146).

Latin America's particular postcolonial and ethnic realities nuance these questions in much of the region's theatre from the 1960s. For instance, while *El ascensor* touches on some of the same themes and imagery of other theatrical works of the time period, such as Emilio Carballido's *Un pequeño día de ira* (1961) and *Yo también hablo de la*

¹¹ While Bruce Boggs states that Díaz arrived in Lima at age two and has lived in Lima most of his life, the fact that he originated from the province of Celendín in Cajamarca is important to note (2). Celendín is a rural Andean province and many migrants seek out their provincial compatriots and form networks for survival in the city based on provincial origin. Thus, it is unlikely that Díaz's status as a provincial migrant would be easily shaken off just because of the passage of time. See Thomas Turino's work for a discussion on these networks and how they build provincial communities within the metropolis: *Moving Away from Silence. Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration* (1993).

rosa (1965), what separates *El ascensor* as a whole from this period's experimental aesthetic and thematic trends taking hold across the region is how it inserts the struggle of the indigenous rural migrant into larger discussions on nationalism and development issues.

For instance, the play contests the Western metanarratives of "History" and "Progress" by drawing attention to their function according to what Édouard Glissant would call "a highly functional fantasy of the West, originating at precisely the time when it alone 'made' the history of the World" (Glissant qtd in Mignolo, "Darker Side" 127). In the play, two seemingly deceased female characters protest these grand Western civilizational narratives in an otherworldly state, thereby alluding to their unattainable nature. The characters depict the concepts of a "Triunfo Final" and a "Victoria" in much twentieth century revolutionary rhetoric on progress, development, and nation-building as "el eco muerto de las palabras que nos adornaron" (146). This exchange acquires a gendered aspect throughout the scene as one of the male characters defends the revolutionary rhetoric of historical progress in heroic terms:

Recordando nuestro Progreso, nuestra Tecnología, nuestros grandes Ideales. Recordando nuestros éxitos en todos los rubros y países. Recordando nuestras acciones legendarias, nuestro pasado invicto y financiero, reconstruiremos el Nuevo Día. Y así, emulando a Moisés que sacó agua de las rocas del desierto, así nosotros sacaremos el pan de vuestras manos. (146)¹²

As the female characters signal, the man's unbridled optimism and faith in these concepts depends on the silence and passivity of women. In this rhetoric, as the play holds, women

¹² Vega Herrera's dialogue capitalizes the words that encapsulate these metanarratives much in the fashion that Édouard Glissant does, however, this capitalization is only evident in the text, and wouldn't be so if the play was to be performed.

must become mute symbols and be reduced to instruments of the reproduction of national culture for “Progress” to occur and like in the above example, they are only “adorned” with words, but cannot actually produce them (146-47). In the midst of this debate, Fortunato realizes the manipulative power that these narratives hold (148). However, once the characters fully acknowledge Fortunato’s presence in the work, as he was treated as a type of theatrical observer to the actors’ histrionic dialectics on the stage up until this point, they brush off his problems surviving in the metropolis as being insignificant due to their mundane nature. Here, like in the case of History written with a capital H, the grand discourse on historical progress and development that the characters argue over “...is a totality that excludes other histories that do not fit into that of the West...” (Glissant qtd in Mignolo, “Darker Side” 127). The poor Andean migrant Fortunato, unfortunately, does not matter in their grand scheme.

As the third act commences, the spectator perceives the bitter irony of Fortunato’s existence: his life is valued more when missing and presumed dead than when alive and present. Fortunato’s disappearance sparks suspicion amongst government officials, debate in the media, but an overall sense of pity and solidarity from the more popular sectors of the country. Fortunato soon becomes frustrated with trying to regain his former life as popular intrigue regarding his disappearance grows. As a disappeared person, he becomes a scapegoat for other people’s problems: La Esperanza S.A., his former employer, wants to charge him for the damages incurred from his dereliction of work duties during his absence, the police confront and assault his wife in trying to connect him to the subversive and insurrectionary political activities occurring in the country, and the

revolutionary youth residing in Lima want to use him as symbolic fodder for their beliefs (156-59).

Paradoxically, *El ascensor* ends by taking an ambivalent attitude regarding Fortunato's ultimate whereabouts and condition. At the end of the play, Fortunato mysteriously disappears, and, as we learn from the chorus, the dramatist himself does not know of his lead character's fate (159). The work makes a metatheatrical, overtly Brechtian move and asks the audience to reflect on its themes through the chorus's closing serenade. What exactly is the message behind Fortunato's disappearance and the other characters' (and even the dramatist's) subsequent apathy in regards to his final departure? *El ascensor* depicts widespread societal failure. In *El ascensor*, the predominant social structures of the city fail the migratory poor by isolating them in slums and shantytowns without proper resources to advance in a metropolitan and technologically modernizing economy. Revolutionary propaganda fails to improve the lives of those whose struggles are not deemed grand enough to serve its political purposes, and the general populace is too consumed by its needs, wants, and, in some cases, its greed, to care.

Written in 1968 and performed at approximately the beginning of the dictatorship of General Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1973, *El ascensor* takes a pessimistic view of the revolutionary tone of the 1960s by outlining its grandiose nature. The poor migrant, Fortunato, his demands are minimal when compared with a revolutionary rhetoric concerned with rewriting the grand annals of History. Fortunato's fate fortells a similar destiny for migrants in Peru: the migration policies of the Velasco Alvarado regime were

small in scale and only proved to be effective techniques for subjugating the more organic, spontaneous peasant movements arising in the Peruvian countryside (Seligmann 59, Turino 32). The next work to be discussed, *Los músicos ambulantes* by Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani, takes a more optimistic view of the potential of rural to urban migrants in shaping Peru and champions the revolutionary message of group solidarity. Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani's origins date back to the establishment of the Teatro Nacional Popular by Velasco Alvarado's government in 1971 and the group was influenced philosophically by many of the dictator's endeavors. Through Yuyachkani's oeuvre, Peruvian theatre will shift toward themes of ethnic and cultural reconciliation and employ less European and Western aesthetic models, but from the site of Peru's traditional cultural organizations: Lima. How Yuyachkani has had to "migrate" both physically and epistemologically to produce its theatre will be a key topic in the next section.

Yuyachkani: A Theatre that Migrates

The longevity and continued success of Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani is rare among collective performance groups throughout Latin America, surpassed only by a few groups like the Colombian Teatro Experimental de Cali and Teatro La Candelaria and ICTUS in Chile. Yuyachkani formed in 1972 as a partnership between the director Miguel Rubio and Teresa Ralli and is still composed of many of the same core group members: the sisters Ana and Débora Correa, Amiel Cayo, Julian Vargas, Rebeca Ralli, and Augusto Casafranca. Forty years later, the group has traveled the world and has met with

international acclaim, particularly for the works it performed for the 2002-2004 Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) testimony proceedings in the Southern Peruvian Andes. In this tour, the group traveled to various cities in the Andes and performed the works *Adiós, Ayacucho* (1990), *Rosa Cuchillo* (2000), and *Antígona* (1999) in order to encourage those who had lost loved ones or suffered violence and/or other human rights violations to step forward and testify to the committee (A'ness 397). In this process, testimony and performance stood in for the missing bodies and forgotten and/or buried memories of torture, serving as a type of Derridean *pharmakon*, or healing trigger, for the recollection and sharing of these painful memories.¹³

The inspiration behind the group's formation was multifold, as has been documented by multiple and sometimes conflicting sources. David Wood, for example notes that the Teatro Nacional Popular's initiatives to foment theatre in Peru and Velasco Alvarado's aims at integrating indigenous Andean cultural traditions into the national mainstream played a decisive role in the group's formation (334). However, others closer to the group share a more personal story. According to the group's expert mask maker, Gustavo Boada:

It started in 1972. Miguel Rubio and Teresa Ralli, only 17 and 20 years old, were part of an experimental theatre group named Yego. And because they witnessed a miners' strike and the violent way the police took control of the situation, they really felt affected by those problems, and they started to believe that they had to make some kind of theatre. They learned about the existence of political theatre, and this led to the first appearances of Yuyachkani. (Bell 170)

¹³ In reference to Jacques Derrida's explanation of Plato's *pharmakon* in his essay "Plato's Pharmacy" (1968).

As Juan Villegas states, the group's beginnings were anchored in the collective theatre production and experimental theatre techniques that swept Latin America during the late sixties and early seventies but, according to Boada, Yuyachkani had to face an indigenous, pluricultural reality far different from most of the Latin American collectives of the time (Villegas 176-79, 204-5, Bell 170). The name chosen for the group, "Yuyachkani," for instance, signifies "I am thinking, I am remembering" in Quechua and has come to aptly describe the group's well-stated aims of cultural reconciliation and social activism in Peru.

Nevertheless, the popular reception of Yuyachkani's first work, *Puño de Cobre* (1973) demonstrates the initial struggles the group experienced in reaching out to a majority indigenous, Andean audience using the Western experimental theatre techniques such as minimalist scenery and costume that the founding members had originally used in their group, Yego, in Lima. *Puño de Cobre*, a work inspired by the group's initial awakening to the social realities of the Andes, dramatizes a fictional strike at a copper mine high in the Andes mountains that turns deadly as authorities strive to crush worker opposition. Yuyachkani intended for this work to incite the passions and sentiments of political solidarity amongst exploited miners by presenting a scenario all too common to miners in the Andes to this day, but the method it chose to transmit its politicized message failed to impact spectators. According to Boada:

They [the audience] thought they had forgotten their costumes, because for the miners- who are very connected with nature and appreciate colors- for them happiness is color. Mask imagery is very important for them, and dance is an equally important element. They didn't think any other kind of theatre existed. But *Puño de Cobre* didn't use any of these elements. This event made Yuyachkani realize they were making a very different kind of theatre than what the population

knew. So they decided they had to figure out not only how to investigate social problems, but also how to investigate traditions, and the significance of each element of those traditions. (Bell 170)

Therefore, similar to the anthropological theatre method of Eugenio Barba, Yuyachkani set out to create a theatre not based solely on Western theatre trends, but one that could reach the different cultural groups of Peru by traveling to the Andean parts of the country known for their performance traditions and festivals. A few of the group's main influences, for instance, are the masks and characters of the Festival de la Virgen del Carmen held every July in the small Cusco town of Paucartambo and la Fiesta de la Virgen de la Candelaria held in Puno every February.¹⁴ Yuyachkani, in short, is a group that migrated from Lima in order learn from the culture of the Andes highlands. The objective for their multiple migrations has been to reach their audiences more effectively with a new brand of heterogenous, multicultural social theatre for Peru, following what Augusto Casafranca has described as “una especie de intuición del pacto teatral” with the Peruvian public (Rojas-Trempe 161).

Yuyachkani's focus has primarily been on the Andean, Quechua-speaking populations. The group, for example, draws heavily from the critical and creative works of José María Arguedas, specifically his anthropological studies and his novels *Todas las sangres* (1964) and *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1969) to illustrate the contentious divides between “sierra” and “costa” in terms of how Peruvian society perceives its responsibilities in regards to its indigenous subjects. However, the academic

¹⁴ When I went to the Festival de la Virgen del Carmen in Paucartambo in July of 2008, I met Miguel Rubio and he confirmed this to me. He was also one of the people selected for the honor of carrying the Virgin Mary statue through the town in the festival.

and literary underpinnings of Yuyachkani's works are never obvious because their textual and visual cues do not always lend themselves to easy interpretation, such as in the case of their piece *Contraelviento* (1986).

Yuyachkani's oeuvre has evolved over the course of their forty years practicing theatre in Peru. Their works have become less overtly ideological even though they address very politicized issues such as indigenous rights, political violence, migration, and trauma. While they express a preoccupation with social and historical injustices, they do not take up the mantle of one ideology or the other, nor do they point fingers necessarily at individuals or political factions for the problems facing Peru. Their works apply a postcolonial perspective on Peruvian history and current events through visual and textual signifiers that are drawn from both folklore and present day figures. The next section will discuss two of Yuyachkani's works that draw attention to Peru's social inequalities through the topic of migration: *Los músicos ambulantes* (1982) and *Adiós, Ayacucho* (1990).

***Los músicos ambulantes* (1982), the Migrant, and the Politics of Optimism**

Los músicos ambulantes is a perennial classic in Peruvian theatre and is regularly produced by Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani during the Christmas holidays. The work follows a storytelling approach similar to that in children's theatre, weaving a tale of a regionally diverse set of characters with humor and music in a minimalist, Brechtian style in an attempt to bridge Peru's centuries-old social, economic, and cultural gaps (Salazar del Alcazar 19). Taking inspiration from the *Musicians of Bremen* by the Brothers Grimm

and keeping in tradition with the group's use of festival-inspired masks, *Los músicos ambulantes* presents Peru's regional differences in a de-racialized and de-naturalized manner through the use of half-face masks depicting different animals. The actors don these disguises and speak in the regional dialects of their respective characters in order to help the spectator question their ingrained prejudices about Peru's regional conflicts.

While first performed in 1982, *Los músicos ambulantes* is commonly held to reflect a certain political optimism toward a future defined in the leftist and populist discourses that arose after the end of the dictatorship of the general Francisco Morales Bermúdez Cerruti (1975-1980) and the country's transition to democracy with the election of Fernando Belaúnde Terry to the presidency (Manrique 280). However, underlying this optimism is a type of nostalgia that expresses an awareness of the impending and final loss of the Velasco Alvarado regime's initial promise of revolutionary progress. This nostalgic touch, paired with an ingenuous belief in the power of popular solidarity and hard work, as Juan Villegas argues, borrows heavily from the leftist slogans of the 1960s (205). The key to understanding the conflictive nature of the work's political optimism regarding Peru's potential for social change lies with understanding the dictatorship of Morales Bermúdez and its impact on Peru's politics and on the migrant.

The general Francisco Morales Bermúdez Cerruti initially served as a finance minister in Velasco Alvarado's government. Morales Bermúdez, while being a part of the Velasco Alvarado regime's reforms, constantly worked to undermine them at the bequest

of national bourgeois and international capitalistic interest (Dore and Weeks, “Class Alliances” 8-9). For instance, Morales Bermúdez and others in Velasco’s government

played a major part in limiting the capacity of the regime to mobilize popular support, both directly by limiting the freedom of those agencies set up - at least in part- to create and direct this support, and indirectly, by watering down the regime’s ‘populist’ economic measures in the name of effective economic management. (Philip 427)

After his coup d’état in 1975, Morales Bermúdez’s regime was noted for its weak compliance with Velasco’s reforms, which still held popularity and support amongst the liberal armed forces and the proletariat, if not among the national bourgeois.¹⁵

Morales Bermúdez’s government supported Velasco’s reforms largely in name only in order to serve the interests of the nation’s bourgeoisie.¹⁶ In the below anecdote from the dramatist César Vega Herrera, for example, Morales Bermúdez’s minimal observance of Velasco’s policies of social justice, especially with migrants from the Andes, is evident:

Yo llegué a Lima cuando estaba Morales Bermúdez, quien había sido su [Velasco’s] primer ministro y amigo de confianza. Cuando llego a Lima ingreso a trabajar a un Ministerio y me di cuenta, por primera vez, que ingresaban indios a las oficinas de relaciones públicas del Ministerio. Entonces, gracias al gobierno del General Velasco y a los hombres que lo acompañaban, por primera vez en la

¹⁵ Historical reports on this coup conflict a bit with what I was told by some Franciscan friars in a Cusco monastery in 2008. After rehearsing a theatrical work with the friars, I was given a tour of a hidden room where the monastery supposedly hid the General Velasco Alvarado during the 1975 coup and its aftermath. I have no way to confirm this fact, but it attests to the popularity and mythic figure of Velasco Alvarado in some parts of the country.

¹⁶ Much of this shift in policy, however, was precipitated by the extreme financial hardship that the country faced starting in 1975. In order to function, Peru borrowed 500 million American Dollars in 1976 in exchange for applying International Monetary Fund austerity measures that cut the national budget by twenty percent (Slawson, “Political” 98). Many social programs and institutions suffered, such as the Teatro Nacional Popular.

historia una comunidad le gana un juicio a un hacendado. Recuerdo que los indios entraban al despacho, yo les veía y conversaba con algunos. Notaba un rechazo racista en algunos empleados, incluso jefes, pero había ese ingreso de gente del ande [sic] al ministerio que presentaban su reclamo. Seguramente que al 90% nunca lo oyeron. (Benites)

Successive governments applied increasingly neoliberal methods in fostering the country's economic development and progressively discarded state-sponsored programs of economic reform for Peru's poorest, but the process had started, if only surreptitiously, with Morales Bermúdez.¹⁷ The contrasts of this era and its quixotic concern for the "popular" would also spur Peru's theatre to incorporate methods of collective production and become progressively more political in its themes.

Los músicos ambulantes, while typically interpreted as a call for regional and ethnic unity through its use of the conflict-ridden migration and subsequent reconciliation of its four main characters to Lima, also criticizes the metropolitan modernity of Lima and the officials who view migrants as an undesirable underclass. In the play, all of the characters leave their respective homes due to problems with their owners or bosses: El Burro, representing the Andes, was overworked and mistreated by his "patrón," or boss,

¹⁷ However, in his 1979 article, "Professional Militarism in Twentieth-Century Peru: Historical and Theoretical Background to the Golpe de Estado of 1968" in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Frederick M. Nunn describes the populism of Velasco Alvarado and, subsequently, Morales Bermúdez's governments as a convenient veneer for promoting development projects across the country. According to Nunn, the golpe and its policies were necessary for the military establishment "...did not want to see the Andes become a second Sierra Maestra" (395). In short, the revolutionary regime's policies sought to develop Peru to keep it from becoming communist: "...Morales Bermúdez' definition of the 'mission' is significant. It was to 'maintain the internal order of the republic' and through planning to 'contribute to national development.' Thus the developmental role was linked to the necessity for internal order and not to popular participation. Most of Velasco government's programs, despite outward appearances were designed with this in mind" (397).

La Gallina, representing the Creole coast, couldn't lay more eggs and none of the other roosters wanted to mate with her because she had become too fat. El Perro, from the northern part of the country, was mistreated and not fed by his owner and La Gata, from the jungle, was treated well until her owner witnessed her flirting with a male cat. After facing such troubles in their original homes, each set out for Lima in hope of improving their lives and they meet each other along the way. Moreover, as the characters abandon their homes in the provinces in search of more equitable treatment and better living conditions, the play posits the city of Lima as a site of hope and respite from the feudalistic job economies of the provinces.

All four characters have a degree of musical talent in their region's respective musical traditions and they decide that once they arrived in the city they would form a musical group to support themselves in Lima, thus, the name of the play, "*Los músicos ambulantes*." However, after arriving in the city, the four fall prey to their egos and deep-seated regional antagonisms and soon separate. Each character tries to find employment in the formal entertainment sector of the capital. This is staged via the characters' various degrading interviews represented as monologues directed at the audience, where the characters' invisible interviewers exist extra-diegetically, or off-stage. The characters then try to earn living as street performers, but find no luck, and, in some cases, resort to crime in order to survive in the city. In the end, the characters reconcile and form their own multi-regional, multi-cultural Peruvian music ensemble, working past their initial cultural differences and tastes to produce a successful collaborative performance and overcome the discriminatory job market of the city.

Los músicos ambulantes does not shy away from marking a specific political position in Peruvian popular discourse. For example, the characters' final stated goal is to use what they have learned in their struggle to succeed as a musical group in Lima to present this message of cultural unification to "cada una de esas plazas públicas, de esos mercados, de esos hospitales, escuelas, fábricas y demás comunidades campesinas de las cuales está sembrada toda nuestra patria" (95-6). This direct political stance concerning ethnic harmony has been well-received throughout Peru and the wide-spread success of *Los músicos ambulantes* has allowed the group to buy the large house that they now use for performances and workshops on Calle Tacna in the Magdalena section of Lima (Taylor 201).

The play's themes and subject matter do not solely revolve around issues of ethnic harmony. The characters' migration is also fraught with tension and fear as they navigate the uncertain terrain of a country facing the beginnings of insurrectionary violence. *Los músicos ambulantes* was first produced during the first outbreaks of political violence by such initially obscure groups as Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) and the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA). Velasco Alvarado's military government had attempted to decentralize Peru's political power and give more control of economic affairs to the provinces in an attempt to quell peasant uprisings and prevent a larger scale insurgency. However, as more conservative powers such as those represented by Morales Bermúdez sought to sabotage his efforts, more extremist leftist movements filled the power void created by Velasco's programs and gained in strength as Peru's economy worsened over the course of the next decade (Mayer 40).

During this time, migrants started to make the perilous journey to Lima looking not only for economic opportunity, but safety from growing levels of political violence. *Los músicos ambulantes* contextualizes the environment of danger and suspicion that migrants had to traverse in order to find refuge. Like El Burro explains to La Gallina during their migration to Lima in the beginning,

En todos los caminos están habiendo problemas, están pidiendo papeles, por eso Allqucha [Perrito] está yendo por delante y tú para que no te vayas a quedar botada en cualquier parte vas por detrás (82).

Fear of the unknown makes the characters cooperate with one another, at least until they arrive in the city.

The four characters also fall prey to the city's fear of the unknown: as newly-arrived migrants inhabiting the streets of the city, the four are suspected of being revolutionaries. Toward the end of the play, they are mishandled by the police, or the "tombería." The police push them around using typical police riot control tactics as dousing them with water because they think that they are protesting as they are huddled together as a group and drawing attention to themselves. Following the play's trend of using music and pantomime, the police do not appear in the scene and are instead represented by a whistle produced by one of the music conductors on the side stage. The police, addressed to off-stage in direction of the audience, represent another instance in which an imaginary level of authority is placed on the spectator. The group's tense encounter with the police builds until a bomb, playfully accompanied by a drum roll, is supposedly found in their possession. However, the spectator and the characters alike learn that the bomb and the entire police scenario is a practical joke played by the music

conductor Maestro Vilcashuamán, a silent character in the play. To bomb scare El Burro replies, “...ni la situación, ni nuestra historia están para bromas,” referring to the play’s recount of the characters’ trials in the city and the nation’s struggle with political violence and repression (94).

Los músicos ambulantes pokes fun at the high level of national tension due to insurrectionary violence, but Peru’s theatre, no matter its tone or how it criticized revolutionary ideology, was not immune to the increasingly agitated national scene. Artists, intellectuals, and everyday folk found themselves all subjects of political suspicion by sometimes the most surprising of audiences. Malgorzata Oleszkiewicz describes the tension surrounding the XIII Muestra Nacional de Teatro in Andahuaylas in 1988 and the general reception of its participants by authorities:

On April 17 1988, a demonstration of this military force greeted actors, directors, critics, and journalists who had come for the Muestra, some of whom had traveled 48 hours by land, unable to afford a ticket on the twice-weekly airplane to Andahuaylas. All had gathered for the parade which traditionally begins each Muestra. The colorful parade was confronted by a marching armed squadron, among them a four-year-old boy, also armed and in uniform. The festive crowd suddenly looked like a group of defenseless kids. (13)

Political violence shook Peru for twenty years and produced approximately 600,000 displaced persons and upwards of 70,000 disappeared (White 44). Many of the displaced migrated en masse to the capital city of Lima, where more than thirty percent of the country’s population currently live. Like in the case of the protagonists of *El ascensor* and *Los músicos ambulantes*, these internal refugees filled the shantytowns of Lima’s periphery and became active in the informal economic sectors of the city since they were,

like other waves of migrants before them, ill-equipped to participate in the modernized economy of the city.

Demographically, it is estimated that twenty-five percent of these migrant refugees are monolingual Quechua speakers, forty-two percent are illiterate, and that thirty-five percent only completed primary-level studies (White 44-45). According to Robin Kirk, the core issue behind the discrimination that Peru's displaced face is that they do not garner international attention. They stay in Peru where they have traditionally been ignored as the country's rural ethnic "others" that must "cross an invisible border of race, culture, and language within their own country [...]" in order to participate in its modernity (James 21). In other words, Peru's displaced have simply been forgotten by the country's governmental institutions given that they are already perceived as part of a long since abandoned and expendable class. Much like in the case of Fortunato in *El ascensor*, they become forgotten for political and economic convenience.

Los músicos ambulantes also suggests that race and ethnicity deeply complicates the twenty years of political violence that Peru experienced. During this period, different social factions disseminated their particular viewpoints on the violence to gain political power. In the realm of literature and political discourse, such works as the governmentally sponsored report on the 1983 Uchuraccay massacre; *La utopía arcaica*. *José María Arguedas y las ficciones del indigenismo*; and *Lituma en los Andes* by the future Peruvian presidential candidate and Nobel Prize winner, Mario Vargas Llosa; and

the Shining Path's Maoist propaganda defined the conflict using the age-old debate of civilization vs. barbarism.¹⁸

However, when examining these years through an economic lens, the conflict seems very different. The Shining Path, otherwise known as the Communist Party of Peru (PCP in Spanish), started as a largely ideological movement approximately seventeen years before the first outbreak of political violence in the beginning of the 1980s. Like stated previously, during the Shining Path's formative years the Velasco Alvarado regime's political successors worked hard to undermine and reverse his policies. For the duration of the 1970s and 80s, the economy shrank by thirty percent and inflation rose, culminating with the ineffective economic policies of the first government of Alan García Pérez. This economic distress weakened the government and its strategic response to the insurgency and many unnecessary abuses were committed in the name of preserving national security and hunting terrorists (Palmer 65-71, Mayer 33).

The drug trade, however, was an industry that strengthened the Shining Path and, to a lesser extent, the counter-revolutionary activities of the Peruvian government.¹⁹ It is

¹⁸ The debate on civilization and barbarism is best represented by Domingo F. Sarmiento's work *Facundo: Civilización y Barbarie* (1845) in Argentine literature, but is a strain in much of Latin American literature that addresses the difficulties of arriving at a type of pluriculturalism in the various regions of the continent. I would argue that it stretches all the way back to the Debate de Valladolid (1550-1551) between Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, in which the humanity of the indigenous subjects of the realm came into question. In the twentieth century, works such as *Ariel* (1900) by José Enrique Rodó, framed this question using characters from Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611), a work inspired by the colonization of the Americas.

¹⁹ Elena Álvarez's article "Economic Development, Restructuring and the Illicit Drug Sector in Bolivia and Peru: Current Policies" (1995) in the *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* describes how Peru's drug policy has shifted along with its economic policies.

of particular importance to note that the majority of the disappeared and displaced peoples from this time period originated from Ayacucho, most notably the Upper Huallaga Valley (UHV) area of the department. The UHV is the leading coca producing region of the country and supplies coca leaves to the entire country and the world. The Shining Path battled with the Peruvian government for control of the region's airstrips in order to export coca to prospective buyers in Colombia and the rest of Latin America. Many of the inhabitants of this region were doubly forced to grow coca leaves by the Shining Path and the Peruvian government, which also capitalized on the coca trade in order to subversively and secretly help fund its counter insurgency measures in the face of a weakened national economy. Therefore, many of the victims of displacement and torture from these years of political violence originate from the high-yield, lucrative coca producing regions of Peru (Palmer 68-72).

Even so, the Shining Path was not as formidable a force as many construed it to be, and this fact draws particular attention to the excesses of the Peruvian army and police in quelling the insurgency. In the words of Orin Starn:

contrary to breathless, uninformed exaggerations from think tanks and policymakers in Washington and Lima, the actual membership of the Shining Path was never large, even if it was true that members fought with a deadly precision and passion to lead Peru to the promised land of a classless utopia (143).

In the final work examined, these types of discursive manipulation unravel. In *Adiós, Ayacucho*, the protagonist Alfonso Cánepa is summarily judged guilty of insurgency and killed by the Peruvian National Police. Yet his death is not the end of his story. He sets out from his rural village in Ayacucho and heads towards Lima to recover his bones from the ultimate authority and supervisor of the torture he experienced: the President of Peru.

Through this performance piece, Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani directly discusses the causes and motives of the conflict through Alfonso's incredible migration to Lima.

***Adiós, Ayacucho* (1990): An Unlikely Pilgrimage**

At the level of plot, *Adiós, Ayacucho* revolves around the torture and death of a community leader named Alfonso Cánepa. Like many of the time period's victims, in the play, Alfonso is summoned one day to the police station in his small agrarian town of Quinoa in the Peruvian department of Ayacucho because he is suspected of terrorism. He is tortured and killed by the officers as he does not have the information that they had been searching for in his detention. His torture symbolizes the pinnacle of human cruelty. The officers play macabre games as they dispose of his body, throw a grenade at it, gather his bits in a black plastic bag, and then stuff his newly hollowed-out body with grass. Alfonso, however, maintains an otherworldly level of consciousness throughout the entire ordeal and escapes from his makeshift grave. At this point, he realizes that his cadaver is not whole and that the officers had taken a few of his limbs in their haste to dispose of his body. He then decides to head to Lima in order to recover his bones and receive a proper burial.

Adiós, Ayacucho, the novella and the play, focus on Alfonso's testimony, his migration to Lima, and the power that his deceased, yet mobile and speaking body holds over those who would rather ignore his torture and/or control his narrative. Published in 1986, the work provides a critical response to the handling of the 1983 Uchuraccay massacre in the nation's official discourse and pokes fun at Western academics who tend

to observe the peoples of the Andes through a colonializing, ethnographic viewpoint (Ortega 21-34). Additionally, Ortega's novella directly criticizes the administration of President Fernando Belaúnde Terry and his government's draconian tactics in suppressing the insurrectionary violence taking part primarily in the Southern Andes. *Adiós, Ayacucho*, the 1990 work by Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani, strips Alfonso's story of much of this academic debate, "separando todo aquello que era más propiamente literario, lo que describía y/o se refería a lo que el personaje pensaba, privilegiando más bien las acciones, la travesía, lo que el personaje hacía en tiempo presente ..." in order to give a sense of immediacy to the primordial human tragedy at hand: the erasure of memory (Rubio 90).

Yuyachkani's rendition of *Adiós, Ayacucho* seeks to promote collective remembrance as a type of resistance to censorship and widespread oblivion of the events of the "años de violencia política," as they are commonly called in Peru. From the 1980s through the 1990s, Peru's populace witnessed a count upwards of 70,000 people die or disappear (Peru 17). While a good part of the insurrectionary and counter-insurrectionary violence would end with President Alberto Fujimori's government's arrest of the leader of the Shining Path, Abimael Guzmán, in 1993, the work of adjudicating the abuses of the state in combatting the group would not begin until Fujimori's fall from power in the year 2000. The transitional government of Valentín Paniagua inaugurated the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) following the famous model set by South Africa

in 1995.²⁰ Like in many cases in literature and performance, *Adiós, Ayacucho* long precedes this official, government-mandated commission's efforts at addressing both the malfeasances of the state and the revolutionary groups that waged war against it.

Adiós, Ayacucho was first performed in 1990 in the Plaza de Armas in Lima as a protest against the actions of previous governments in trying to stem insurrection in the Andes, but is best known through Yuyachkani's participation with this commission from 2001 to 2004 (Rubio 37). From Lima, *Adiós, Ayacucho* traveled Peru with the TRC, converting the plazas and squares of cities like Tingo María, Huánuco, Ayaviri, Sicuani, Abancay, Chalhuanca, Vilcashuamán, Huanta and Huancayo into Alfonso's open-air burial ground and their residents into his cohorts and mourners (Rubio 51). These street performances of *Adiós, Ayacucho* channeled the power of long-past popular memories of violence during the hearings of the TRC in order to bring about what James C. Scott calls a "revolutionary crisis". According to Scott:

The typical revolutionary crisis is [...] brought about by small but essential demands that are experienced by large numbers of people simultaneously and, because they are thwarted, can be achieved only by revolutionary action. The making of a revolutionary crisis, to be sure, depends on a host of factors [...] but the one factor it does *not* require is revolutionary ambitions among the rank and file. In this sense there is no fit between ends and means. At one level, this is no more than commonsense; the demands of subordinate classes spring from their daily experience and the material they face. (341)

Through the performance of *Adiós, Ayacucho* in regions long affected by political violence, Alfonso came to represent the need for Peru's subordinate classes to testify

²⁰ Paul van Zyl's article, "Dilemmas of Transitional Justice: The Case of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission" (1999), in the *Journal of International Affairs* provides background to the establishment of South Africa's TRC. However, one fundamental way in which the two TRCs differ is in the case of amnesty. The Peruvian TRC did not grant mass amnesty to members of Peru's armed forces for their crimes.

about the injustices they experienced and witnessed during the 1980s and 90s. Through Alfonso, Yuyachkani helped bring the people's "small, but essential demands" for justice and reparation to the TRC's hearings by emboldening the public to break its fearful silence (A'ness 397).

Adiós, Ayacucho acknowledges that the migration of peoples from the Andes was heightened during the conflict, creating a type of double trauma as people left their homes to escape violence. During his own migration to Lima, Alfonso reflects on people like himself whose migration is predicated by:

Debe haber sido después de salir de Abancay más o menos que empecé a reparar en la gente que cruzaba la carretera en determinados trechos. Otros iban sobre enorme piedras. La sospecha de que fueran como yo, desaparecidos, me sobrecogió. ¿No era yo acaso el único que iba a Lima a recobrar sus huesos? (Rubio, "Cuerpo" 106).

Alfonso's narration of his migration along the mountainous route leading to Lima is full of close encounters with both state and insurgency groups, indicating that this route was full of perils for other migrants as well. For instance, the truck Alfonso rides to get to Lima is questioned by both groups as an act of surveillance, but he witnesses a particularly chilling scene as he departs an area that seemingly was just shaken with armed combat:

(Recoge una vela. Ilumina las ropas del muerto).
 Pronto llegaríamos a Huanta, otro de los ejes de la contrainsurgencia militar, hacia poco que allí fueron descubiertas tumbas secretas, enormes fosas comunes. Los cadáveres aún estaban en la plaza, irreconocibles. Mientras las madres gemían a coro buscando a sus muertos, yo escuchaba el crujir de sus huesos, el llanto intermitente. Tanta muerte, tanta matanza. (Rubio, "Cuerpo" 107)

It is in the midst of Huanta's apocalyptic scenery that Alfonso writes his letter to the President and calls on him to respect the rights of his citizens to "... no sólo el derecho inalienable a la vida humana sino también a una muerte propia con entierro propio y cuerpo entero" (Rubio, "Cuerpo" 109). Curiously, in the play, the act of writing the letter is pantomimed as reading khipu knots in homage to the coloniality of the struggle, but rolled up as a parchment for presentation to the president.

Through his insistency to face the president and hand deliver him his letter of protest, *Adiós, Ayacucho* also frames Alfonso's migration and subsequent confrontation with the President as "a legitimization, or even a *celebration*, of [...] evasive and cunning forms of resistance" (Scott 299). In the play and the novella, for example, Alfonso finds refuge amongst Lima's undesirable urban classes and disguises himself as a vagrant during a public ceremony promoting Christian charity in order to meet the President so that he could "...sentir la mirada de una de sus víctimas" (Rubio, "Cuerpo" 113). While the President is not specified in the play as he is in Ortega's narrative, he represents a symbolic site of repressive power distanced from Peru's impoverished Southern Andean provinces. Through his migration in the play and the novella, Alfonso brings the problems of these regions of Peru to the doorstep of the President and comes to represent a type of folk hero assembled from the popular traditions of the Andes. When he is recognized by the President in the play and in the novella, however, he is beaten on handing him his written request for his bones. In this example, the President's actions demonstrate an ironic method of suppressing dissent: Alfonso is labeled a dangerous

terrorist by the government-controlled media, but is ignored when given a fair chance to express his point of view (Ortega 63).

While not specifically addressing the topic of development, *Adiós, Ayacucho* protests the attempts of political power to control popular reaction to repression and violence through the example of Alfonso's multi-level migration both from a state of living to a state of death, as well as from his native Ayacucho to Lima, in search of justice. Like in the case of *El ascensor* by César Vega Herrera and a previous creation of Yuyachkani, *Los músicos ambulantes*, the play demonstrates the power of theatre and performance in culling popular sentiment and representing the needs and preoccupations of groups that fall outside of the official support of the state. The next chapter of this dissertation will discuss how Peru's theatre from the 1990s uses the theme of migration to confront what can sometimes be another, less evident type of violence: globalization.

Chapter 3

The Theatre of the Fujishock:

A Reappraisal of Tradition, Locality, and Migration in a Globalizing Peru

The relationship between majority and minority in the nation state has always confounded the plans of those who seek to construct a cohesive national identity. As Arjun Appadurai describes in his book, *The Fear of Small Numbers* (2006), minorities are not only defined by their small numbers in an ever more globalized world, sometimes, as in the case of Peru, “minorities” are actually numerical majorities who have systematically and historically lacked access to power, both political and economic. Globalization, according to Appadurai, has heightened the differences between majority and minority in countries across the globe as power becomes increasingly redistributed to minorities as they seek better living conditions and opportunities, such as through migration. But while a globalized economy provides a wider population with new and faster ways to progress through its multi-centered, cellular structure, it also rearranges economies and renders certain sectors and practices obsolete, such as those that traditionally formed the axis of village life. In response to this phenomenon, the Peruvian theatre of the 1990s disseminated a certain type of ethnic chauvinism amongst disenfranchised Andean minorities as a type of defense against some of the deleterious effects of globalization and what came to be called the “Fujishock.” It also portrayed the family as a unit in crisis and presented the breakdown of village life, tradition, and myth as a metaphor for the state of the Peruvian nation. This chapter will hold that this epoch’s theatre overwhelmingly depicts how what Appadurai calls “localism” in *Modernity at*

Large (1996) can be a tool for protecting group as well as individual interests in a globalized economy. This chapter will discuss how in *Hatun Yachaywasi* (1993) by Gervasio Juan Vilca, *Con Nervios de Toro* (1996) by Javier Maraví Aranda, and *Pishtaco* (1993) by Julio Ortega migrants and provincial village dwellers utilize their “Andeanness” as particular type of localism. These plays depict how Peru’s theatre responded to this new globalized economic climate.

Historical Considerations: Fujimori’s Performance of Fujimori and his “Fujishock”

The 1990s in Peru was marked by violence, repression, and the country’s fight to halt hyperinflation. This decade saw the eventual end of many of Velasco Alvarado’s grand reforms from the 1960s and 70s as revolutionary ideal became tempered by an increased sense of individualism and a breakdown of the communal spirit, which were both influenced by the new economic order of the day. Or, like José Castro Urioste describes, during this time period:

[...] la esperanza revolucionaria y de transformación de la sociedad que se tuvo en otras décadas, será diluida. Aparecerán producto de la propuesta neoliberal, valores como un individualismo y una competencia exacerbada. En tal sentido, si en los noventa desaparece la violencia del terrorismo, en esos años surge una violencia económica e ideológica como consecuencia del gobierno neoliberal de Fujimori, y que continúa en el gobierno de Toledo. (Castro, “Globalización” 177)

Contrary to what Castro Urioste holds, however, while violence from insurrectionary forces did abate in the 1990s, state-sponsored violence continued throughout the decade. Alberto Fujimori’s government (1990-2000) created a system of oppression and terror that both “...sought to discursively exploit existing fears in society in order to maintain a disorganized civil society unable to articulate its voice,” and “...played on peoples’ fear

and desire for normalcy and reiterated the claim that only heavy-handed solutions would revert the crisis and return order and stability to Peru” (Burt 42, 44). In short, public fears helped to uphold Fujimori’s authoritarian rule and coerced many Peruvians into remaining silent, if not complacent, about the erosion of their civil liberties out of fear of repression. The desire for stability, both political and economic, would paralyze Peru through the form of an insidious dictatorship.

Yet, before paralyzing Peru, Fujimori first had to mesmerize it. Alberto Fujimori’s presidency created a pseudo-populism largely based on his persona and his performance of it. Fujimori was an entirely different president than Peru had ever witnessed: he was the son of Japanese immigrants, an agricultural engineer, and a university rector. As part of his presidential campaigns, Fujimori visited remote Andean villages and commiserated with the locals by donning a *chullo* and partaking in local traditions (Kay 56). Like Jo-Marie Burt describes, Fujimori would draw from the popular to set himself apart from traditional Peruvian politics: “By discursively locating himself as ‘part of the people’ challenging the power and privilege of the ‘party-cracy,’ Fujimori created an ‘us versus them’ framework that played on and stoked popular disgust with the political class’s failure to address Peru’s problems” (46). “El Chino,” as he was affectionately called by the Peruvian populace, foiled Mario Vargas Llosa’s attempt to become president.

He also demonstrated that he could connect culturally with the vast majority of the Peruvian public through his minority status in Peruvian society and his experience being a migrant. According to Carlos Iván Degregori:

Fujimori era, además, *migrante*. Según Carlos Franco (1990), la migración es la experiencia más importante en la vida de la mayoría de peruanos adultos. Para

muchos de los migrantes no se trató de un simple traslado del campo a la ciudad, sino de una suerte de inmigración a otro país por construir, al ‘Perú promesa y posibilidad’ que hasta hace pocas décadas era para ellos un ‘mundo ancho y ajeno’, como reza el título de la novela de Ciro Alegría. Allí llegan, desde la comunidad de Rumi, desde Urakusa, desde Cahuachi (Nasca) o desde Kawachi (Japón). Por eso, quien quiso descalificar a Fujimori porque su madre no hablaba castellano, no advirtió que la mayoría de madres de los peruanos adultos no hablan castellano o lo hablan bastante mal, pues esta lengua recién se difunde masivamente en el país en los últimos 40 años. (111)

Therefore, through cultivating the various facets of his identity, he was able to maneuver through his lack of political experience, his unclear policies, and his status as an unknown figure in Peru in order to win the presidency. More broadly, Fujimori understood that winning in politics has as much or more to do with performance than with policy and that one can mold one’s reality by simply performing a certain version of it. Victor Vich explains in his study of the performativity of Peruvian politics through street theatre in Lima:

[...] *performance* has been understood as a staging that reveals the norms through which social reality is constructed, emphasizing the active role played by the subject in his or her own construction. It is a complex act that, if it strives to deconstruct the bases of identity (and of power), also can affirm them within a predetermined political strategy. As George Yúdice has explained, it is a question of understanding performance as the consciousness of modern epistemologies held by subjects- that is, of the interiorization of the norms (and power) by means of which people have been constituted as subjects and reality has been configured as a discourse. (50-51)

Performance, in other words, is an intersection of thought and action that draws heavily from social, economic, and political context. However, it does not wield power in itself, for that depends on the actor and, likewise, the spectators’ ability to intuit and draw from context to produce meaning. That being said, used strategically, it can set new precedents for social behavior.

During his presidency, Fujimori played the role of the strong man who set out to rescue Peru through his own paradoxical brand of neoliberal capitalist populism (Kay 56). He had inherited a foreign debt of 1.7 billion dollars by 1990 standards and had to mend the country's subsequent poor relations with its international creditors (Wise "Politics" 84). Ineffective economic policies during the 1980s caused the epoch's hyperinflation, and, by the time of his presidency, the cost of living rose 7417%, sending many Peruvians to the bread lines (Álvarez 131).¹ Paired with the insurrectionary violence from groups like Sendero Luminoso and the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru, Peru experienced a climate of chaos and insecurity. Thus, Fujimori, the inexperienced leader, suspended congress and proclaimed Peru a military state in April of 1992. Through his *autogolpe*, he enacted shock economic policies, or the "Fujishock" as it would come to be called, to free capital from tax and other sources in order to stem hyperinflation. He did this by privatization and cuts to social services. This tactic proved effective in halting the economic crisis, but also took away some vital welfare programs for Peru's poorest (Álvarez 131-32).

Even though Fujimori's government put an effective moratorium on democracy in Peru, his popularity increased by fifteen points in national surveys (Kelly 872-73). He maintained high popularity throughout his entire presidency, averaging a sixty-six point approval rating and those who contested his policies became publicly reviled as members of "*la oposición*", a derogatory moniker connoting self-serving opponents of the

¹ As part of my research I interviewed a family in Chiclayo that recounted their experiences living during the 1980s in Peru and spoke to many residents of their neighborhood. For many, fears about returning to a time of standing in lines for bread and other staples inform their voting decisions to this day.

government” (Cameron 8-9). This popularity, of course, was supported by his success in lowering inflation which, thereby, improved the lot of most everyday Peruvians economically. Therefore, while there were egregious abuses against the democratic process during his rule, many Peruvians felt that shock measures were necessary in order to stabilize the country and prepare it to re-enter a global marketplace (Burt 43, Kelly 875-77, Kay 62).

The Theatre of the Fujishock

In the theatre of the 1990s, the theme of the breakdown of the family and tradition was used predominantly to process these economic, social, and political issues. The most current anthologies of Peruvian theatre from the 1990s to the beginning of the new millennia, such as José Castro Urioste’s *Dramaturgia peruana* (1999) and Luis A. Ramos-García’s *Voces del interior: Nueva dramaturgia peruana* (2001) explore how Peru’s theatre has taken a defensive stance against globalization’s, and the Fujishock’s, atomizing effects by presenting the family as both a lost ideal and a collapsing structure. Many of the works anthologized in these volumes use the family to demonstrate how identity is defined by communion with others and what happens when this communion is denied, frustrated, or violently rejected. Like Castro Urioste has stated in the introduction to his invaluable anthology on Peruvian theatre:

En la imagen de la familia expresada por el teatro peruano último, la cohesión del grupo desaparece y el futuro es visto como la representación de una comunidad que se resquebraja. Los proyectos de vida ahora son estrictamente individuales: la familia se transforma en varios sujetos que en el pasado han tenido algún vínculo, pero forjan su futuro al margen de esas relaciones anteriores. (*Dramaturgia peruana* 12)

As a consequence, in the Peruvian theatre of the 90s, the theme of the degeneration of the family is a symbol of a larger, national problem: the breakdown of representative democracy in the name of “progress.”

The family, in this case, resonates with Arjun Appadurai’s understanding of local culture in his work, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (1996) and its tenuous relationship with global culture and capital. Like the family, “the local,” according to Appadurai, “is an inherently fragile social achievement (...)” that “must be maintained carefully at various kinds of odds” (*Modernity* 179). Appadurai acknowledges that the nation-state is complicit with the claims of global culture, but he posits the local and its even smaller subdivision, the neighborhood, as sites that confound the aims of these two entities. The local, in Appadurai’s analysis, uncovers the complicity of the nation-state with the interests of global capital. In summation, locality, as the condensation of a set of historical contexts and social modes of living to a set area, is usually defined by how it differs from other localities or places. It is, in a literary sense, the construction of a narrative of place in reference to other locations. Neighborhoods provide and generate definitions and interpretations of given sections in a given place or locality. For that reason, neighborhoods are hard to control in nation-state discourse because they are the original site of the nation’s contemporary sense of place, custom, and tradition. For example, Susan Lobo has signaled in her work with migrant groups in Lima, Peru’s squatter villages that neighborhood gossip can prove to be much more powerful and effective than any national or local law in maintaining social order in communities (15). The local can be a site of enormous power and pressure.

While Peru's theatre from the 1990s questioned the cohesiveness of Peruvian society by presenting it as a dysfunctional family, it did so within a dystopian, yet distinctly Peruvian universe, filled with many of the markers of Andean culture. The theme of ethnic pride and chauvinism was ubiquitous in much of the theatre produced in this decade. Ethnic pride served as a sort of defense mechanism to protect local culture and, in the theatre, the theme of family became inextricably linked with the preservation of ritual and cultural tradition. The town festival, for instance, was a popular setting for many works of Peruvian theatre because it served to protest the threat that the rapid incursion of global capital and practices placed on the local. The town festival setting in this decade's theatre also evokes many of the provincial Andean legends of the past so as to protest this globalizing change. In addition, by protesting globalization, these plays also criticize the shock economic measures that Fujimori applied to put Peru in the good graces of international creditors such as the International Monetary Fund.

In *Hatun Yachaywasi* (1993) by Gervasio Juan Vilca, a young migrant, Chawpi, leaves his family and village behind in order to progress personally and economically. Through his attempts to shun or hide their Andean origins and then later vindicate them, he demonstrates that, similar to what Lucy Lippard declares, "[w]e are living today on a threshold between a history of alienated displacement from and a longing for home and the possibility of a multicentered society that understands the reciprocal relationship between the two" and that the "local," not to mention the family as well, is increasingly solely bound by sentiment and less by tradition (20). As traditional land economies shrink, the lure for a globalized, metropolitan style of life increases and families and

villages must constantly learn how to survive in multiple worlds with differing philosophies toward money, knowledge, history, place, and spirituality. If anything, *Hatun Yachaywasi*, like much of the Peruvian theatre from the nineties, uses the migrant to question how globalization has broken down the modern subject's attachment to place and the elements that construct it. Given that Peru benefits from a vast and diverse terrain and cultural heritage, its theatre provides a type of petri dish for contextualizing how popular groups as well as intellectuals have processed globalization and its vicissitudes. The Fujishock, in this analogy, is the bacterial inoculation. This chapter will analyze the theatrical representations of what it has produced.²

***Hatun Yachaywasi* (1993) by Gervasio Juan Vilca**

There are certain stock themes and settings in the staged theatre. One such theme is family strife and one such setting is the home. Well known issues that fall under the archi-theme of the family such as that of the warring brothers, the terrible mother, and the orphaned child have been recycled, reworked, and renewed through multitudes of theatrical works throughout the West and beyond. *Hatun Yachaywasi* plays on the archetypal, biblical tale of the prodigal son, but within a distinctly Andean context. The title means “Gran casa del saber” in Quechua and is a phrase typically used to describe the Western university or a place of adult higher-learning. Chawpi, the son of a rural livestock tender, is admitted to Puno's main university to study “social communications.” In order to attend, he must migrate from his rural village and leave his father and his

² I thank my resident Microbiologist, my husband, for this analogy.

brother behind. In the play, Chawpi scorns the provincial Andean ways of his father because he views them as backwards and detrimental to his goals and sheds them just as he removes his indigenously fashioned clothes once he arrives in the city. Andean ethnic markers have traditionally been interpreted unfavorably amongst Peru's metropolitan social structures which causes some migrants like the fictional Chawpi to discard or forget certain practices and adapt ones that would be viewed more favorably in the metropolis.³ Yet, as studies have shown, maintaining ties to provincial traditions is usually beneficial to establishing helpful networks within larger cities.⁴ *Hatun Yachaywasi*, therefore, views the issue of rural to urban migration cynically and presents a pessimistic version of what happens to the Andean villages and families as their youth leave in search of economic gain. In addition, through *Hatun Yachaywasi*, we see how the loss of local traditions and ways of life are represented through the breakdown of the family, and that the "the local," according to Appadurai, can be used as a defensive tool against the assimilatory nature of globalization only if people wish to actively preserve it.⁵

Hatun Yachaywasi was written by Gervasio Juan Vilca and produced by his theatre group Yatiri in 1993 (Escudero 45). Given the predominance of new aesthetic

³ See Kirsten Paaregaard's *Linking Separate Worlds. Urban Migrants and Rural Lives in Peru* (1997) and Susan Lobo's *A House of My Own. Social Organization in the Squatter Settlements of Lima, Peru* (1982).

⁴ See Thomas Turino's *Moving Away from Silence. Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration* (1993).

⁵ See Syed Ahmed's 2005 article "When a People Do Not Need to Remember: Witnessing the Death of Pangtoed'Cham in Sikkim" published in *New Theatre Quarterly (NTQ)*.

techniques in the Peruvian theatre of the 1990s, *Hatun Yachaywasi* is not a work that stands out because of its experimentalism or the method in which it represents the subject matter of Andean rural to urban migration. Indeed, many of the techniques employed in the work, such as prolepsis, oneiricism, and the use of a Brechtian chorus to comment on the action, can also be found in other similar works of Latin American theatre after the 1960s. *Hatun Yachaywasi* is distinctive because of how it uses a pan-Andean context to frame particular themes related to migration, modernity, and development. Specifically, the play focuses aesthetically and thematically on a distinctly Andean, specifically Puno-Lake Titicaca microcosm, and how it copes with the migration of its youth.

Vilca describes in an epigraph to his work that “la migración de los jóvenes hacia las ciudades es alarmante, muchas son las causas del despoblamiento del campo; sólo los padres y los abuelos se quedan a trabajar la tierra y mantener su cultura ancestral” (47). Vilca is profoundly connected to his Puno roots and, like many dramatists of the latter part of the twentieth century in Peru, he addresses modern issues through a thematic and aesthetic return to the Andean. Vilca was born and lives in Puno where he participated with the theatrical group Yatiri, founded in 1988. His group Yatiri first produced *Hatun Yachaywasi* for the V Muestra Regional de Teatro Peruano in Puno. Vilca currently works as a television and radio producer in the Puno region (Ramos-García 45). He also was elected mayor of the town of Santa Lucía in his native province of Lampa in the department of Puno, running as a candidate for the conservative, traditionalist RAICES political party (Chacón Chino). In short, his life’s work demonstrates a dedication to

promoting the Puno region's interest in sustainable development while protecting its Andean cultural identity.

Puno's particularities are reflected in the work starting with the paradoxical nature of its title, in that, while Quechua is used to title the work and in its dialogue, its figures and symbolism draw more directly from Aymara tradition. The Anchanchu demon in the play, for instance, is not one that predominates in Quechua folklore, but instead is well known in Aymara culture. The figure of the Anchanchu is not known to Western audiences but is a product of both Peruvian and Bolivian Aymara mythologies. Nonetheless, his description differs wildly depending on the source. For instance, popular web sources describe the Anchanchu as vampiric or as a satanic figure, but both descriptions are very far from what is upheld in traditional and documented Aymara mythology (Mitos y leyendas). The precise role of the Anchanchu in Aymara tradition is important to understanding how this figure moves the plot of *Hatun Yachaywasi* and provides commentary on the main character's migration to Puno for study.

In Aymara mythology and popular tradition, the Anchanchu's spiritual authority is linked to mineral extraction, and thus, trade. According to Miguel Rubio Zapata, the pre-Hispanic civilizations of the Andes viewed the Anchanchu as a type of gate keeper of the mineral largesse of the Earth and regularly paid homage to him in order to win his approval and, thereby, his acquiescence and generosity:

Se dice que, al encontrarse una veta de mineral, lo primero que se hacía era pedir permiso al Anchanchu (espíritu que habita en los suelos y que tiene propiedad sobre ellos), para que autorice la extracción de las riquezas de sus dominios. Se le ofrecía un pago (ofrenda), donde se sacrificaba una llama virgen y se colocaba un molde de grasa con láminas de los metales que podría contener la mina. Al mismo tiempo, se realizaba una danza con música de zampoñas y máscaras de cerámica

con cuernos de taruca (venados). La ofrenda era incinerada con estiércol. Luego de realizada la ceremonia, el sacerdote hechicero llamado “layqa”, examinaba las cenizas para leer en ellas la voluntad del Anchanchu, representado en la danza con los cuernos de las tarucas. (“Diablos”)

In this example, the Anchanchu displaces the right to authority over mineral wealth from humans and, in doing so, acts to counteract greed and ambition. According to the tradition that Rubio describes above, no one has the right to haphazardly mine at their will without beckoning the permission of the Andean underworld, or the *Manqapacha*, and its representative, the Anchanchu. In *Hatun Yachaywasi*, however, the author links the demon figure with what can be called another type of economic transfer: the migration of human bodies to cities. Take, for instance, Chawpi’s encounter with the Anchanchu as he dances in a discotheque with his new college friends in Act 2, Scene 3. The Anchanchu, as typical in the work, enters the scene, accompanied by his own music and light effects. Chawpi, even though stumbling around drunk, recognizes the demon and begins to engage with it:

CHAWPI ¡*Anchanchu!* ¿Qué haces aquí? ¿También te gusta la disco? (Se ríe) ¿A qué has venido? ¿Por qué me has seguido?

Anchanchu rodea a Chawpi.

CHAWPI Seguro quieres que regrese a la comunidad, pero yo no voy a regresar, porque veo que no hay futuro para mí, mis amigos también ya no están en la comunidad, se han ido a otras ciudades. Vete, regresa a la comunidad. Déjame, yo sabré como hacer mi vida aquí en esta ciudad. (*Sale*) (Vilca 56)

From this point, the Anchanchu leaves Chawpi and begins to focus on his brother Misitu. Misitu is an enigmatic figure in the play because, as stated previously, he is mute.⁶ Given that theatre necessitates an exact and sometimes parsimonious economy of symbols, any disabilities that characters have in works of performance are key to interpreting them.⁷ In addition, the staged theatre depends greatly on dialogue to represent the inner thought processes and motivations of its characters. Therefore, when one character is mute, he becomes disabled not only physically in the play, but also in regards to the spectator's ability to sympathize and connect with him. Muteness, in short, can serve as a type of Brechtian distancing. The Anchanchu demon can be read as another mute figure. The demon appears on the scene and commands the full attention of the characters through his apparent ability to manipulate the senses, as indicated in the stage directions, but he does not speak or communicate verbally.

The shared muteness of the Anchanchu and Misitu, symbolizes different types of "modern/colonial" disenfranchisement.⁸ For example, what the Anchanchu represents is a metaphysical tradition that has been devalued by the Spanish colonial project and by the propagation of Western methods of knowledge transmission. *Hatun Yachaywasi*, like

⁶ The name Misitu might be familiar to those who have read *Yawar Fiesta* (1941) by José María Arguedas. Misitu in this novel is the legendary bull that the villagers of Puquio bring in for their festival in the novel. Any connection between the bull Misitu and the Misitu of Vilca's play is unlikely, but could also be ironic due Vilca's Misitu's weakness.

⁷ Take the blindness of Oedipus in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, for instance. While disability is not always on the same level as illness, a good study that confirms the symbolic role of illness in literature is Susan Sontag's *Illness as Metaphor* (1978).

⁸ Modern/colonial is a term that I've penned to facilitate my discussion of the work of the Modernity/Coloniality group of scholars in my dissertation.

many other works of “new” Peruvian theatre, demonstrates that colonialism in Latin America was not merely a land grab. It truncated multiple indigenous systems of thought and belief and shut off large groups of people from the sites of power in their newly subjugated territories.⁹ The Anchachu in *Hatun Yachaywasi* seeks to regain his venerated position by trying to influence the behavior of the various village characters in the work such as Román, Emilio, Misitu, and Chawpi. However, Chawpi, in the above example, has decided to cut off his ties to the village and its traditional Andean practices in order to seek a better future. In short, Chawpi chooses to forget his village customs and legends because he finds them both useless and detrimental to the life that he would like to live in the city. The Anchachu, therefore, has no hold on him any longer.

To understand Misitu’s symbolic connection with the Anchachu in *Hatun Yachaywasi*, we must analyze the difference between his and his brother Chawpi’s ability to operate in a capitalist and global knowledge economy, represented par excellence by the Western university or the “hatun yachaywasi.” As his able-bodied older brother, it traditionally would have been Chawpi’s duty to look after his disabled younger brother. While Misitu’s muteness does not affect his ability to engage in work, it limits his ability to function in a world that depends primarily on verbal communication. It is not indicated in the play if Misitu can read or write, but it is suspected that he cannot, as he spends all day helping his father Román tend the sheep and other grazing animals on their rented land instead of attending school. One might suspect that Román has taught him to read,

⁹ Refers to Walter Mignolo’s concept of the “colonial wound” in *The Idea of Latin America* (2005).

but other textual examples indicate that Román's knowledge is chiefly agricultural as he states in the first act of the five act play:

Lo que importa es que has ingresado al Hatun Yachaywasi [universidad], y allí aprenderás muchas cosas, porque aquí en el campo no nos enseñan bien. Todo lo que he aprendido se los [sic] debo a mis padres y abuelos, en la escuela sólo he aprendido a leer y escribir mi nombre. (49)

Román does not know about or understand the world of letters that Chawpi will enter when he begins his studies at the university. In fact, he seems to think that because so many students and faculty come from the university to study the agricultural practices of small farmers that Chawpi instead possesses a more valuable and profitable knowledge than those of the cities:

¡Claro! No ves a los estudiantes de la universidad, cuando llegan a nuestra comunidad nos preguntan de pie a cabeza. ¿Cómo duermes? ¿Cómo duermen tus ganaditos? ¿Cómo nace la vaca de pico de cabeza y ¿cómo ponen huevos tus llamas?... (49)

Misitu, by contrast, will not have the same opportunities to study as Chawpi on account of his disability and his father's own lack of education. His opportunities to move to the city and progress economically and socially through work like the other youth of his village are limited.

Like the character of the *opa*¹⁰ in José María Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*, Misitu's muteness exposes him to an inordinate amount of abuse. Emilio and even his brother Chawpi take out their frustrations on Misitu without the fear of repercussion as he cannot speak, read, or write. His inability to communicate verbally dehumanizes him in the perspective of many of the characters in the play. For instance, Emilio, the landlord

¹⁰ An "opa" in the Peruvian Andes is a mentally challenged or mute person.

and chief of the land company, Choroma, for which Román also works, refers to Misitu as a “thing”:

EMILIO A mí no me importa. (Se dispone a partir, ve al Misitu, vuelve)
 Ah, me olvidaba, (Al Misitu) esa cosa me desapareces no
 quiero ver más en la empresa.
 MISITU (Furioso) ¡Aaaaa!...
 EMILIO Te lo llevas a donde sea. Llévatelo a Juliaca, Arequipa, Lima y
 ahí lo botas, pero me lo desapareces. [...] (53)

Hence, the budding friendship between the Anchanchu and Misitu and the disappearance of both at the end of the play is hardly puzzling. Neither have any place in the village any longer: the Anchanchu no longer receives his tributes and Misitu is treated inhumanely. Misitu, therefore, follows the lead of his brother Chawpi and other family members who are only mentioned in passing in the dialogue and leaves the village.

Overall, the change in local ways of life represented in *Hatun Yachaywasi* is caused by a more pernicious and more modern phenomenon. As Javier Vallejo states in his review of the play for Madrid's *El país*, "...*Hatún Yachaywasi*, [sic] de G. Juan Vilca, es la crónica melancólica del despoblamiento agrario en el Perú de fin de siglo y de la disolución del alucinante imaginario telúrico quechua andino." The play suggests that this population shift away from the agricultural villages of the Andes and other regions is attributable to the centripetal forces of global capitalism which impel people to travel to bigger cities in search of progress and a developed Western lifestyle.¹¹

While the events occurring during and after Chawpi's migration to Puno for study form the primary storyline of *Hatun Yachaywasi*, the interactions between the provincial

¹¹ See Mike Davis' *Planet of Slums* (2009) and Hernando De Soto's *The Other Path* (1989).

characters left behind are perhaps even more crucial to interpreting the work along these lines. Through dialogue and non-verbal cues, the play uses these characters to reflect pessimistically on the migration of able-bodied youth and demonstrates how it negatively affects the agricultural villages and small towns of the Peruvian Andes. It achieves this through how it summons up the differing layers of Chawpi's Andean society. For example, two side stories frame the main story of Chawpi's migration by mixing the fantastic with the real and by referring to the past within the present. First, the otherworldly communication between Chawpi's mute brother, Misitu, and the Anchanchu demon symbolizes the loss of cultural identity in rural villages as youth leave them for the cities. Second, the fractured working relationship between Emilio the landlord and Román comments on the current socioeconomic and cultural issues facing small, provincial towns in Peru's Andes in the aftermath of the 1969 Agrarian Reform, which, as was discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation, is an event which still has repercussions in the agrarian economies of Peru's villages today.

The play presents these side stories through a fractured chronology. The story line jumps to certain key future points in the saga of Chawpi's migration story and sometimes leaves sizable gaps in the logical progression of the play that only can be interpreted by considering the work as a whole. Like indicated above, *Hatun Yachaywasi* also shifts the central role of protagonist away from Chawpi and creates other secondary characters, such as his father Román, through this patchwork structure. For example, starting in the second act, the play darts from location to location, between the village and Puno, in

order to contrast the new life that Chawpi embarks on as a university student in the city with the village life he leaves behind.

One such way in which the play illustrates this constant push and pull between village life and the ways of the metropolis is through language. Various dialects, sociolects, and languages are used in the play. For instance, the dialogue between Román, Chawpi, and other village inhabitants is a mix of Quechua and Spanish and while the Quechua is translated in the written script, finding a way to translate the Quechua for a wider, non-Quechua speaking audience would be a challenge for a director in a majority monolingual Spanish area like Lima. For instance, the dialogue between Román and the Anchanchu would be particularly perplexing for non-Quechua speaking audiences unless some translation aide was made available:

ROMÁN: El sol ya se pierde detrás del cerro *Wayrutaña* [nombre de la cabaña donde ha vivido *Chawpi* con sus padres], pero mi *maqt'a* [chiquillo o jovenzuelo] es valiente, *tutatapis p'unchayman churaykun hinaspa llank'an* [trabaja convirtiendo la noche en día]. (*Se oscurece el escenario, se siente la presencia del Anchanchu y Román se asusta*) ¡*Pitaq kankiri!* [Quién eres] Quién eres. (*Olfateando como animal*) ¡*Anchanchu!* ¡*Anchanchu!* ¿Qué cosa quieres conmigo? Si yo no he sido, otros se lo robaron tu oro y tu plata. (50)

Contrasting with this characteristically Southern Peruvian style of mixing Quechua and Spanish, in the second scene of the second act, Chawpi speaks with three other university students near the university and is invited to a big party, or a “supertono”. In this scene Lucho, José, and Carlos speak with Chawpi using the slang of Lima, Peru’s coastal capital. For example, Lucho and Chawpi talk of going to the party in order to meet some “jermittas”, or young ladies (Vilca 55). Other typically *criollo* words such as

“choche” (dear friend), “manyas”(do you understand?), “cachimbo” (freshman), and “brother” (brother) demonstrate a shift in register that coincides with Chawpi’s new residence in the city. This linguistic diversity demonstrates the multi-layered quality of language across Peru’s Andes.

As soon as he arrives in Puno, Chawpi has to return to his village at Emilio’s request. Chawpi is under suspicion of writing salacious graffiti about Emilio that insinuates his involvement with multiple ladies of the village (Vilca 58). Chawpi maintains his innocence but acquiesces to Emilio in the graffiti scene to prevent him from lashing out and seeking revenge through his father’s livestock, which is the only means that Román has to support his family. Emilio’s threat against Román for Chawpi’s mischief reflects the work’s key antagonism. As this scene indicates, the real feud is between Román and Emilio and is based in a timeline longer than Chawpi’s young life. This feud, though ancillary to the main story of Chawpi’s migration, is important in unravelling the message of the work, which only truly begins to crystallize in the cryptic ending of the play. Ending with a Brechtian-like chorus, the play sermonizes:

Justicia
Tanta injusticia
En tu nombre
Se comete injusticia. (Vilca 68)

This ending is inextricably linked to Román and Emilio’s common past as shareholders in one of the many land cooperatives that the government of Velasco Alvarado encouraged after the 1969 Agrarian Reform began to dismantle the colonial era hacienda system of agricultural production. Like indicated in Act 3, scene 2, Emilio was elected boss of the Choroma cooperative by a group of shareholders, but through intricate maneuvers fed by

an ever consuming greed, he slowly became a type of hacienda *patrón* himself and came to control the cooperative and its land shares nearly entirely. In this manner, *Hatun Yachaywasi* portrays how Velasco's revolutionary propagandistic fervor did not take into account that peasants, newly bequeathed with small land holdings, would try to use the Agrarian Reform to gain personal profit through both scheming and forcefully taking charge of the land collectives that his government helped create (Mayer 33).

Greed is the primary motivating force behind Emilio's corruption and his misuse of company funds. While he chides Román for not sending his children to study abroad and investing in their future, he admits that he acquired the funds for his children's schooling from stealing from the company (Vilca 64). He then applies an exclusionary philosophy to justify his theft from the other *socios*, or partners. Like he states, it is all "Lógico, es eso, si es posible mis hijos deben de estudiar en el extranjero, y si es posible sus hijos de ustedes no deben de estudiar" (64). Like many Peruvians of the middle and upper classes in the Southern regions of the country, he is of a similar same ethnic composition as those of the lower classes. However, as Marisol de la Cadena has signaled in her work, *Indígenas mestizos: Raza y cultura en el Cusco*, it is one's particular cultural *habitus*, or outward expression of culture, and level of education that garners acceptance or discrimination in the Andes (25, 162). In the end, however, Emilio shares the same fate as Román. His obsession with the acquisition of material wealth becomes tempered by the reality that hardly anyone able-bodied is left to work the land (Vilca 68).

More often than not, economic factors draw people away from their rural villages and toward the cities, making them leave ancestral networks and traditions. In the end,

Chawpi returns to the village to find Román ailing and that Misitu has disappeared, but does not stay to help his father. The draw of the lifestyle of the city and its promise of economic progress is formidable, and, in the case of *Hatun Yachaywasi*, weakens even the most traditional of ties such as that of the family. In the next play of this chapter, *Con nervios de toro* (1996) by Javier Maraví Aranda, our analysis will focus on the return of the prodigal child, an orphaned woman who returns to a small Andean village in time to sponsor an important religious festival. In this work, the forward-looking migrant, and not the metropolis embodies the plunder of capitalism over the cyclical time and nature of agrarian folklore.

***Con nervios de toro* (1996) by Javier Maraví Aranda**

Theatre was born of ritual and the need to communally remember the past. As Marvin Carlson has called it, theatre is a “memory machine” (142). The *fiesta patronal* or popular village festival, remains a compelling subject in contemporary Peruvian performance for this exact reason: it provokes communal remembrance and preserves the cultural memory of spectators and participants alike. However, as noted in *Hatun Yachaywasi* by Gervasio Juan Vilca, the globalization of the Peruvian economy has spurred a rapid de-linkage from tradition and cultural memory, most notably through rural to urban migration. Nonetheless, while village customs change due to increased regular contact with a larger world, village inhabitants can harness the goods and benefits of this larger world through attracting tourists and an exchange of technologies and goods (Paerregaard 223). The play, *Con nervios de toro* (1996) by Javier Aranda Maraví,

however, presents the challenge of maintaining local tradition in an increasingly globalized capitalist world through the struggle of an indigenous couple to maintain the authenticity of their town's festival. Represented by Lucero, a migrant who has returned from an unnamed, big city in order to sponsor the event, globalized progress and change are imposed on the festival and detract from its ritualistic nature. *Con nervios de toro* posits the maintenance of tradition and ritual as a defensive tactic against a no-holds-barred exploitation of the festival for capitalist gain.

Like in *Hatun Yachaywasi*, the play employs an actual, named place in Peru as its setting that is particularly meaningful to the dramatist. Maraví Aranda's *Con nervios de toro* focuses on a small village in his native central Andean province of Junín. Born in 1962, Maraví Aranda has been an active participant in the collective theatre and festival scene in Peru for decades and has worked in all facets of theatre production: acting, directing, and playwriting. He and his collective, Grupo Cultural Waytay, have participated in multiple festivals such as the nationally famous Movimiento de Teatro Independiente del Perú (MOTIN) and in various Muestras de Teatro Peruano. Maraví Aranda was also briefly a member of Yuyachkani and similarly incorporates music and dance with a high level of abstract, but Andean-inspired, symbolism in his plays. Additionally, he is recognized for his children's theatre, which is a ubiquitous form of performance throughout the plazas of Peru. His group, Waytay, debuted *Con nervios de toro* in 1996 at the height of Fujimori's police state and his neoliberal reshaping of the Peruvian economy. (Escudero 103-04).

Largely inspired by *Yawar Fiesta* (1941) by José María Arguedas in its subject matter, *Con nervios de toro* underlines the importance of the fiesta patronal in village life but also endows the town depicted within the play with a special emotional and psychic charge.¹² The fiesta patronal can be best described using Carlson's concept of "ghosting" or hauntedness in theatre (133). In theatre, all elements are signifiers including the exact place where the performance is being held. In the case of the fiesta patronal, the cityscape, or layout of the village, becomes imbued with a special significance, at least for the specific dates and times of the festival. The place becomes haunted with popular memories, but the event is what channels certain memories to the forefront. The ritual involved with consecrating the place requires what Appadurai would call the "hard and regular work" of building and maintaining a sense of locality ("Modernity at Large" 180-81). The festival aids in maintaining community bonds, which are, in turn, also what give the festival its special meaning.

However, there are other levels of "haunted-ness" in a place. Open-air rituals and festivals provide these other levels of haunted-ness that sometimes staged theatre does not capture. Ritual, according to Appadurai, "is a record of the spatio-temporal production of locality" ("Modernity at Large" 180). While this definition serves at a basic level, it omits the role of ideology in constructing the sense of place that is necessary in the performance of ritual. Ritual, instead, must be thought of as what Deshpande calls a "spatial strategy." Spatial strategies take a place, like a town or village, otherwise known as a "heterotopia" in Deshpande's terminology, and link it to an ideological structure, or

¹² The play also inspired a 2011 film by Nilo Inga Huamán, who also formed part of Maraví Aranda's group Waytay. The film is also called *Con nervios de toro*.

utopia, thus binding "... people to particular identities, and to the political/practical consequences that they entail" (Deshpande qtd in Ahmed, Syed 128). Any change or evolution of the space that occurs through this linkage, first, reinforces the power of ideology and utopian dreams on the place and, then, creates "a bond between the utopia and the people for whom it provides a renewed sense of belonging, a bond in which the place-as-heterotopia acts as the glue" (Deshpande qtd in Ahmed, Syed 128). In other words, when places are considered heterotopias, more elements, structures, things, and figures can read in tandem as evidence of certain key ideologies from the place's past and present.¹³ Rituals harness all of these elements from a place's past and present in order to evoke memory.

In *Con nervios de toro*, the Western, globalized development discourse, along with the charged concepts of "modernity" and "modernization" are such ideological constructs that make a mark on the physical and psychic landscape of the village represented in the play. Whereas an open-air ritual can draw from the real life physical scenery of a place, the scripted, staged theatre must rely primarily on set, stagecraft, and character development to instill the heterotopic qualities of a setting. *Con nervios de toro*'s particular representation of the fiesta patronal demonstrates what Paul Connerton theorizes in *How Societies Remember* (1989) about the influence of modernization and capitalism on the performance of ritual. Connerton states:

the logic of modernisation erodes those conditions which make acts of ritual re-enactment, of recapitulative imitation, imaginatively possible and persuasive. For

¹³ Here I draw from Pearson and Shanks' *Theatre/Archeology* (2001) and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (1985).

the essence of modernity is economic development, the vast transformation of society precipitated by the emergence of the capitalist world market. And capital accumulation, the ceaseless expansion of the commodity form through the market, requires the constant revolutionising of production, the ceaseless transformation of the innovative into the obsolescent. (64)

In *Con nervios de toro*, the logic of modernization that Connerton describes is embodied in the character of Lucero and her struggle with Jacinto, who wishes to preserve the authentic, indigenous quality of the town's festival. As we learn from dialogue, Lucero was a town outcast in the past. She had a very hard life as a poor orphan and had to scrounge around for her sustenance, receiving little help from the other villagers to survive. However, at one point in her early adulthood she migrated to some far-off, unnamed place and became rich, which she flaunts with gaudy jewelry and bleached blonde hair. In the play, she returns to Llacuas Huáchac to sponsor the town's fiesta patronal and lavishes the town with money. She converts the festival into a modernized spectacle full with a uniformed band, ornate costumes, fireworks, and a delicious banquet.

As part of Lucero's domineering of the festival, she refuses to incorporate traditional Andean musical instruments and interludes in the festival's programming. The fiesta patronal in the Andes is typically three days long, with each day having set themes and a set narration. The three main scenes of *Con nervios de toro* are named after the different days of the festival in the play: "Visperas," "Día Central," "Corrida de toros." In Lucero's desire to show off the knowledge and the capital she earned far from the town, she alienates much of the town by dictating changes to nearly all of the elements of the festival. She uses this expression of wealth to achieve two objectives. First, she wishes to

attain public recognition in her native town as a successful, enviable woman, and, secondly, she hopes to reconquer her old love interest, Jacinto. Jacinto, however, has long-since married an indigenous townswoman named Florinda, who Lucero has kidnapped as part of the festival's narrative sequence.

The interactions between Jacinto and Lucero, nonetheless, do not simply represent a repartee between former love interests. There is another symbolic level to their dialogue that provides a debate on modernity and change. For example, in the following exchange in the "Día Central" portion of the play, Lucero tells Jacinto that not only is she sponsoring the festival, but she has also bought the house in the town's central plaza in order to possess him completely:

Lucero: Voy [a] hacer un museo y allí te guardaré, como el comunero principal, serás admirado por los futuros visitantes... (*se escuchan sonidos de huajras*)¹⁴

Jacinto: Escucha Lucero, en el fondo de la quebrada están retumando los huajras, de los cerros están bajando, con el toro estarán viniendo, la fiesta aún no ha terminado, mañana nos veremos en la plaza que es el corazón del pueblo.

Lucero: Eso veremos Jacinto, ... ya todo está preparado, mañana serás mío vivo o muerto, no podrás detener el cambio.

Jacinto: Eso es lo que tú crees, el canto todavía está en mi pueblo, con nervios de toro apretaremos los agujeros de los pinkullos¹⁵ y las tinyas¹⁶ cantarán, las florecillas del campo teñirán el manto cansado de la Pachamama y frutos nuevos brotarán de su vientre, el puquio nunca seca Lucero, el nevado es para siempre. (*Salen en sentidos opuestos, la luz se disminuye. Apagón.*) (118)

¹⁴ A type of dance music

¹⁵ A type of Andean flute

¹⁶ A small drum

Lucero's unrelenting desire to control Jacinto and to convert him into an icon of the past fits what Paul Connerton describes as the "logic of modernisation." Jacinto wishes to deter the modernization of the festival of Llacuas Huáchac because, as his references to the natural flora and resources of the Andes suggest, he views the festival as directly linked to the land and its natural cycles. In theoretical terms, he and the other "comuneros," or indigenous land workers, perceive the modernization of the festival as a process of evacuation in which the particular significance of the celebration would be rendered void as the processes of globalization, of which modernization is a corollary, assimilate it to a larger, First-World art economy (Grzinic 13-21). Yet amongst some of the villagers of Llacuas Huáchac in the play, modernization is welcomed and Lucero's changes to the festival are seen as signs of progress. For instance, as the mayor of the town replies to Jacinto's complaints, "¿Es pecado querer salir de su miseria? Basta ya de festejar fiesta pobre en este pueblo, ahora hay dinero, inversión, crédito, capital, la fiesta se está modernizando, Jacinto" (116). The mayor takes this reproach even further, blaming people like Jacinto and his wife Florinda for the town's lack of development, stating that they obviously would prefer to "seguir viviendo como animales y no como la gente decente" (116). The natural world, therefore, is seen to be at odds with modernization. It is either celebrated in its unadulterated state by those who cling to tradition or defamed and abused by those who wish to enter into a world of modern convenience and global capital.

At the end of the play, indigenous peasants victoriously retake their festival from the migrant figure, Lucero, and the politicians of the town by reinserting their indigenous

music in the festival, playing their *pinkullos* and *tinyas* as Jacinto had foretold. During this scene, “Corrida de toros,” *Con nervios de toro* closely resembles Arguedas’ *Yawar Fiesta*. According to the dialogue, the festival of Llacuas Huáchac had traditionally contained a bullfight, but it had always been done with in the traditional Andean style. The bull is not an animal that is native to the Andes, but was brought by the Spaniards to the Americas. In the Peruvian Andean bullfight, a condor, which symbolizes the civilization of the Andes, is tied to the back of the bull, which symbolizes the civilization of Spain and Europe, in order to peck at it and enrage it while multiple bullfighters try to subdue the animal. In the end, the bull is killed and, in the original indigenous belief, its blood is used as a tribute to the *apus*¹⁷ and to pacify the Pachamama, or earth mother (Kokotovic 49-51).

With time, however, the significance of the bullfight in the Andes evolved as the population became more *mestizo*, or mixed Andean and European (Kokotovic 50). While Lucero in the play is ethnically Andean, her time in the modern metropolis has allowed her to acquire certain Westernized attitudes and practices. In addition, her disdain of the indigenous in the festival is also part of a personal vendetta. Lucero migrated away from the village after having been mistreated there as a young woman: “...decidí irme lejos, donde nadie me reconozca, pero allí, también era dura la vida hasta que por fin con rabia y odio decidí no ser más pobre, así pude sobresalir...” (113). Fitting with her refusal of her Andean town, she also insists that the bullfight follow the Spanish model with a sole, brightly adorned matador, called El Condenado in the festival (118). Despite Lucero’s

¹⁷ Mountain deities in the Andes

attempts to control every aspect of the festival, the bull becomes emboldened by Jacinto and the comuneros' shouting from the stands. Here, the work seems to draw from *Bodas de sangre* by Federico García Lorca in its fatalistic employ of natural symbolism, such as the raging bull, to signify a primal, instinctual, native urge that is forcibly contained by Lucero's attempts to modernize, or rather, Westernize, the festival. The last scene, "Corrida de toros," contains no written dialogue. It is purely stage direction and music, and therefore lends itself to multiple possible representations on the stage through its fast pace of action and prolific use of imagery, which is another Lorcan trait. At the end of the play, the comuneros reclaim their festival much like in Arguedas' *Yawar Fiesta* and Lucero is left alone and dejected as they march off to the sound of their music.

Con nervios de toro would be an excellent portrayal of how a community can unite to preserve its traditions despite the lure of modernization and capitalist growth, except the capitalist "market" is never simply an outside threat to village life. It is not possible to shield local traditions and ways of life from the forces of modernization and globalization because the concept and practice of the market is entrenched in nearly every society of the planet (Debord 27). In addition, as Manuel Castells states:

[...] given the structural preponderance of capitalist social relationships in the class structure, and the influence they exercise on culture and politics, any major transformation in the processes by which capital reproduces itself and expands its interests affects the entire social organization. (259)

The village of Llacuas Huáchac in *Con nervios de toro*, like villages in real life, would not be immune to the effects of the market economy and the demands of Western capital because, at its core, it is becoming increasingly shaped by this economy through globalization and its modernizing pull.

The market also changes how popular festival perceives and uses its time. As Connerton states, “The temporality of the market thus denies the possibility that there might co-exist qualitatively distinguishable times, a profane time and a sacred time, neither of which is reducible to the other” (64). And with this change in the perception of time, the various elements of the celebration that were charged with special, mythic significance and that portrayed unique cosmovisions will be, in the terms of Guy Debord, reduced to products for consumption as global capital’s prevailing set of Western cultural practices take further hold in small villages like Llacuas Huáchac (20, 110-12).¹⁸

In the following section, Julio Ortega’s play *Pishtaco* (1993), portrays an apocalyptic scene in which global capital is a villain that has upset Peruvian society, leading it to justify its dark and sinister ethic: Peru is now a country that requires the flesh of its young in order to compete in a global marketplace and to pay off its debts. Unlike *Con nervios de toro* and *Hatun Yachaywasi*, *Pishtaco* criticizes the Fujishock directly and does so through Ortega’s discursive theatrical style. Whereas certain effects of the Fujimori government’s shock economic policies were alluded to in the first two plays through the characters’ concerns about the disappearance of Andean culture through the region’s rapid modernization and entrance into a global economy, *Pishtaco* directly criticizes the abusiveness of the epoch’s neoliberal economics by providing a rewriting of various Andean myths. Myth will again provide a strategic defensive purpose for the characters in this Peruvian play from the 1990s, proving that when faced with total systemic change, in this case, through economic policy and political violence, collective

¹⁸ Here I refer to Debord’s maxims 25 and 147-152 in *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967).

memory becomes one last weapon in the arsenal of popular actors in preserving a past sense of locality and community.

***Pishtaco* (1993) by Julio Ortega**

Like in the case of *Hatun Yachaywasi*, numerous mythical figures and legends from the colonial period in Peru have been recycled and resemanticized to explain events in contemporary history, but perhaps the longest-lasting of all in the Andes is the *pishtaco*. The pishtaco in Andean folklore is a European-looking, most often blonde, blue-eyed, man-monster who roams the Andes removing the fat from the bodies of indigenous people. Differing from the vampire in Western culture, who sucks the blood out of innocent victims in order to preserve his powers, the pishtaco removes body fat by subduing its victims, and thereby extracting from, according to Carolyn Wolfenzon, "... los hombres andinos - miembros de una sociedad agraria, y, por tanto, regida por el trabajo físico- su mayor capital: su energía corporal" (24). With its very Brechtian lack of manipulatory elements such as a set protagonist and a definite antagonist, *Pishtaco* (1993) by Julio Ortega enjoins its Peruvian public to defend its own sense of "locality" against the abuses of global capitalism. It extrapolates a colonial-era myth to explain and process the deleterious aspects of economic globalization and how they pose a greater threat to the Peruvian nation's composition than the age-old ethnic antagonisms of white versus indigenous, and the regional ones of mountains versus coast and the provinces versus the capital. Whereas the other plays in this chapter have defended provincial Andean cultural tradition as a political tactic to preserving provincial interests and have

criticized the migrant as a sort of cultural traitor or prodigal son, *Pishtaco* transcends this dialectic by presenting how capitalism, taken over by human greed and ambition, dehumanizes and exploits. As greed is a vice we all fall prey to, Ortega's work provokes us all to question our role in furthering this exploitation.

At its core, the myth of the pishtaco is about the colonial period in Peru. Popular groups in the Andes extrapolated the myth during the 1980s and 90s to provide a metaphor for the new order of violence and exploitation. As Wolfenzon notes:

Durante el primer gobierno de Alan García (1985-1990), cuando la inflación llegaba a cifras altísimas, el mito colonial del pishtaco reapareció en la escena pública: se decía que la grasa corporal servía para pagar la deuda externa. En todas las distintas concepciones del relato, la grasa del indígena promueve una forma desconfiable y violenta de modernidad- ciencia y negocios- a costa de la desaparición de la población andina. (25)

What this new understanding of the pishtaco myth reveals is not only a particular cosmovision or popular imaginary, but also a defensive tactic. The pishtaco represents a colonial-type violence predicated on plunder and domination. His existence is entirely mythical, for while there are reported sightings of the pishtaco, none have been substantiated, and therefore, his violence remains purely in the realm of storytelling and popular narrative. Nonetheless, the myth of the pishtaco plays an important part in what James C. Scott would call the "negative repertoire." Myths and stories that comprise this negative repertoire, like Scott imagines:

...embody, as ideology, a critique of things as they should be. They are attempts to create and maintain a certain view of what decent, acceptable human behavior ought to be. As negative examples of totally unacceptable behavior, they accomplish their purpose in the same way that any socially sanctioned account of deviance helps to define what is normal, correct, preferred behavior. Such stories can thus be read as a kind of social text on the subject of human decency. (23)

The theatre can be one such method of transmitting these types of stories, even though, in some cases, it contests social norms in order to alter them. For instance, during the latter half of the twentieth century, Peruvian theatre focused on revaluing Andean contributions to Peruvian culture to bridge cultural divides and to combat discrimination from the country's cultural and political elites. Accordingly, Scott's "negative repertoire" should also be seen as a way to not only enforce socially normative behavior, but also to change it through these same storytelling and performative acts. In this manner, the "weak" brandish a truly sharp-edged, unbreakable "weapon" in their struggle to improve their standing: creativity.¹⁹ Like the colonial myth, Ortega's *Pishtaco* is one such case in which a popular myth about a villainous, murderous figure is reworked in cultural production to elicit social change.

Even though the Peru of the 1990s was vastly different than colonial Peru, metaphorically, in *Pishtaco*, not much seems to have changed. Like in the colonial epoch, the pishtaco is not just a singular figure, but is a role that is played by many actors in Peruvian society. The play begins with an exposition of the main issue: children are disappearing and then reappearing with their eyes removed and their eyelids sewn shut. There are two main culprits to this activity, according to the women characters in this first scene, who both embody the pishtaco role: the "gringos" who steal the eyes, stamp "Made in Peru" on them, and export them internationally, and some "cholos" who are stealing them to sell them in the informal organ market (494). Paradoxically, despite their

¹⁹ This is a play on the title of James C. Scott's work *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985).

gruesome wounds, “Cuando la herida ha sanado; y los niños no recuerdan haber tenido ojos. De allí en adelante sólo tendrían visiones del futuro optimista” (494).

The pishtaco is held responsible for the violence against the children. In Ortega’s work, the pishtaco differs slightly from the that in the legend of the colonial epoch. The pishtaco in the play represents, above all, a voracious capitalism that devours everything in its path. As stated in the fourth scene, which unravels as an academic debate between men, the pishtaco’s killing follows “la lógica de la dominación. Desarrollo, modernización, producción, tecnología, la secuencia de la modernidad, se les aparece como una lógica de muerte” (496). The pishtaco converts the human body and all that pertained to it in the physical and metaphysical sense to “materia ajena, líquido devorado por una máquina” (496) as “La energía andina sostiene la idea misma del mercado” (497). He also gains the confidence of his victims before plundering their bodies of their vital organs (Ortega 499).

Curiously, still, as in the above textual example, the pishtaco in Ortega’s play does not kill his child victims, and many continue to roam around throughout the play. In the text, the children’s lack of memory of their encounter with the pishtaco is depicted as greater than the injury done to their bodies. Paul Connerton has written that capitalism renders acts of remembering obsolete as new products and ideas must constantly be produced in order to compete in a global marketplace (64). Therefore, expanding on the quote in which the children “no recuerdan haber tenido ojos,” what one sees in the present, must always cede to what one envisions for the future, which explains why the

children in the play are able to have “visions” but not able to see. Through their victimization, they have become the perfect scions to ensure capitalist growth.

The text suggests that some victims are required to die to appease the hunger of the globalized world market that Peru wishes to befriend. As stated in the third scene, the pishtaco only kills adults in the play, mostly by removing their fat, which is then used to create products for the international market and to “lubricar las máquinas de las fábricas” (495). The threat of losing one’s fat is ever present, and the pishtaco doesn’t necessarily look for the fattest for plunder, for as one of the female characters expresses in this scene: “Aunque sea por un poquito de grasa te matan” (495). She, like the other predominantly female characters in the work, expresses a fear of obtaining just a little fat on her body given the tales of exploitation that she has heard.

The pishtaco also provides an analogy for how Fujimori’s government wished to align itself closely with global capitalist interests at the cost of Peru’s people and resources. The act of stealing fat in the play, in this case, not only symbolizes the theft of resources, but also a treasonous opportunism. The fat is processed, packaged, and exported, at the cost of human life because “las máquinas de los países más adelantados funcionan mejor con el unto peruano” (497). As cynical as this statement seems, it alludes to a popular concern about how Fujimori took from Peru’s resources, possibly through his privatization programs, so he could assuage the country’s international creditors. Furthermore, the pishtaco, in parts, transforms into Fujimori himself. For instance, in one scene the pishtaco is depicted as having black eyes, not the traditional blue and “... hablando de una patria hecha por el mercado y una libertad ganada a través de los bancos,

te convencerá” (499). These details draw from the current events of the day and a Peruvian theatre-going public would have understood the allusions they make toward the Fujishock.

Like Fujimori, in order to meet capitalist demand, the pishtaco in the play has accomplices from all the strata of Peruvian society. Many studies that criticize the colonial qualities of capitalism, such as those by Aníbal Quijano, delineate a racial taxonomy of the various levels between oppressor and oppressed, starting at the top with the whitest and ending at bottom with not necessarily the darkest, but the most racialized subjects. Ortega’s work, by contrast, implicates vastly different races and ethnicities in the violence through its criticism of “los informales,” or the informal economic sector.²⁰ However, workers in the informal sector in the play, like in the country, are mainly associated with the migrant cholos.

Hernando de Soto asserts that the informal economic sector was formed by migrants. Lauding the informal markets and systems of cooperation of this group of people, he states that migrants have formed a rapidly growing economic class that chooses to be free from state involvement in economics. De Soto claims that

[...] informal activities burgeon when the legal system imposes rules which exceed the socially accepted legal framework - does not honor the expectations, choices, and preferences of those whom it does not admit within its framework - and when the state does not have sufficient coercive authority. (12)

In other words, de Soto holds that it is the state itself that exploits through economic regulation. *Pishtaco* exposes the irony behind this viewpoint in the eighth scene in which

²⁰ In reference to Quijano’s 2000 article “Colonialidad del poder y clasificación social” published in the *Journal of World-Systems Research*.

a character named Hombre 3 tries to lure prospective victims by making the pishtaco seem attractive:

[...]
 Adiós, mamacita, te diré. Te llevaré a la gran capital, donde serás parte del gran capital. Trabajo te daré. Al cine te invitaré. Reloj te voy a comprar. Rico culo eres, te diré.
 No seas rural, hazte informal.
 Desconfía del Estado, súmate al mercado. Haz patria, exporta.
 Déjate exportar.
 Terminó la explotación, empezó la exportación.
 [...](499)

The sexual subtext in this example is quite evident. Like a woman who must be enticed to giving sexual favors, the Peruvian public must be convinced that engaging in the informal market will be better for them than the current state-based system. Joining the informal market is just another choice, but one that will convert its participants into active subjects that export goods, instead of simply being used to produce them.

Yet, de Soto's unrestrained optimism regarding the possibilities of the informal market is short sighted. "Becoming informal" is sometimes the only choice for migrants who cannot find gainful employment in the city. According to the Peruvian performance scholar, Victor Vich:

[...] informality is a phenomenon shot through with the effects of peripheral modernization, because of the depend[ent] character of capitalism in Peru and the complex sociocultural mechanisms that have been inherited from different historical traditions. As has already been argued many times, informality in Peru is linked to the Andinization of the cities (a product of the migratory phenomenon), as well as to new kinds of social relations (mediated by the shock of different cultural substrata) and to the structural violence resulting from the uneven development of markets and the failure of industrialization. (54)

Whereas the informal market attests to the creative entrepreneurial abilities of Peru's lower economic sectors, the growth of the informal market is also a byproduct of years of

state neglect and bad policy making. In addition, when a government indirectly supports the growth of the informal sector by turning a blind eye, as Fujimori's did, it also spells a lack of interest on the part of the state to accommodate its citizens in the formal job sectors. Informality becomes a type of structural invisibility in this regard. It creates an invisible underclass ripe for exploitation (Davis 180-85).

Pishtaco approaches the ideological issues behind the Fujishock through a pessimistic, modern re-working of the pishtaco myth, but does so for the purpose of forging popular solidarity in the face of globalizing change and exploitation. In the introduction to his work, Ortega states that “El mundo andino habla de su cuerpo con la boca de su miedo. La fábula enseña a tener miedo, que es la didáctica del subalterno, del dominado y colonizado por las fuerzas hegemónicas, que ahora levantan sus tiendas de campaña en su mercado universal” (497). *Pishtaco* is a very dialectic fable that depends heavily on debate, short, a-chronological scenes, lack of elaborate scenery and costume, didacticism, and lack of character development (Jaramillo 505).

“Locality,” in the plays analyzed in this chapter is predominantly a state of mind. It can be discarded and re-appropriated like Chawpi's indigenous Andean clothes in *Hatun Yachaywasi*. With the energetic effort and solidarity of a group, like in *Con nervios de toro*, it can defend itself from outside threats and unfavorable influences. And like in *Pishtaco*, it doesn't always have to be linked to one specific region or cultural tradition. It can bridge racial and ethnic divides in order to meet a greater challenge. In Chapter 5, I will present how, through performance, differing social actors can use their history and heritage and take advantage of their local identity to mark a foothold in an ever

expanding globalized marketplace through performance. In the next chapter, this dissertation continues its movement, or “migration,” from Lima to the provinces. By shifting the discussion to how Cusco’s cultural actors both use and refuse to form part of a global culture economy, my locus of analysis continues to shift, or “migrate” from the city to the provinces.

Chapter 4.

The Once and Future Inca: Contemporary Performance in Cusco and the Polemics of Development in Peru

The terms “tradition” and “traditional” have increasingly become politically charged. Globalization, including the capitalist modernization that frequently accompanies it, has changed our relationship with tradition. Globalization has not only revolutionized the production and trade of material goods, but has transformed how we perceive the flow of time and how we record history as well (Debord 104-07). Like Paul Connerton has stated, the constant need for innovation and improvement on past output has left our global societies obsessed with constant growth, and thus, has made the present itself already obsolete (64). Tradition especially falls prey to globalization’s modernizing tendencies for it depends on a cyclical consecration of time for its continuance. In a globalized world, “progress” typically occurs along a constant linear pattern of advancement and material acquisition and tradition is often perceived as a relic, and sometimes an obstacle, of the past (Connerton 64).

Chapter 3 discussed how globalization has posed a threat to Andean traditional ways of life by focusing on how three playwrights question the importance of tradition, myth, and festival in contemporary Peru. In this case, the theatre that arose in response to globalization in the 1990s was born from a concern with Fujimori’s break-neck capitalist policies and protested the unrestrained, often exploitative, incursion of global capital in Peru. Andean communities and their traditions served as a synecdoche for the Peruvian nation as a whole in this theatre, drawing on this community’s historic subalternity and

vulnerability as a symbol for the nation. As the “cholification” of Peru’s media and entertainment sectors increased due to the flood of Andean migrants to Lima, all Peru became “cholo” when required by world financial institutions to apply austerity measures, honor its debts, and re-enter the world economy.¹

It is not a stretch to say that the current, capitalist strand of globalization is a product of post-World War II Western development policies when the same institutions that were born from them, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, decisively hold the reins of international credit and fiscal policy to this day. This dissertation demonstrated through textual analysis in Chapter 2 how Peru’s theatre reflected popular concerns with the concept of development and the modernized lifestyle it disseminates through the world. Peru’s theatre focused on development as a phenomenon, a state of mind, and a knowledge system based in contradiction: even though development doctrines encourage the efforts of emerging economic sectors, in practice, they privilege those who already have over those who have not. The plays in Chapter 2 depict how race and cultural practices are categories used to exclude migrants from attaining a better life and more economic stability in Lima and, therefore, exhibit a burgeoning change in subject matter in Peru’s theatre. During this decade, the 1950s and the beginning part of the 60s, Peru’s Lima-based theatre began to champion the oppressed in a way that had only been witnessed in the indigenist literature and performance works of the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century with one main

¹ This refers to Luis A. Ramos-García’s article on the “cholification” of Peru’s capital Lima through migration, “El teatro callejero peruano: proceso de cholificación,” published in 1998 by *Gestos*.

difference: the subject matter started to shift from romantically vindicating Andean legend and myth to addressing the social inequities beleaguering Peru's Andean "minority."²

Theatre, literature, and the arts are not only affected by social currents, but also affect and shape them as well. One such way in which Peru's theatre has commonly sought to wield creative political power is through summoning up figures from folklore and the myths and legends of its past. Like in Chapters 2 and 3, popular art, tradition, and festival tap symbols and images from (predominantly) Andean folklore in order elicit social change. As James C. Scott describes in *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985), these works do not necessarily provoke revolution, but rather a populist revaluation of another form of hegemony, that of folkloric tradition, as an alternative to the rapid changes set in place by the policies of those in power. Whilst seemingly socialist, Velasco Alvarado's regime and its successors had the same goal as Fujimori's: they wanted to rapidly insert Peru into a competitive world economy by increasing imports and production. The methods they applied were drastically different, but both regimes' policies for economic growth rearranged the country dramatically, thus testifying to "...the central fact that it has been capitalism that has historically transformed societies and broken apart existing relations of production" (Scott 346). In short, the theatre of this epoch wished to construct a counter-hegemony to two governments' major transformations of Peru's politics and economic policy by imbuing folklore and colonial era figures with new significance. Whereas Andean folklore might

² See Chapter 3 for Arjun Appadurai's definition of "minority".

not have constituted a hegemony in the past, it increasingly becomes part of a new nativist one in Peru's contemporary theatre, becoming evoked by the banner of the "popular" and in defense of the "local."³

The migrant, in Peru's theatre from the latter part of the twentieth century, began to symbolize something grander than his own material concerns. He began to symbolize cultural antagonisms and dramatists duly exploited the migrant's tenuous, uncertain status in his place of origin and in his adopted home not only for the purposes of furthering an Andean brand of ethnic chauvinism, but to direct a protest to a nation preoccupied with development concerns at the cost of human welfare and dignity as well. They take up the mantle of the past,

...because those arrangements [of past forms of hegemony and ideology] look good by comparison with the current prospects and because it has a certain legitimacy rooted in earlier practice. The defense and elaboration of a social contract that has been abrogated by capitalist development is perhaps the most constant ideological theme of the peasant and the early capitalist worker (...)
(Scott 346-47)

Peru's dramatists mined Andean folklore to produce highly politicized expressions of injustice, picking and choosing the most poignant elements to rework for a new era.

Performance, however, is not only a defensive tactic against political and economic trends, but it can be used to play the offensive as well. This chapter will explore two performance festivals observed in 2008 in the city of Cusco that actively seek to influence popular sentiment and use the forces of globalization to protect local interests. Both *Inti Raymi* and the *Festival de Teatro Cusqueño* seek to carve out a niche in Cusco's art scene, which is chiefly dominated by art that appeals to the swells of

³ See Chapters 2 and 3 for a discussion on these terms.

national and international tourists that descend on the city in the winter months (June, July, August). Inti Raymi seeks to take advantage of the city's millenarian history and the tourism trade to fill the city's coffers, by not only staging what is scripted, but by also drumming up popular protest in Cusco to the event's increasing exclusivity. Seemingly, the protest is an oft-occurring event, like the common threat to "tomar Machu Picchu" during nationwide strikes, or *paros*. In the end, the Inti Raymi festival, which in itself is quite wearing and long-winded to the spectator, is always unforgettable. The Festival of Teatro Cusqueño presented works by classic Peruvian dramatists such as Enrique Solari Swayne and local Cusco-based artists to protest the formation of Kusikay, a commercial theatre group in Cusco that, in its beginnings, exclusively catered to a tourist population and decimated the city's theatre scene with its enticing pay and strict rehearsal schedule. The festival was a free event which sought to draw people away from buying tickets to Kusikay's work *Chaska: una historia andina*, but owing to its subject matter and lack of Spanish to English translation, it mostly drew locals, and only those who regularly attended the theatre.

Both the festival and Inti Raymi are what Eric Hobsbawm would call invented traditions, but while they respond to the same phenomenon, globalization, they do so through very different approaches to protecting Cusco's heritage and solidifying its future in an increasingly capitalist art scene. In order to analyze these festivals and conclude this dissertation, this chapter will take multiple forms of expression. At points, it will take the form of a research essay, and in others, it will provide a narrative of my fieldwork in the city of Cusco in 2008. My purpose is to provide a "thick description" of two examples of

festival in Cusco and chronicle some of the politics behind these performances and form a bridge between textual analysis and ethnography.⁴

Inti Raymi, drawing tourists from around the globe, serves best to open a discussion on performance, globalization, and development. Through the racial and ethnic politics that determine everything from the selection of performers to the costumes, set, and venue, the event tries to suspend reality and draw the spectator in to a parallel Inca universe. The “inventedness” of the spectacle is an attempt to solidify the desire of Cusco’s elites to differentiate the city’s culture from the worldview spread by Spanish colonization, which, by proxy in popular consideration now originates from Lima. The festival’s importance in Cusco’s culture is enormous, and, while invented, is an authentically Cusquenian event.

The Llama Sacrifice

The Inca Pachakuteq and his entourage stand on a stone structure located in a grassy clearing at Saqsaywaman, the megalithic stone fortress of the city of Cusco. Surrounding them below are representatives of the four “suyos,” or regions of Tawantinsuyo, who have been called on to bring tributes to the Inca so that he may intercede on their behalf in ritual.⁵ It has come to the point in the ceremony in which a llama must be sacrificed in order to pay homage to Inti Tayta, to the Father Sun who mercifully gives life and provides good harvests. A group of men dressed in ceremonial

⁴ In reference to Clifford Geertz’s 1973 work *The Interpretation of Cultures*.

⁵ “Tawantinsuyo” roughly means “the four corners” in Quechua.

vestiges hurriedly carry a squealing young llama to the altar. As heard by its guttural cries, the animal is quickly slaughtered, gutted, and its entrails are held up for all to see. The high priest proceeds to read the llama's innards for signs indicating whether this year's harvest will be a bountiful one or whether preparations should be made throughout the empire for shortages.

After a few moments of deliberation, the high priest states that the llama's entrails indicate a good harvest. "Jailli! Causachun Qosqo! Long live Cusco! Inti Tayta has blessed the empire with abundance!" The crowd cheers wildly and offers its complete devotion to their leader as it can now find solace in another year of divinely ordained prosperity.

The llama's entrails, however, are not bleeding, nor were they ever.⁶ In fact, none of the above described ritual is really even a ritual at all. The stone structure on which the Inca stands is a make-shift wooden stage, painted to resemble the characteristic smooth and precise Inca stone architecture of the city of Cusco, and the Inca is only an actor who worked with Gloria Estefan a few years back in a music video.⁷

The year is obviously not 1471, but 2008, and the festival of Inti Raymi has just enthralled thousands of spectators, tourists and locals alike.⁸

⁶ Luis Castro García, who formerly directed the Inti Raymi festival, confided to me that the llama sacrifice is not real, but staged.

⁷ Nivardo Carrillo played Gloria Estefan's mysterious Andean love interest in a video for her rendition of Gianmarco Zignago's song "Hoy" in 2003.

⁸ 1471 is a randomly selected year from the reign of Pachakuteq, the Inca who formalized the ceremony.

Reframing Race and Ethnicity through the Archives

The Inti Raymi festival that takes place every 24th of June in the city of Cusco is a creative re-thinking of the original Inca Festival to the Sun that took place in the pre-Columbian era. In 1944, scholars in Cusco resurrected Inti Raymi from the colonial chronicles in an attempt to foment indigenous pride and a burgeoning tourism industry. The general goal behind this effort was not to re-create Inti Raymi just as it was described in the chronicles, but rather to design an “Incan” celebration that would aid in carrying out the ambitious project of both reframing a cultural identity in a more positive, heroic light and generating revenue for the city of Cusco.

Inti Raymi is an “invented tradition” in the strictest definition. According to Hobsbawm, most traditions originate in the recent past and not in antiquity as is popularly held (1). All traditions have invented elements, but an

[...] ‘invented tradition’ is taken to mean 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 behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. (Hobsbawm 1)

These invented traditions depend on “quasi-obligatory repetition” to establish a type of continuity with a community’s past (2). Like the Highland Scottish tradition of wearing different patterns of plaid kilts described in Hugh Trevor-Roper’s essay, “The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland,” in Hobsbawm’s edited work, Inti Raymi is also an invented practice that grafts itself on Cusco’s geography, its Incan history, and its present rebellious and contrarian nature toward Western, globalized

influences in order to foment civic pride and a particularly ethnocentric regional patriotism.

The Inti Raymi festival, as it was known before the arrival of the Spanish to the Andes in 1532, had its origins in the pre-Inca heliocentric religious traditions of the many different ethnic groups of the region (Aguirre C. 57-61). These groups all differed in the ways, dates, and means through which they celebrated the festival. Around the latter part of the 1400s, the Inca Pachacutec established the Inti Raymi festival as a means of consolidating and unifying the different peoples of the empire along this similar religious tradition, instituting a formal and universal set of codes for its observance across the empire. This project had, apart from its religious component, an explicit political purpose of re-enforcing Cusco and its ruling ethnic group as the center of Tawantinsuyo. The Inca, in carrying out this project, also established himself as the central and pivotal character in the festival's realization. As he was considered in the cosmology of his empire as the son of Inti Tayta, serving as the Sun god's child and emissary here on earth, it was only logical that he would also play the central role in Inti Raymi, and solidify his rule symbolically through the festival.⁹

In the pre-Hispanic Inti Raymi, tributes from the four parts of the empire were brought to Cusco both for the Inca and for Inti Tayta, the Father Sun. These tributes helped feed the masses who came to the city to celebrate. This was a festival of religious pilgrimage and one abstained from sex and fermented beverages for three days before the ceremony to be ritually pure for the purpose of participating (Purizaga 14-6). Inti Raymi

⁹ Most of the sources that I have consulted give the exact same chronology, but Medardo Purizaga Vega's *Inti Raimi* (1986) is quite descriptive.

was also a festival of economic importance, as the tributes were necessary to fill the Inca's food reserves and fund projects all through the empire (Aguirre C. 68-70).

While the majority of colonial era historians like Juan Díez de Betanzos, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa all differ as to the date, time and place of the ceremony, not to mention its format and importance as well, the information provided by the chronicles of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega was selected to provide an ideological and factual base for the modern festival's historical narrative (Aguirre C. 61). The early twentieth century framers of the festival sought to pick and choose certain elements from the chronicles in order to connect the festival's past to its possible lucrative future as a tool for promoting Cusco's regional and metropolitan identity. In short, they wanted to legitimate the new festival by anchoring it in the archive. Of all the colonial era documents, the *Comentarios reales* of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega described the importance of Inti Raymi in Inca society most explicitly. As the poet and historian writes in regards to the significance of the festival:

Este nombre Raimi suena tanto como Pascua o fiesta solemne. Entre cuatro fiestas que solemnizaban los Reyes Incas en la ciudad del Cusco, que fue otra Roma, la solemnísimas era la que hacían al Sol por el mes de junio, que llamaban Intip Raimi, que quiere decir Pascua solemne del Sol, y absolutamente le llamaban Raimi, que significa lo mismo, y si a otras fiestas llamaban con este nombre era por participación desta fiesta a la cual pertenecía derechamente el nombre Raimi; cobraban pasado el solsticio de junio. Hacían esta fiesta al Sol en reconocimiento de tenerle y adorarle por sumo, solo universal Dios, que con su luz y virtud criaba y sustentaba todas las cosas de la tierra. Y en reconocimiento de Ocllo Huaco y de todos los Reyes y de sus hijos y descendientes, enviados a la tierra para el beneficio universal de las gentes, por estas causas, como ellos dicen, era solemnísimas esta fiesta. (264)

The Inca Garcilaso never actually saw Inti Raymi in its full pre-conquest splendor, for he was born in 1539, six years after the arrival of the Spanish to the city in 1533. The

Spanish, as in the other regions of the Americas that they conquered, were quick to prohibit indigenous religious expression in the region, for, according to their fervent sixteenth-century brand of Catholicism, it was polytheistic and, therefore, idolatrous. The Inti Raymi festival, like many other indigenous religious symbols and practices, was quickly banned and forced into a gradual extinction, first being forced underground and then finally disappearing in the 1550s (Aguirre C. 69). Like in the rest of his *Comentarios reales*, the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega describes a vestige of Inca colonial past, in this case, the Inti Raymi, for Spanish audiences by recalling the nostalgia-laden stories that he heard growing up from his indigenous relatives who, at one point, formed part of the ruling elite of the Cusco, or Qosqo, of the Inca. Simply put, the Inca Garcilaso never witnessed the event, but, paradoxically, his is among the most complete of the currently existing records about the festival. In addition, in comparing Cusco to Rome for his European Spanish reader, the Inca Garcilaso posits the city as a cosmopolis. By doing this, he asserts Cusco as a site of political and cultural power similar to the great classical European empires such as Rome.

Inca Garcilaso's vindication of Cusco would be echoed in the neo-indianist and indigenist literary and political movements that arose in the beginning part of the twentieth century in the city of Cusco as well. For instance, while Enrique Rosas-Paravicino stresses the origins of the contemporary Inti Raymi in the resurgence of Quechua language drama in the larger indigenist literary movement of the early twentieth century, Marisol de la Cadena links the festival's creation more closely to the populist neo-indianist politics that were shaping the development of Cusco's identity after the fall

of the centralist regime of the Peruvian President Augusto B. Leguía (Rosas Paravicino 2).¹⁰ It is during this time in which the concept of what defines “mestizaje,” or miscegenation, in Peru shifts from being determined by biological criteria to being dependent more on geographical ones. This change in criteria was a negative response to the popularity of the optimistic and hispanicizing view of mestizaje advanced in *La raza cósmica* (1925) by the Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos. Vasconcelos’ book was received with enthusiasm among intellectuals in Lima, but with opposition from intellectuals in the interior, mountainous provinces of the country. In Cusco, for example, the shift in thought towards a more universal “hispanic” conception of mestizaje promoted by this book was met with palpable resistance from amongst the city’s intellectuals, who saw its popularity and diffusion among Lima’s intellectual and political circles as a possible continuation of the erroneous definition of Peruvian identity as principally creole and Hispanic (de la Cadena 165).

The intellectuals and political elites of Cusco responded by geographically differentiating between the mestizos of Lima and the mestizos of Cusco. José Uriel García’s book *El nuevo indio* (1929) is one prominent example of the effort to distinguish the indian from the mestizo in terms of place of residence and not by race. Through the influence of this work, the difference between the town and the countryside in the Andes

¹⁰ Indigenismo is a literary theme that focused on the indigenous subject as a protagonist in literature. Neo-indianismo was a social and political movement.

became a discriminating factor in determining who was mestizo and who was indeed indian amongst the political and intellectual circles of Cusco.¹¹

Cusco's elites perceived the new attitude about mestizaje radiating from the coastal capital as an effort to displace both the indigenous from the Peruvian cultural discourse of the time and Cusco from its rightful place in history as the seat of the Inca Empire. In response, they posited Cusco as the original cultural birthplace of their particular latinized indigenous world and reframed the Andean mestizo as more connected to their indigenous heritage than the mestizos of Lima. The "hispanicizing" mestizaje originating from Lima was fought with political and educational efforts in Cusco to "Peruvianize" the city; a process carried out by emphasizing the city's indigenous identity while down-playing its Spanish heritage. This project, in turn, distinguished Cusco from Lima, a city founded by the Spanish, and, according to the Cusco intellectual Luis E. Valcárcel in his 1927 book, *Tempestad en los Andes*, characterized by its yearning to be European (114). Two notable results of these "Peruvianization" efforts were the symbolic elimination of the March 23 ceremony celebrating the Spanish conquest of the city and the inauguration of the more indigenously inspired Día del Cusco on June 24th, 1944, of which the Inti Raymi festival is its commemoration (de la Cadena 155; Flores Ochoa 128).

Fittingly, and following this new ethno-racial philosophy, Inti Raymi does not portray the mestizo reality of the city. What it portrays is an idealized illusion of racial and ethnic essentialism. For example, Inti Raymi's performers originate from the various

¹¹ García's essay "La aldea" in *El nuevo indio* outlines the distinction between town and country in Cusco.

cultural and educational organizations in Cusco, but amongst these groups, only those who appear the most indigenous are allowed to perform.¹² The Inca, the central role in the performance, is selected based not only on his appearance, but also by his ability to fluently and eloquently speak the Cusco dialect of Quechua, the only language used in the performance. Thus, what is presented is a sort of time-capsule of what Cusco might have been before the invasion of the Spanish in 1533; the performance tosses to the side over four hundred years of cultural change for one day's time in order to sell an image of Cusco's past Inca grandeur, a cultural commodity that Lima does not possess.

The early framers of the new celebration harnessed these contentious regionalist and racial identity conflicts and the historical capital of the city by using the festival to spur new development. Drawing on a statement by Humberto Vidal Unda, one of the chief architects of the celebration's renaissance, Zoila Mendoza points out the economic benefits that he and others responsible for the promotion of Inti Raymi foretold that would arise from its creation. In Vidal Unda's words:

[l]a fiesta del Inti Raymi podría convertirse en una de las grandes fiestas mundiales, como la Semana Santa de Sevilla, el Carnaval de Venecia. Estas fiestas dan vida a esos pueblos [...] El gobierno mismo tendría que verse obligado a dotarnos de todas las comodidades: pistas de aterrizaje, carreteras asfaltadas [...] Podrían nacer nuevas industrias derivadas del turismo. (Mendoza 187)

¹² This was related to me by Tania Castro Gonzales, a Cusco-based dramatist and performer whose father, Luis Castro García, directed Inti Raymi in the 1990s. While having deep genealogical roots in Cusco, she told me that she would never be able to perform in the "Raymi" because of her blonde hair and blue eyes. During my time in Cusco, it was evident that the mestizo population who largely directed the cultural centers were the most staunch in their defense of Cusco's indigenous, non-Western character and, paradoxically, frowned on the same mestizaje that produced them.

Indeed, many organizations did emerge from this initiative, the most notable of which being La Empresa Municipal de Festejos y Actividades Turísticas y Recreacionales del Cusco (EMUFEC), the million dollar organization that oversees the festival's execution today. Despite its divisive beginnings, Inti Raymi for many,

fué una fiesta de reviviscencia única, que ha tenido el valor de levantar el espíritu cuzqueñista y de vivificar por todos los ámbitos, de esta América Siempre Nuestra, el culto y el amor, el filial afecto por la madre de nuestra cultura: Incaica primero y Colonial después (Cuadros Escobedo 55).

In this quote from an observer from the time of the festival's twentieth century rebirth, Inti Raymi is an affirmation of Cusco's ancestral indigenous identity and a celebration of the city's continuity into the present as a cultural capital of the Americas. Both of these functions were mitigated by polemical racial politics, development concerns, and a regionalist fervor still present in Peruvian politics.

Fantastic Transfers of Power

It is the second scene of the festival. On a giant open air stage, a platform has been constructed near the current fountain in Cusco's Plaza de Armas. It is approximately 11 o'clock in the morning and, as the Sun is approaching its zenith, the Inca requests that his entourage bring forth the current mayor of Cusco. The mayor dutifully answers the call and climbs the steps of the platform to the Inca's throne. As a sign of respect to the Inca, the mayor halts halfway up the platform, not allowing himself to stand at the same level nor prostrating himself in front of the ruler either. The Inca issues an order:

INKA: Governor, you who now lead my people of Qosqo! Time and our lives intertwine in the infinite mystery of the universe and thus I appear to you as in a dream, dissolving the unyielding weight of

centuries. Before you stands reborn the Inka, son of the Sun, father of all this multitude! I have come to reinforce with my words the power that should reside in your honest arm, your good heart and your wise mind. I tell you that you yourself will rediscover in our most profound ancient wisdom the fundamental principles of good government; govern with kindness, with honor, with truth and with justice! Also remember that the work of the community and the unity of the entire people, will resolve your difficulties, however hard these may be... (RECEIVING THE KHIPU WHICH THE KHIPUKAMAYOC HANDS HIM)... and so that you shall not forget, I leave in your hands this sacred khipu, legacy of our fathers. It holds the three powers which are the life of our people, and whose history is lost in the beginnings of time: Love! Work! Learn! May these be the light that illuminates your good government, and the destiny of our race. Do not forget this!

MAYOR: I promise you, Father Inka Pachakuteq, to protect zealously this wondrous heritage, I promise, great Lord, to keep watch over your people of Qosqo, and to work tirelessly for their happiness.
(EMUFEC 46)

The Inka Pachakuteq will now be carried off in his *sedia gestatoria* like his counterpart, the Pope in Rome, once was. Once he arrives at Plaza Nazarenas, the festival will transfer to the fortress of Saqsaywaman, three kilometers up the side of a mountain. He cannot get lost enjoying the adoration of the throngs of spectators that follow him because a driver waits to take him and his entourage up the mountain.

A City Nostalgic for Power

In Inti Raymi, everything is prepared so as to produce the best illusion of an Inca past. The festival either does not use the more modern structures of the city or dresses them up in a way that changes their function and symbolism for the day. For example, during the festival, on the exterior of the Convent of Santo Domingo, which was built on the stones of the Qorikancha, hangs an enormous golden *punchao*. The punchao is the

traditional symbol of the Inca and of the Sun god that the Spanish prohibited under punishment of death in 1550 on account of its religious and nationalistic symbolism (Aguirre C. 69). The punchao became the rallying symbol for the many uprisings against the colonial authority that denied indigenous peoples access to land and administrative power, such as in the first Tupac Amaru revolt. The performance of Inti Raymi in the present day poetically employs this symbol on the exterior mantle to the doorway of the Convent of Santo Domingo, a building that represents an organization that preached kindness to indigenous people and sponsored Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, the first defender of indigenous Americans.

The way in which Inti Raymi manipulates and evokes the structures of the city of Cusco dialogues with a general longing to actively remember and reference a glorious past. However, while Inti Raymi seems as though it is obsessed with the past, it represents a more pressing concern with the issues of the present: it is the product of a community grappling with modernity. According to Svetlana Boym:

Preoccupation with tradition and interpretation of tradition as an age-old ritual is a distinctly modern phenomenon, born out of anxiety about the vanishing past. Bruno Latour points out that “the modern time of progress and the anti-modern time of ‘tradition’ are twins who failed to recognize one another: the idea of an identical repetition of the past and that of a radical rupture with any past are two symmetrical results of a single conception of time.” Thus there is a codependency between the modern ideas of progress and newness and antimodern claims of recovery of national community and the stable past [...] (22)

Like mentioned, Inti Raymi creates a sense of nostalgia in order to assert its difference from the metropolitan, creole city of Lima by attracting attention to Cusco as a cultural capital, or the “Cuna de la Peruanidad” (de la Cadena 175). But most importantly, its nostalgia exists only in the mind of the spectator and therefore depends greatly on who is

watching. To a cultural outsider, such as the many international tourists who watch the event, Inti Raymi's reconstruction of the past never transcends the level of pastiche, as all the Inca vestiture and props, including the llama that is sacrificed in the festival are very obviously fake. Like watching a living museum, the outsider sits in his seat in the stands and perhaps enjoys a packed, sterile lunch provided to him by his tour group.

The local Cusquenian, however, has a different experience. Local attitudes to the festival vary broadly. Some perceive the event as a revival of Inca culture and brim with pride on seeing the Inca descend from the stones of Saqsaywaman to his throne and altar on the grassy clearing below. Others view the event cynically as an obvious example of how the city caters to tourists. Inti Raymi, for most, spells profit and multiple national corporations sponsor the event. The wide variation in attitudes amongst locals attests that Inti Raymi is an invented tradition, for it tends "[...] to be quite unspecific and vague as to the nature of the values, rights, and obligations of the group membership they inculcate: 'patriotism', 'loyalty', 'duty', 'playing the game', 'the school spirit' and the like" (Hobsbawm 10). Regardless of personal views about the spectacle, for Cusco locals, the festival attests to the city's engagement with the modes and mores of global modernity and its development doctrines.

Through this engagement, Inti Raymi also evokes what Walter Mignolo has monikered the "colonial wound." For Mignolo, the colonial wound is a tandem physical and epistemological joining and splitting away of the European and the Amerindian that manifests itself in racial miscegenation and cultural admixture. It is a metaphoric construct that signifies a never-ending process of continual adaptation to new world

realities created by the constant meeting and clashing of different cultures (109-10). This wound will never heal and its afflicted area will never return to its former state: the Amerindian epistemology will constantly have to define itself in relation to the European one, for a true return to an unaltered native way of life is impossible.¹³ In the case of Inti Raymi, the theatrical presence of what the Spanish Conquest eradicated, an indigenous power structure ruling over the city of Cusco, represents the city's colonial wound. In the scene from the festival transcribed above, for instance, Inti Raymi recreates a hierarchical order in which the Inca, once considered the Sun god's emissary on earth, entrusts his responsibility to the contemporary mayor of Cusco while surrounded by a scenery composed of modern buildings and props constructed on the ruins of his past empire. This exchange of power builds off of a type of palimpsest in which selected residual imprints of the past are filled in discriminately with dialogue, costume, and props in the celebration to make them visible once again.

But while Inti Raymi symbolically transfers power to a long defunct Inca ruler for the day in order to claim Cusco's present using its past glory, it has become increasingly "colonial" itself.¹⁴ Thousands of international tourists from Europe, North America and Asia fill the stands immediately surrounding the main open-air stage area on Saqsaywaman to gaze on the multitude of mostly uncompensated actors and Peruvian army soldiers dressed in the garb of the four *suyos*, or corners, of Tawantinsuyo, the Inca

¹³ This is the premise of much of the Modernity/Coloniality Project's work.

¹⁴ Protesting this "coloniality" seems to be a traditional part of the festival. As related to me by Mary Blanchard, a Rutgers professor, in 2008, when she and her daughter attended the festival in 1973 they and the other tourist spectators were pelted with stones.

Confederation. In addition, tickets for the event can reach beyond \$100 American depending on seating, which is prohibitively expensive for Cusco locals.¹⁵

Typically, locals meander up the sides of Saqsaywaman to reach the hills of Suchuna and Llawllipata to watch the spectacle, but in 2008, the Instituto Nacional de la Cultura, the organization which manages the archeological site, decided to prohibit access to the Suchuna hill under the pretense that the locals were creating irreparable damage to that part of the site through this practice.¹⁶ Notwithstanding these warnings, as the Inca, played by Nivardo Carrillo, and actor, singer, and songwriter from Chumbivilcas, made his descent to his throne, brave spectators invaded the hill and subdued the armed guards charged with blocking access to it within seconds (“Inti Raymi”). Seeing the Inca descend, as I was notified by various sources, is one of the most charged moments of the performance for local spectators and, unlike any other part of the spectacle, provokes raucous cheers. In that specific moment, the actor playing the Inca becomes a representative of Cusco’s past glory and all spectators, local and international alike, show theatrical reverence to the Inca and Cusco’s historical grandeur. Through the act of witnessing the festival, they temporarily play the part of members of his entourage.

¹⁵ In 2008 it cost about \$90 American, but according to EMUFEC’s website in 2012, it costs \$115 depending on where you wish to sit. See <http://www.emufec.gob.pe/en/inti-raymi-.html> for details. I could not acquire any sort of documentation from EMUFEC about the regulations of the festival, but learned from other sources that many of the extras in the festival are Peruvian Army Soldiers.

¹⁶ It is hard to say if the once yearly festival is causing this damage on the scale that it is occurring but a study that details what is happening to the supporting walls of Saqsaywaman is José Ángel Bueno Galdo’s “Inestabilidad de los muros de Saqsaywaman. Evaluación ingeniero gemológicos del tercer baluarte” published in 2012 by *El Antoniano*.

Different Inti Raymis exist in the Andes, but this particular brand of Inca spectacle has begun to spread across the globe with some Andean and Peruvian cultural organizations in Peru and throughout staging their own similar reenactments of the festival. In short, Inti Raymi has migrated onto the global stage.¹⁷ From its resurrection from the dusty chronicles of history to the commercial product that it is today, Inti Raymi shares not only Cusco's identity with the world, but its citizens' hopes and fears for developing in a capitalist, global marketplace as well.

Artistic and Critical Interventions

Officials in Cusco created Inti Raymi in the mid-twentieth century as a means of generating income and establishing Cusco as a type of metropolitan cultural center in the midst of the increasing incursion of Western capitalist development practices in the region. Cusco's elites did not wish to see their history assimilated into a discourse on race and identity in Peru that viewed the mestizo as the next logical step in the progression of the country's history. Such a discourse would have undermined Cusco's legendary role as the seat of the expansive Inca Empire, and, thereby, its fledgling tourism industry. In 1944 as well as today, Cusco is a region with very little industry but with enormous cultural capital. Understandably, the region has seized on this cultural capital in order to create a multi-million dollar tourism industry which accommodates millions of visitors each year. As Cusco and other sites in Peru neatly package their histories, ancestral practices, and ruins in order to appeal to international tourists, these cultural elements

¹⁷ There have been reenactments in New York City, Lima, and Vancouver, BC, Canada.

become commoditized by a globalized art scene that finds its crucial operative nodes in the major metropolises of the world.

Whereas scholars like Ulf Hannerz and Shu-Mei Shih have described a similar process through the lens of “cosmopolitanism,” Marina Gržinić outlines that the manner in which global capitalism transforms artistic practices is inextricably tied to the Three Worlds development paradigm that arose after World War II.¹⁸ In her book, *Re-politicizing Art, Theory, Representation, and New Media Technology* (2008), Gržinić describes how the First World has made the art of the Second and Third Worlds conform to its models of production and argues for a decolonial de-linking of Second and Third World art from them. The First and Third Worlds, in Gržinić’s work, are those of the “developed” and the “underdeveloped” regions of the world. The Second World is the rapidly disappearing communist bloc defined by Cold War politics. With the failure of this Second World to gain and maintain political influence throughout the world, the promise of a cultural counter to the culture of First World expansionist capitalism dissipated as well. Gržinić, therefore, calls on artists in the “un-Western” and “underdeveloped” Third World to re-associate artistic creativity with political resistance and perform what the psychoanalyst Sueli Rolnik calls “kidnapped interventions” in their nation’s art scenes (145). As Gržinić sustains, these interventions must both use, abuse, and discard the predominant First World art production model to divorce art from its “pimp,” global capital (144-45).

¹⁸ Here, I reference Ulf Hannerz’s *Transnational Connections. Culture, people, places*. (1996) and Shu-Mei Shih’s *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China 1917-1937* (2001).

It is not clear how Gržinić's proposal can be accomplished because the task is gargantuan and must occur on a global scale. The key to achieving a massive worldwide intervention that would free artistic expression from the limits of capitalism may lie in exploiting all of the venues through which the First World nurtures artistic assimilation. In defining these venues Gržinić provides ample information. For instance, art, according to Gržinić, has traditionally been defined in the First World through the complex interplay of three major forms of commentary: theory, criticism, and art that references past works of art or other forms of cultural media. All three of these forms of commentary function to "naturalize" or assimilate new works of art and new modes of artistic expression into the hegemonic and discriminatory practices that determine what art is and what art "means" in the First World. The art of the Second and Third Worlds becomes subjected to this same process of naturalization as these areas of the world continue to develop along the lines of the "Three Worlds" paradigm. This First World cultural model, just like its accomplice in economic development, capitalism, is considered the model by which the study and the "business" of art should be conducted in those areas of the world that wish to call themselves "developed." (13-21).

What conforms most closely to Western art is what is typically accepted popularly and is therefore deemed the most profitable in wider-scale art markets, even in the Third World (14). Profitability has become an increasingly necessary characteristic for art as artistic and cultural institutions have become beholden to corporations and banks for financial support. In Gržinić's words,

corporations influence which artists take part in which exhibitions, how the exhibitions are curated, who the curators are and so forth. In this way, individuals,

institutions and groups that are in control of leading institutions and projects in the field of the 'art of financing' present themselves as the owners of contemporary art, cultural and political terminology. (16)

Capitalism, therefore, is complicit in the evacuation of political meaning from art, and thus, has aided in alienating the spirit of political resistance from artistic creativity.

Therefore, one of the most powerful maneuvers left for artists in the Third World, not to mention those in the First World that reject conforming their art to capitalist standards, is to stage massive critical interventions. Artists must engage with theory, criticism, and other forms of social commentary. They must work with critics, as well as academics, and perform their own criticisms. Where there is a critical *tabula rasa* on an art form from another part of the world, the First World defines it in its own terms and determines its worth.

Peruvian theatre is especially susceptible to being defined by others. According to Lady Rojas-Trempe, two of the most pressing threats to the survival of an authentically Peruvian theatre scene involve an astounding lack of published works and a deficit of substantial criticism performed by the practitioners themselves. In recent years, however, efforts to anthologize, document, catalogue, and critique the work of the country's multitude of dramatists and theatre groups have begun to reverse this trend as academics, critics, and dramatists alike have set out to prevent the evanescence of their work in their own nation's theatre scene (Rojas-Trempe 23).

I witnessed such an effort during my stay in Cusco in 2008 through the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño. The section that follows will document this festival and its

critique of theatre in Cusco, development, and the colonial nature of modernity. Migrant characters in this festival will evaluate the role of development in breaking up communities and alienating people from their ancestral homes. Peru's struggle to develop and define its modernity alongside that of the West will be seen as a type of madness and an unfruitful endeavor. The festival, therefore, offered a very apt criticism on the development of Cusco's art scene and that of the country as a whole.

The III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño

The Festival de Teatro Cusqueño is an effort sponsored by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura and various other cultural organizations to provoke local interest in Cusco's theatre scene. Cusco has had a vibrant theatre for many years, comprised of many groups that were born of the Teatro Experimental Universitario de Qosqo from the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad de Cusco. The festival that I attended was only in its third, but most publicized, year of production, and, according to my sources in the Instituto Nacional de la Cultura, participation was open to the public and there were no quality requirements that had to be met to perform in it. Like much of Cusco's theatre, it was an informal, non-profit affair: if you had a performance piece, you talked to Dr. Rado Yáñez, and he placed you on the schedule. The premise behind the festival was simple, yet contestatory: it was created in 2006 as a response to the plans of a Lima-based, principally foreign-funded organization, Kusikay, to renovate the antique, but abandoned old cinema house, the Teatro Garcilaso, (which was Cusco's only movie theatre up until 2008) in order to stage a Broadway-like Inca-inspired extravaganza for a healthy profit.

When I arrived in the city in 2008, Kusikay had already been on its run of *Chaska: una historia andina* for months, and, as I was informed by various theatre practitioners in the city, the organization had infiltrated the independent theatre scene of Cusco, hiring the majority of the city's performance artists as performers in its cast. The lure of a salary of \$900 American a month doing a steady gig was irresistible for many in a town where the average person employed in the arts and culture industry must work three jobs just to survive.¹⁹ Yet many in the theatre community did not protest the high pay that the Kusikay actors were earning or the fact that the Lima-based company had moved into a theatre scene that had been principally directed by locals. Rather, they objected to three fundamental issues: first, that the historical data and the performative traditions that were referenced in their 2008 show, *Chaska: una historia andina*, were manipulated to appeal to outsider sensibilities to the extent that their representations were hardly recognizable and/or repugnant to many in Cusco's artistic community, including to the performers of the work themselves. Second, that the show ran six days a week, allowing little time for the performers to create independent works in their spare time; and third, that the show cost the equivalent of twenty American Dollars to see. There was a large discount for Cusco locals, but only on Friday nights, and the show that was produced on Friday nights was the same one that they performed every night for months. In short, it was painfully obvious that the public that Kusikay tried to reach was primarily composed of the thousands of tourists that visit Cusco each year. One does not have to

¹⁹ This was related to me by Tania Castro Gonzáles, Carmita Pinedo Yuyarima, and Ninoshka Carbajal in 2008.

bother with producing new shows on a regular basis for a nomadic and always changing crowd.

This is the scene in which the local theatre festival was born. However, apart from the discontent that many in Cusco's theatre scene felt with the new capitalistic ethic imposed on their local art, there were grander, wider-scale issues that were felt across the entire city and the nation that influenced the works selected for the festival. What was being experienced in the art world in the city was just a small part in a larger drama being exacerbated by the economic forces of globalization. On the city and regional levels, the city's historical centers were being transformed rapidly to fit the needs of the thousands of tourists that visit them each year, with new hotels being founded by foreigners and people from Lima every few months. The prices on staples such as fresh fruits and vegetables had gone up drastically due to the rise in gasoline prices, and the natural gas that was being mined in the Southern Andean regions was being sold at ridiculously low prices by the government to neighboring countries such as Chile because there was a "surplus." This statement was perceived as all too absurd to the communities of the sierra that have little or no reasonably priced access to the gas that is mined from the land on which they live.²⁰ Three of the plays presented in the festival's run address the control of natural and geographic resources and link the need to control Peru's natural wealth with chauvinistic pride and indigenous identity: *Collacocha*, presented by the newly formed Teatro de la Universidad Andina del Cusco, *Conjuros al viento*, presented by Teatro

²⁰ A good source that outlines this issue is Mariella Balbi's interview "Ministro de Energía y Minas admite desigualdad entre precios del gas para el consumo interno y para la exportación" published in *El Comercio* on 19 June 2010.

Ikaro, and *Los chanchos de Pancho Pizarro*, presented by the Teatro Experimental Universitario del Qosqo.

Published in 1955 by Enrique Solari Swayne, *Collacocha* dramatizes a natural disaster that is provoked by intensive mining and construction. Set in a frigid and sparsely inhabited mountain town high in the Andes, the work uses the minimalist scenery of a contractor's dispatch to portray the severe austerity and solitude of the mining sites throughout the mountainous region. Throughout the play, the dispatch is violently shaken intermittently by earthquakes and tremors. These seismic waves are byproducts of the government's mining to construct tunnels through the mountains for a national highway that will lead from the Amazon to the Pacific Coast. The four main characters of the play, Ehecopar, the director of the mining operation, and Soto, Fernández, and Bentín, his administrators, spend most of the play stuck in the dispatch because a flood of water in one of the tunnels threatens to submerge the entire mining village of Collacocha, which lies in a valley below the construction. The only means of communication between the workers in the tunnels and the outside world and the mine is in the dispatch, and, in order to ensure that all the workers have been safely evacuated before Ehecopar detonates the tunnel shut with dynamite, Soto, one of Ehecopar's underlings, stays behind. Soto sacrifices himself to make sure that the workers get word of the impending danger, reporting back to Ehecopar and the others periodically until his tragic death.

Set in a characteristically Aristotelian format, Ehecopar is the tragic hero reinterpreted for the twentieth century. Ehecopar is blinded by a foolish confidence in

the power of man to control his environment through science, technology, and ambition. He represents the “man against nature” approach to the world around him par excellence and it is because of this incautious pride that the tunnels collapse. Had he heeded the warnings that his engineers and the driver who had first tested the tunnel in his truck had given him when the rise in the water levels of the surrounding lake had been controllable, the tunnel could have been saved at the cost of a delay in project completion. For Echeopar, nature must be dominated for humans to flourish, therefore, he did not want a small leak of water into a tunnel to stand in his way (Solari 27). This positivistic attitude toward human progress is the downfall of our protagonist: it drives him to madness and he becomes a mythical and rumored figure in the surrounding areas of the Collacocha mine, known as the transient “Viejo de las Montañas,” who spends his time planting flowers for the workers who died when he had to detonate the tunnel.²¹

While Hernán Vidal has argued that *Collacocha* is a response to the call of the Peruvian APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) political party to spur new highway development projects during the last years of the Odría dictatorship, which was known for having drastically reduced public spending, the play is not simply an APRA, pro-development sounding board (56). The play hinges on the madness of Echeopar as a symbol of the insanity of the entire positivistic endeavor. For instance, Echeopar holds that the highway he is building will help develop savage and God-forsaken regions of the country through the trade and commerce it will facilitate; he also demonstrates the need

²¹ Echeopar becomes the “Viejo de las Montañas” in the Epilogue of the work, but the text only subtly alludes to the use of the flowers as memorials to the dead workers. The performance of this play in the festival was more direct in elucidating the purpose behind Echeopar’s flowers thanks to the brilliant acting of Guido Guevara Ugarte.

to constantly defend his actions with virile bluster. When confronted by his subordinates about stopping work because of the growing flood in the second tunnel, he states:

Somos un país demasiado salvaje como para darnos el lujo de hacer esperar al progreso y a la civilización. ¿No han comenzado, acaso, las lluvias? ¿No sabes que si no defendemos algunos puntos, un par de huaycos destruye en media hora lo que hemos hecho en dos años? (Solari 28)²²

For Eche copar, progress must continue even during the most dangerous of natural phenomena. Like the forces of nature, Peruvian “savagery” must be combatted at all costs.

Despite his belief in development and progress, Eche copar’s conscience does not allow him to forget the lapse in judgment that cost the lives of some of his workers in the end. For instance, only Eche copar and the spectators hear the extra-diegetically amplified voice of Soto, the engineer killed in the detonation in the play’s last scene. Soto’s ghost converses with Eche copar, glorifying the work that he has done because, thanks to him, thirty-two tractors will be transported by truck to “cultivate” the Amazon (Solari 78). For a twenty-first century audience concerned with global warming, the melting of the snow capped Andes, and the destruction of the Amazonian rain forests, *Collacocha*’s thesis that nature must be dominated at all costs for man’s progress is highly insensitive. In Cusco, for instance, many people depend on agriculture for their sustenance and have been

²² “Huayco” is an Andean term meaning “landslide” or “mudslide”.

profoundly affected by the extremely cold winters and excess rains in the summer that global warming has brought to the region.²³

The Teatro de la Universidad Andina de Cusco followed the 1955 script faithfully in its rendition of the work, calling on its director, Guido Guevara Ugarte, to play the central role in its first produced work to ensure quality and to bolster the group's fledgling reputation in the city's arts and entertainment scene.²⁴ In the case of the group's production of *Collacocha*, timing was key to audience response. The group performed *Collacocha* in the festival around the time that President Alan García announced the Peruvian Government's plans to complete the Southern Andean part of the Carretera Interoceánica, a highway that will pass through the Department of Cusco and will link Peru with Brazil. It is possible, therefore, that the timing of the official announcement and the selection of Enrique Solari Swayne's *Collacocha* by the Teatro de la Universidad Andina del Cusco wasn't simply coincidental. While *Collacocha* presented APRA party politics on national development projects positively in 1955, the play produces a different

²³ Global warming has affected Cusco's popular festival as well. The ukuku characters of the festival of Qoyllur Rit'i held every May no longer remove a part of the Colquepunku glacial ice. Previously, the ukuku characters of the festival, along with many other pilgrims, would trek up the Colquepunku Mountain, where an apparition of Jesus Christ is widely believed to have appeared during Peru's colonial period. The characters used to cut out a large blocks of ice, return to the city, and parade through Cusco's main squares wearing it on their backs. Residents consider the ice blessed and typically liked to touch it in order to receive a blessing when this practice was still in place. Regardless of these changes, the ceremony is still very popular and is widely known for being syncretic, as it blends the pre-Columbian divine "apu," or mountain deity, with Jesus Christ. See "La fiesta del hielo se derrite" (5 June 2008) in the blog *Omblico del Mundo* by Renzo Guerrero de Luna on elcomercio.pe for more information.

²⁴ The director himself related this to me.

interpretation of these same projects in the present day. In short, the zeitgeist has changed, and with it, the work's interpretation amongst spectators.

As alluded to in the play by the characters and by his last name, the character of Echeopar in *Collacocha* was most likely the son of Basque immigrants to the Amazon region of Peru at the beginning of the twentieth century who came in search of the riches to be made in the rubber industry and in other raw materials (Solari 67). The next work provides a different perspective on the Amazon and its inhabitants, both human and animal. While *Collacocha* referred to the Amazon as a place of yellow fever, typhoid, tuberculosis, laziness, and lack of “development,” *Conjuros al viento* (1994) by Teatro Ikaro gives voice to another view of the Amazon through the voice of Carmita, an indigenous young woman who migrates to a big metropolitan city to work and make her way in the world, only to feel lost and in need of healing. Indeed, this healing is the mission of Teatro Ikaro, whose name comes not from the Spanish name Ícaro of the Greek mythological figure Icarus, but from a word in Cocama, an indigenous language of the Peruvian Amazon that means “healing process.”²⁵

A Cocama *ayahuasca* ceremony begins the healing in the play. Carmita's grandmother performs the ceremony for her on her return to her native town. Carmita, which is also the name of the actress in this one-person work, uses an impressive range of voice techniques, movement, and costume to simulate the shaman grandmother character's other worldly nature. As a parallel, a broken clay vessel visually represents Carmita's indigenous identity in the play. The work centers on this vessel because it

²⁵ This was related to me by Carmita Pinedo Yuyarima in a conversation in 2008.

broke once Carmita left her town and became influenced by foreign and “Western” ideologies and practices and she spends the duration of the play struggling to find some way to repair it. The symbolic connection in the play between the clay vessel and Carmita’s Cocama identity implies that cultural identity is linked to place and that by returning to the source of Cocama cultural identity Carmita will be able to fix her own broken sense of being.

The ayahuasca ceremony in the play is the catalyst for this process of repair and, as an audience we are transported into a theatrically-replicated state of trance. The ceremony on the stage employs fire, chanting in Cocama and in Spanish, and the invocation of the various animals of the Amazonian rainforest through masks, movement, and the reproduction of their sounds. During the hour-long performance, Carmita undergoes more than a dozen costume changes behind a series of white sheets hung from opposite sides of the theatre, which serve as a theatrical representation of a mosquito net, an element ubiquitous in many dwellings in the Peruvian Amazon. Through these various changes in costume, the play represents Carmita’s personal history and the history of development and foreign intervention in the Peruvian Amazon. *Conjuros al viento* doesn’t just stage the personal struggles Carmita experienced on leaving her native village for the city, but also portrays the abuse of the Spanish conquerors, and, later on in the twentieth century, the exploitation of the jungle’s fragile ecosystem and cultural traditions by the rubber and oil industries as being linked to the demands of a global economy (Teatro Ikaro 146).

The environment, in the particular cosmology of the Cocama, occupies the same articulatory subject position as the human: there is no divide between the human and the natural. The foreign entities in the work, however, do not share this philosophical stance about the environment. The play presents these largely capitalist and colonial entities as not only abusive toward the environment, but abusive to the human body as well. The colonial endeavor, the spread of the rubber industry in the beginning of the twentieth century, and the capitalist development doctrines that lure migrants to cities in search of economic advancement all doubly exploit the feminine in this scheme as well. Just as the earth is forced into the mold of scientific and capitalistic development, *Conjuros al viento* portrays the female as being similarly circumscribed and bound, but by the social structures that promote rigid gender roles and idealizations of female beauty. In the end, Carmita sheds the model of femininity and the cultural practices she acquired while working in the big city. She takes off her more Western fashioned garb to reveal her naked and painted body and, on seeing that her clay vessel has mysteriously returned to an intact state, steps out into the audience and offers it to a spectator.²⁶

Teatro Ikaro was first formed in the Amazonian department of Loreto by Cusquenian director Julio César Florez and his wife Carmita Pinedo Yuyarima. The two trained in the method of Jerzy Grotowski, the Polish theatre artist whose concepts of the *via negativa* and the theatrical encounter form the base of what he has called his “poor theatre.” The aforementioned final scene of the play in which the character Carmita offers her repaired clay vessel in a symbolically naked, but culturally inscribed state of dress to

²⁶ Carmita uses a skin-colored body suit in order to simulate nudity. Cusco’s culture is too conservative for public nudity.

an audience member is an example of a Grotowski-influenced aesthetic and theatrical strategy. The motive behind Grotowski's *via negativa*, as shown in *Conjuros al viento*, is to provoke an encounter between the actor and the audience in a state that progressively sheds theatrical artifice in order to promote communication, connection, and social change.

Both Florez and Pinedo are classically trained actors, having started their training in Iquitos before moving to Lima to study. Wishing to work with the indigenous communities of the sierra, they moved to the small Cusco town of Sicuani to collaborate with both the various countryside cultural organizations of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura and non-governmental organizations in the late nineties.²⁷ Sicuani, apart from being a site of many grassroots and indigenously inspired theatre collectives, is also the symbolic site where the Second Revolution of Tupac Amaru was suppressed in 1782.

Fittingly, the last work performed in this festival, the 2007 play, *Los chanchos de Pancho Pizarro* by Hugo Bonet Rodríguez, references the figure of the first Tupac Amaru and his gruesome death being drawn and quartered. The work employs multiple instances of a Brechtian *gestus* to draw parallels between the capitalist development of Cusco and its tourism industry, and various colonial-era institutions and figures. *Gestus* is a type of visual pose that uses a culturally, historically, and behaviorally encoded set of sign conventions in a seemingly superficial manner that can only be understood symbolically through a distanced spectator experience ("Brechtian techniques"). Hugo Bonet Rodríguez, the director and faculty advisor of the Teatro Experimental Universitario de

²⁷ This was related to me by Julio César Florez and Carmita Pinedo Yuyarima in separate interviews and exchanges in 2008.

Qosqo of the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco, is a well-known mainstay of Cusco's theatre scene. His works of drama typically use a Brechtian aesthetic to represent the connections between colonial exploitation and modern capitalist ideologies and manifest a type of Cusquenian Andean nationalism.²⁸

In *Los chanchos de Pancho Pizarro*, six characters dressed in blue jeans and the type of Machu Picchu t-shirts that are sold to tourists debate how to properly take advantage of the archaeological, natural, and historical wealth of the city of Cusco. Constantly changing roles, these six characters play congressmen, foreign and national investors (one being called Hitler), and conquistadores, and bicker in a very baroque register of Spanish while a silent female character dressed as a *ñusta*, an Inca maiden, sits on a throne-like structure made to resemble the stone architecture of the city of Cusco. The *ñusta* symbolizes the city, and at the end of the play, furiously yells at the characters and at the audience. She reproaches them for, in her opinion, they have allowed Cusco to be sold to the highest foreign and outside bidders. In this manner, the play breaks the proverbial "fourth wall." The work's use of *gestus* is very rich, filled with images of Christ being crucified and, at one point, the image of Tupac Amaru being executed is embodied by the characters to represent the manner in which the patrimony of the city of Cusco is being pulled and torn apart by foreign and Lima-based investors. Again, like in *Conjuros al viento*, foreign development is understood as a colonial type of power, much in the way that Arturo Escobar has described in his book *Encountering Development: The*

²⁸ Unfortunately, Bonet Rodriguez would not give me the script to this work. He gave me the scripts to other works, but seemingly could not find the one to this one, despite having just recently produced it in the festival.

Making and Unmaking of the Third World (1995). Despite the work's rich use of visual stimuli to supplement its sparse scenery, *Los chanchos de Pancho Pizarro* is pedantic and nationalistic to the point of lacking a critical voice. For instance, at the end of the work, the audience and characters all stand to sing Cusco's city anthem. This act reinforces the culturally chauvinistic message of the play and is meant to incite the habitants of Cusco to defend its resources from the rapid spread of international tourism and its perceived colonial-like grasp on the region's cultural capital.

While Bonet Rodríguez's Cusquenian theatre draws directly from the works of Bertolt Brecht, the dramatist uses this aesthetic along with elements from the Quechua speaking populations of Cusco as a political mission to form what he calls a "Qosqo Añaysauqa," or a Theatre of Cusco. According to Bonet Rodríguez, the Qosqo Añaysauqa,

Es contestatario. Entiende la historia como suma de actitudes eslabonadas y engarzadas en su identidad. Es práctico y estético. Todo es acogido, practica el *mikuy*²⁹ para la resistencia y continuidad" [sic], y dentro de esta óptica asimila lo que le sirve [...] con su propio entendimiento y no con argucias y artificios escénicos confeccionados en ultra mar, que sólo pretenden destruir y hacernos olvidar nuestra pétrea matriz, utilizando contenidos inkas convenientemente maquillados [...] (XIX)

Bonet Rodríguez's Cusquenian theatre, therefore, draws from the transformative cultural violence of both the colonialism of the past and the globalization of today. It is a theatre characterized by collective resistance, and the Teatro Experimental Universitario de Qosqo's performance of *Los chanchos de Pancho Pizarro* provided a fitting conclusion to a festival borne of contention and protest (Bonet XVIII).

²⁹ "Mikuy" means to eat or assimilate in Quechua (Footnote in Bonet, page XIX).

As a final note, through such efforts like the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño and protests and criticisms on the part of the performers of Kusikay's troupe and spectators alike, Cusco's independent theatre community was able to convince the organization to produce more accurate and sensitive depictions of native Andean traditions. In addition, they began to include more local input as to their portrayal of certain indigenous traditions. For instance, Kusikay's 2010 work, *Paucariqtambo*, is loosely based on the characters and plot line of the be-masked Festival de la Virgen del Carmen in Paucartambo, but draws closely from the experience and expertise of native theatre practitioners and less from outside researchers and theatre practitioners from Lima. In the end, Cusquenian artists collaborated to avoid the total adulteration and commoditization of their city's cultural heritage and prevailed.

Both Inti Raymi and the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño demonstrate the power of staged interventions in defending a community's rights over its culture in an increasingly developing and globalizing world. Provincial politics defined these two festivals and implicated a type of migrant in each of them. In the case of Inti Raymi, the festival highlights the fractious relationship between the site of Peru's political power in Lima and Cusco's cultural and political elites by making great fanfare of a history that Lima lacks. The objective of its 1948 rebirth was to draw migrant flocks of tourists directly to Cusco and bypass Lima altogether as the center of Peruvian culture. With the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño, Cusco based theatre practitioners protested the spread of globalized, capitalist theatre production trends in their city by focusing on plays that extolled the virtues of Cusco and presented external cultural actors and forces as agents of

exploitation. These plays presented migrants as suffering from identity crises brought on by their desire to progress socially and economically.

The festivals stage resistance to external agents who wish to use Cusco's cultural capital for financial gain. Much like in the case of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's concept of the invented tradition, they came into existence during specific historical moments scenarios but reference what Diana Taylor would call "scenarios" of Cusco's colonial past. The artistic and intellectual community of Cusco perceived a colonial-like threat from outside forces that wished to either undermine or exploit the city's cultural wealth in order to advance in a global marketplace, and responded by focusing on its indigenous past. The past, as this chapter demonstrates, is still a powerful weapon against globalization's degenerative effect on communities.

Appendix to Chapter 4



Festival actors carry fake mummies during the Saqsaywaman procession in the Inti Raymi festival. The mummies represent ancestors of the Inca in the festival. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



On the day of the festival, the flag of Tawantinsuyo, or the wifala, is allowed to fly higher than the Peruvian flag. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



The Inca smiles and welcomes his subjects as he proceeds through Cusco's Plaza de Armas. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



A representative of Chinchasuyo, one of the four regions of Tawantinsuyo, marches in Inti Raymi's pre-ceremony parade. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



The priest in charge of oracles, or the Tarpuñtay, holds up a sacrificed llama's entrails for inspection. He will look for auspicious signs that will prognosticate the Empire's harvests. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



Spectators in the stands begin to panic as Cusquenian locals break through the police barriers and begin to run up the Suchuna hill. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



This photo depicts three levels of separation. First, the Cusquenian locals have successfully taken the Suchuna hill to watch Inti Raymi. They maintain their distance from the spectators in the stands, however. And lastly, the spectators in the stands eagerly take photos of the festival actors, who do not intermingle with them. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



The Inca and his minions beseech their sun god, Inti Tayta. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



As part of the Inti Raymi festival, a large parade runs through the streets the day before. Students from Cusco's Escuela Superior Autónoma de Bellas Artes "Diego Quispe Tito" traditionally make papier mâché and wire "alegorías," or floats to exhibit in the parade. Many offer political commentary in visual form. In the above photo, the students are criticizing Gas Camisea for neglecting the Andean communities it inhabits. The indigenous Andean woman in the alegoría must cook with wood to feed her visibly malnourished baby in the shadow of the high-rise developments of a far off city that demands the gas underneath her. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



A photo from the Teatro de la Universidad Andina del Cusco's production of *Collacocha* in the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



A photo from the Teatro de la Universidad Andina del Cusco's production of *Collacocha* in the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



Carmita begins her journey to the city. *Conjuros al viento* in the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



Summoning the animal spirits of the Amazon. An example of the work's use of masks and costume change. *Conjuros al viento* in the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



Carmita must resolve her indigenous Amazonian identity with the modernity of the city and regain her sense of self. *Conjuros al viento* in the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



In the picture, this scene posits Roman Catholicism as product of the Spanish colonial endeavor. It depicts Catholic festivals as full of drunken debauchery and escapism. This depiction of Catholicism contrasts against the use of intoxicants in the spiritual traditions of the Amazon. For instance, the work presents the altered state produced through ayahuasca ceremonies as a way of connecting with the natural world through the surrender of consciousness. In addition, in this scene, Carmita makes clever use of the mosquito screen as a revolving backdrop. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



Carmita mimics a blonde doll as a criticism of Western femininity. Carmita's many costumes are layered one underneath the other. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



Carmita returns to her ancestral origins, depicted by the flesh-colored body suit. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



An example of *gestus*. *Los chanchos de Pancho Pizarro* as depicted by the Teatro Experimental Universitario del Qosqo in the III Festival de Teatro Cusqueño. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.



Actors represent Spanish colonialism in *Los chanchos de Pancho Pizarro*, directed by Hugo Bonet Rodríguez. Note the *ñusta* sitting mutely and still in the background. Photo by Mary Barnard, 2008.

Conclusion and Further Considerations

Rather than use this space to summarize what I have written in previous chapters, I would like to cover some of the issues that I did not discuss throughout this work and outline a itinerary of new projects that could possibly build off of this dissertation. This dissertation set out to outline how discourses on development have inspired theatrical production in Peru. I decided to focus on the migrant mostly because there is overwhelming evidence that he/she has been used as a stock-character in Peru's theatre since the latter part of the twentieth century. I also presented migration as a type of allegory for the country's responses to historical change and political conflict. I felt a need to discuss the economic motives of migration and how they provoke many of the crises of the characters in the plays that I analyze in this study.

The Cold War policies of the United States undoubtedly played a crucial role in shaping global developmental discourses according to the modes and mores of Western capitalism, but I did not wish to write a dissertation about Cold War politics and the rise of leftist/communist movements in Latin America for two main reasons. First, it had already been done masterfully by Jean Franco in her 2002 work, *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City*. Franco's work inspired me to think differently about how ideology informs cultural production and, more importantly, its dissemination. After reading Franco's work, I wanted to search for utopian spaces within literature and the arts that she refers to that could invoke people to dream of new and better societies.

While I agree with Franco's call to reevaluate the foundations of Latin America's "lettered city," I also sense that the elite structures in this city are still as alive and

flourishing as ever, regardless of the various paradigm shifts that it has underwent over the course of the twentieth century. People still privilege its culture of knowledge and admire its exclusivity throughout Latin America and I present the migrant as one example of its lasting attractiveness and power. According to Susan Lobo in her work, *A House of My Own: Social Organization in the Squatter Settlements of Lima, Peru* (1982), migrants move to the city to provide their children its educational opportunities, and therefore, view traditional education and university study as requisite conduits to success.¹ Like in the case of many of the characters in the plays I discuss in this dissertation, the migrant seeks entrance into the lettered city's sublime avenues in order to attain the widely fabled, yet elusive, achievements of progress and advancement.

Second, I wanted to focus on how Peru's cultural production synthesizes what it means to develop and the experience of "developing" and I thought that the theatre, a genre that changed enormously over the course of the twentieth century and that has become increasingly minor with the rapid development of television, film, and other electronic forms of entertainment, would be a fitting medium through which to study it. My reasons were multifold: first, while theatre practitioners throughout Peru have traditionally aligned themselves, at least in spirit, with leftist political movements that criticized Western development policies, their works haven't always followed a set ideological bent. For example, the works by Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani that this

¹ Lobo describes the importance placed on education in the squatter settlements stating that "However expensive, education of the children is viewed as a very desirable and necessary goal. Again and again, the feeling is expressed that the children, once educated, will be able to move into the middle class and earn enough money to afford some urban pleasures and luxuries" (27)

dissertation discussed, *Los músicos ambulantes* (1982) and *Adiós, Ayacucho* (1990), have transcended the political imbroglios from the particular historical moments of their debuts. These works have become canonical predominantly because they discuss the contentious and sensitive issues of national unity, trauma, and racism in Peru. On the other end of the spectrum, G. Juan Vilca's pro-development politics are not evident in his play *Hatun Yachaywasi* (1993). Instead, he criticizes the breakdown of village communities through migration by linking this problem to the failures of the Agrarian Reform of 1969 to prepare rural Peru for the demands of the global marketplace. Class allegiances did not prevent Peru's dramatists from exposing the country's injustices in theatrical form either. Sebastián Salazar Bondy and Juan Ramón Ribeyro both revealed the prejudices of Peru's elites toward its emerging migrant class in their respective works, *No hay isla feliz* (1954) and *Fin de semana* (1961), even though they were technically elites. In short, Peru's theatre has long been a ripe environment for criticizing the country's path to development through its treatment of rural to urban migration and its dramatists have transcended their origins and politics in doing so.

In addition, unlike in narrative and poetry, Peru's theatre practitioners are well versed in packaging social issues in an entertaining fashion for the masses because many are involved in the country's television industry. Many of my dissertation's findings carry over into Peru's television programming as well and studying the effect of television on the country's development would perhaps render an even more fruitful discussion on how popular groups absorbed national discourses on progress. Dramatists such as Miguel Rubio Zapata, Alberto Ísola, Jaime Nieto, Eduardo Adrianzén, and Aldo Miyashiro have

written multiple scripts for and have acted in the daily telenovelas and comedic series produced by the nation's main television channels: América Televisión, Panamericana Televisión, Andina de Televisión, and Frecuencia Latina. By studying popular reactions to television programs and their ratings along with their themes and accompanying advertisements, I could expand this thesis and augment its primary analyses on development and cultural production in Peru.

For instance, the dramatist and producer, Efraín Aguilar Pardavé is proof of the collaboration of the both communities in Peru. Aguilar's works of television are examples of how Peru's effort to accommodate diverse voices in its broadcast entertainment has yielded remarkable success in bridging cultural gaps as the country continues to develop. Migrants have been the main characters in two of his best known productions, *Así es la vida* (2004-2008) and *Al fondo hay sitio* (2009 to the present). While *Así es la vida* tapped into Peru's middle class imaginary by focusing on a small neighborhood in the Lince section of Lima composed of urban professionals, *Al fondo hay sitio*'s plot hinges on the class and ethnic differences between two families: the migrant Andean Gonzáles family from Ayacucho and the well-to-do Maldini family, whose ancestors immigrated from Italy. Much of the show consists of the Gonzáles family's struggles to survive in Lima, especially in a section of the city that was not designed for poor people who need access to public transportation, and their long feud with the Maldini family, headed by its matriarch, Doña Francesca Maldini.

Written by Gigio Aranda and playwright Jaime Nieto, *Al fondo hay sitio*'s cast includes many of Peru's best known cinema stars such as Gustavo Bueno, Mónica

Sánchez, Tatiana Astengo, Sergio Galliani, not to mention some of its most active theatre performers such as Marcelo Oxenford, Yvonne Frayssinet, Marco Zunino, and Bruno Odar. Additionally, apart from its popularity in Peru, Televisa and TV Azteca in Mexico as well as channels in Ecuador, Bolivia, and throughout the African continent are in talks with América Televisión to purchase rights to broadcast the show in translation where necessary. The transnational appeal of the show proves that its subject matter resonates not just with Latin American populations but those of other nations of the Global South that have faced their own rural to urban migration issues.²

In contrast with how Peru's television has portrayed the migrant, however, the majority of the plays that I analyzed in my dissertation take a contestatory and negative stance on development and rural to urban migration in Peru. Theatre, unlike television, is able to engage in protest far more readily because television is predominantly produced for the masses, as Theodor Adorno states, in order to further a specific, middle-class ideology even though many do not belong to this class.³ Thus, the struggles of the migrant often end triumphantly in Peru's television. But protest, whether it be in the streets, in books, or on the stage, is necessary to build a better world. Like the dreams of

² In reference to the show's expansion into the African continent, in a February 4, 2011 newspaper article, Efraín Aguilar stated that "Hay varios países africanos interesados en el formato del show, para emitirlo con traducción. Sería interesante salir allá. La serie les ha gustado porque reflejamos los mismos problemas que hay allá: la pobreza y el racismo" (*LaRepública.pe*).

³ Theodor Adorno stated this in his essay, "How to Look at Television": "The curse of modern mass culture seems to be its adherence to the almost unchanged ideology of early middle-class society, whereas the lives of its consumers are completely out of phase with this ideology" (163).

the migrant, life's harsh realities inspire us to aspire for better lives. This study succinctly describes how Peru's theatre captured these dreams and brought them to the stage.

This dissertation exemplifies the use of dramaturgy and performance in reflecting popular anxieties about capitalist development. As Peru continues to make significant strides along Western development markers, the role of the arts and literature will undoubtedly continue to change as well. Starting in the latter half of the twentieth century, rural to urban migration became a prevalent theme in Peru's theatre and performance, and will continue to be due to the country's rapid economic growth and the continuing swell of rural migrants to the cities. In the end, this indicates that the dream of development and of partaking in a Western-style metropolitan modernity still inspires and enchants aspirant migrants from far-off, remote places to move to the cities, most notably to Lima. Even though this modernity has become increasingly difficult to attain and maintain, its elusiveness seems to only add to the attraction. Theatre, hopefully, will remain a powerful medium for expressing the triumphs and tragedies of Peru's migrants as they seek to claim their own stake in their country's development.

Bibliography

- Adorno, Theodor. *The Culture Industry. Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. Ed. J. M. Bernstein. London and New York: Routledge, 2004. Print.
- Aguirre C., G. Max. "El Inti Raymi: Cincuenta años de su evocación y su significado." *Cincuenta años de Inti Raymi*. EMUFEC, ed. Cusco: Banco Continental, 1994. 55-90. Print.
- Ahmed, Syed Jamil. "When a People Do Not Need to Remember: Witnessing the Death of Pangtoed'Cham in Sikkim." *New Theatre Quarterly* 21.2 (May 2005):127-147. Print.
- "Al fondo hay sitio se verá en África." *LaRepública.pe*. La República. 4 February 2011. Web. 9 December 2012.
- Álvarez, Elena H. "Economic Development. Restructuring and the Illicit Drug Sector in Bolivia and Peru: Current Policies." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*. 37.3 (1995): 125-149. Print.
- Andreu, Alicia G. "Legitimidad literaria y legitimidad socio-económica en el relato de Julio Ramón Ribeyro." *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana* 20.39 (1994): 169-176. Print.
- A'ness, Francine. "Resisting Amnesia: Yuyachkani, Performance, and the Postwar Reconstruction of Peru." *Theatre Journal* 56.3 (Oct. 2004): 365-414. Print.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999. Print.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Fear of Small Numbers*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2006. Print.
- . *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 1996. Print.

Arguedas, José María. "No soy un aculturado..." *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*. Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 2001. 13-14. Print.

---. *Los ríos profundos*. Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 2001. Print.

—. *Yawar Fiesta*. Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 2007. Print.

Ascher, W. *Scheming for the Poor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1984. Print.

Ávila Molero, Javier. "Lo que el viento (de Los Andes) se llevó: Diásporas campesinas en Lima y en Los Estados Unidos." *Comunidades locales y transnacionales. Cinco estudios de caso en el Perú*. Ed. Carlos Iván Degregori. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2003. Print.

Balbi, Mariella. "Ministro de Energía y Minas admite desigualdad entre precios del gas para el consumo interno y para la exportación." *elcomercio.pe. El Comercio*, 19 June 2010. Web. 28 Oct. 2012.

Balta Campbell, Aida. *Historia general del teatro en Perú*. Lima: Escuela Profesional de Ciencias de Comunicación de la Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2001. Print.

Barrionuevo, Alexei. "Italy Follows Trail of Secret South American Abductions." *New York Times* 22 Feb. 2008: 12. Print.

Basadre, Jorge. Prólogo. *No hay isla feliz*. By Sebastián Salazar Bondy. Lima: Ediciones Club de Teatro, 1954. 9-13. Print.

Bayat, Asef. "Un-Civil Society: The Politics of the 'Informal People'." *Third World Quarterly* 18.1 (Mar. 1997): 53-72. Print.

- Bell, John. "Rediscovering Mask Performance in Peru: Gustavo Boada, Maskmaker with Yuyachkani. An Interview." Trans. Teresa Camu. *The Drama Review* 43.3 (Autumn 1999): 169-181. Print.
- Benites, Paola. "Conversando con César Vega Herrera." *Paola Benites*. Web. 19 Jan. 2010.
- Boggs, Bruce Alan. *Experimental Techniques in Three Plays by Gregor Díaz*. MA thesis. Texas Tech U, 1989. Print.
- Bonet Rodríguez, Hugo. *Resurrección de las cicatrices*. Cusco, Peru: JL Editores, 2002. Print.
- Brading, David. "Alfonso Reyes y América." *Letras Libres* (enero 2006): 48-52. Print.
- "Brechtian Techniques." usq.edu.au. University of Southern Queensland, 2009. Web. 28 Oct. 2012.
- Bueno Galdo, José Ángel. "Inestabilidad de los muros de Saqsaywaman. Evaluación ingeniero gemológicos del tercer baluarte." *El Antoniano* 120 (2012): 55-60. Print.
- Burt, Jo-Marie. "'Quien habla es terrorista'. The Political Use of Fear in Fujimori's Peru." *Latin American Research Review* 41.3 (2006): 32-62. Print.
- Caballero, Juan. *El teatro de Sebastián Salazar Bondy*. Lima: Importadora, Exportadora y Librería García Rivera S.C.R.L, 1975. Print.
- Cameron, Maxwell A. And Steven Levitsky. "Democracy Without Parties? Political Parties and Regime Change in Fujimori's Peru." *Latin American Politics and Society* 45.3 (2003): 1-33. Print.

Carnero Roqué, Germán. "Entrevista a Julio Ramón Ribeyro." *Caretas* [Lima, Peru] 16 July 1971: 424-28. Print.

Castells, Manuel. *The Castells Reader on Cities and Social Theory*. Ed. Ida Susser. Maiden, MA: Blackwell, 2002. Print.

Castro-Gómez, Santiago. "The Missing Chapter of Empire: Postmodern Reorganization of Coloniality and Post-Fordist Capitalism." *Cultural Studies* 21.2-3 (2007): 428-448. Print.

Castro Urioste, José. "Globalización y violencia en el teatro peruano." *Pachaticray: Testimonios y ensayos sobre la violencia política y la cultural peruana desde 1980*. Ed. Mark R. Cox. Lima: Editorial San Marcos, 2004. 175-183. Print.

—. "Introducción." *Dramaturgia peruana*. Eds. Ángeles, Roberto and José Castro Urioste. Lima and Berkeley: Centro de Estudios Literarios Antonio Cornejo Polar, 1999. 7-20. Print.

Chacón Chino, Karín. "Conozca a los 109 alcaldes de la región Puno." losandes.com.pe. *Los Andes* [Puno, Peru], 15 Nov. 2010. Web. 23 Oct. 2011.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "Marx after Marxism: History, Subalternity, and Difference." *Marxism Beyond Marxism*. Eds. Saree Makdisi, Cesare Casarino, and Rebecca E. Karl. New York and London: Routledge, 1996. 55-70. Print.

Chatterjee, Partha. "Five Hundred Years of Fears and Love." *Economic and Political Weekly* 33.22 (1998): 1330-1336. Print.

Collins, Jane L. *Unseasonal Migrants. The Effects of Rural Labor Scarcity in Peru*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1988. Print.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1989. Print.

- Cornejo Polar, Antonio. *Escribir en el aire. Ensayo sobre la heterogeneidad socio-cultural en las literaturas andinas*. Lima: Centro de Estudios Literarios Antonio Cornejo Polar, 2003. Print.
- Cornejo Polar, Jorge. *Estudios de literatura peruana*. Lima: U of Lima, 1998. Print.
- Cortés, Hernando. *La Ciudad de los Reyes*. Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1990. Print.
- . "Julio Ramón Ribeyro y el teatro." *Textos de teatro peruano* 3 (1995): 113-117. Print.
- Cossio del Pomar, Felipe. *Victor Raúl: Biografía de Haya de la Torre 1895-1931*. Lima: Editorial Pachacutec, 1995. Print.
- Cuadros Escobedo, Manuel E. "La evocación de la fiesta del "Inti Raymi" en la Capital Arqueológica de América." *Garcilaso* 4.6 (1945): 55-59. Print.
- Cuentas Ormachea, Enrique. "Diablada: coreografía, vestimenta y música. Diferencias entre Oruro y la de Puno." losandes.com.pe. *Los Andes* [Puno, Peru], 23 Aug. 2009. Web. 23 Oct. 2011
- D'Amore, Reynaldo. "Introducción." *La Ciudad de los Reyes*. By Hernando Cortés. Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1990. 7-8. Print.
- Davis, Mike. *Planet of Slums*. London and New York: Verso, 2009. Print.
- Dawson, Ashley. "Squatters, Space, and Belonging in the Underdeveloped City." *Social Text* 81. 22. 4 (2004):17-34. Print.
- Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zone Books, 1995. Print.

- Degregori, Carlos Iván. *El aprendiz de brujo y el curandero chino. Etnicidad, modernidad y ciudadanía*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1991. Print.
- De La Cadena, Marisol. *Indígenas mestizos: Raza y cultura en el Cusco*. Trans. Montserrat Cañedo and Eloy Neyra. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004. Print.
- De Soto, Hernando. *The Other Path. The Invisible Revolution in the Third World*. Trans. June Abbott. New York: Harper & Row, 1989. Print.
- Díaz, Grégor. "Réquiem para Siete Plagas." *Teatro Peruano*. Vol. 6. Eds. Díaz, Grégor and Sara Joffré. Lima: Ediciones Homero Teatro de Grillos, 1982. 7-57. Print.
- Dirlik, Arif. "Is There History After Eurocentrism?: Globalism, Postcolonialism, and the Disavowal of History." *Cultural Critique* 42 (Spring 1999): 1-34. Print.
- Dore, Elizabeth and John Weeks. "Class Alliances and Class Struggles in Peru." *Latin American Perspectives* 4.3 (Summer 1977): 4-17. Print.
- . "The Intensification of the Assault against the Working Class in 'Revolutionary' Peru." *Latin American Perspectives* 3.2 (Spring 1976): 55-83. Print.
- Doré, Emilie. "La marginalidad urbana en su contexto: modernización truncada y conductas de los marginales." *Sociológica* 23.67 (May-August 2008): 81-105. Print.
- Easterly, William. "The Middle Class Consensus and Economic Development." *Journal of Economic Growth* 6 (2001): 317-335. Print.
- Elmore, Peter. *Los muros invisibles: Lima y la modernidad en la novela del siglo XX*. Lima: Mosca Azul, 1993. Print.

Empresa Municipal de Festejos y Actividades Turísticas y Recreacionales del Cusco (EMUFEC). *Versión oficial del guión del Inti Raymi*. Cusco: EMUFEC, 2005. Print.

Epstein, Susana. "Open Doors for the International Theatre School of Latin America and the Caribbean." *The Drama Review* 34.3 (Autumn, 1990): 162-176. Print.

Escobar, Arturo. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1995.

---. "Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise: the Latin-American Modernity/Coloniality Research program." *Cultural Studies* 21.2-3 (2007): 179-210. Print.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1968. Print.

Flores-Ochoa, Jorge. "'...en el principio fue el inka: El ciclo del Inti Raymi cuzqueño.'" *Desde afuera y desde adentro: ensayos de etnografía e historia del Cuzco y Apurímac*. Luis Millones, Hiroyasu Tomoeda, y Tatsuhiko Fujii, eds. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2000. 123-147. Print.

Franco, Jean. *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin American in the Cold War*. Cambridge, Mass and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2002. Print.

---. "High-tech primitivism: The representation of tribal societies in feature films." *Critical Passions*. Eds. Kathleen E. Newman and Mary Louise Pratt. Durham, NC and London: Duke UP, 1999. 181-195. Print.

Gandolfo, Daniella. *The City at its Limits: Taboo, Transgression, and Urban Removal in Lima*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2009. Print.

García Canclini, Néstor. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. Print.

- Garcilaso de la Vega, Inca. *Comentarios reales de los Incas*. Cusco, Perú: Editorial Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad del Cusco, 1960. Print.
- Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani. “Adiós, Ayacucho.” Ed. Miguel Rubio Zapata. *El cuerpo ausente. Performance política*. Lima: Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani, 2006. Print.
- . “Los músicos ambulantes.” *Voces del interior: Nueva dramaturgia peruana*. Eds. Escudero, Ruth and Luis A. Ramos-García. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 2001. 69-100. Print.
- Gržinić, Marina. *Re-politicizing Art, Theory, Representation and New Media Technology*. Vienna: Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna and Schlebrügge, 2008. Print.
- Guerrero de Luna, Renzo. “La fiesta del hielo se derrite.” *Ombbligo del Mundo*. elcomercio.pe. 5 June 2008. Web. 14 Dec 2012.
- Higgins, James. *Cambio social y constantes humanos: La narrativa corta de Ribeyro*. Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 1991. Print.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1984. Print.
- Hopkins R., Eduardo. “El teatro de Julio Ramón Ribeyro.” *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana* 10.20 (1984):129-153. Print.
- Hunt, Lynn. *Measuring Time, Making History*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2008. Print.
- Inti Raymi (1944-2008), EMUFEC (Empresa Municipal de Fiestas de Cusco) y el INC (Instituto Nacional de Cultura).
- “Inti Raymi en explanada de Saqsaywaman.” Diarioelsoldecusco.com. *Diario El sol de Cusco*, 2008. Web. 15 Apr. 2009.

Isbell, Billie Jean. *To Defend Ourselves, Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1978. Print.

Itier, César. *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*. Tomo I. Cusco, Peru: Institut Français d'Etudes Andines and Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas", 1995. Print.

James, Brooke. "Peru's Most Desperate Refugees Cross No Borders." *New York Times* 15 Dec. 1991: 21. Print.

Jaramillo, María Mercedes. "Pishtaco de Julio Ortega: ¿mito o realidad?" *Antología crítica del teatro breve hispanoamericano: 1948-1993*. Eds. Jaramillo, María Mercedes and Mario Yepes. Medellín, Colombia: Editorial Universidad de Antioquia, 1997. 505-509. Print.

Jiménez, Michael F. "The Elision of the Middle Classes and Beyond: History, Politics, and Development Studies in Latin America's 'Short Twentieth Century.'" *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History*. Ed. Jeremy Adelman. New York and London: Routledge, 1999. 207-228. Print.

Kay, Bruce H. "'Fujipopulism' and the Liberal State in Peru, 1990-1995." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 38.4 (1996): 55-98. Print.

Kelly, Jana Morgan. "Counting on the Past or Investing in the Future? Economic and Political Accountability in Fujimori's Peru." *The Journal of Politics* 65.3 (2003): 864-880. Print.

King, Anthony D. "Boundaries, Networks, and Cities: Playing and Replaying Diasporas and Histories." *Urban Imaginaries: Locating the Modern City*. Eds. Alev Çınar and Thomas Bender. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota P, 2007. 1-16. Print.

Kokotovic, Misha. *The Colonial Divide in Peruvian Narrative: Social Conflict and Transculturation*. Eastbourne, UK and Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2005. Print.

Kumar, Krishnan. *Utopianism*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1991. Print.

Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and Social Structures*. London and New York: Verso, 2001. Print.

Lamula.pe. *Vladivideos*. vladivideos.lamula.pe. 05 Nov. 2012. Web. 2012.

Lernoux, Penny. "Generals as Revolutionaries." *The Nation* 19 Oct. 1974: 360-366. Print.

Libertella, Héctor. *Las sagradas escrituras*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1993. Print.

Lippard, Lucy. *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society*. New York: The New Press, 1997. Print.

Loayza, Luis. *El sol de Lima*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993. Print.

Lobo, Susan. *A House of My Own: Social Organization in the Squatter Settlements of Lima, Peru*. Tucson, AZ: U of Arizona P, 1982. Print.

Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998. Print.

Losada Guido, Alejandro. *Creación y Praxis: La producción literaria como praxis social en Hispanoamérica y el Perú*. Lima: UNMSM, 1976. Print.

Luchting, Wolfgang A. "César Vega Herrera: A Poetic Dramatist." *Latin American Theatre Review* (Spring 1984): 49-54. Print.

---. *Estudiando a Julio Ramón Ribeyro*. Frankfurt/Main: Vervuert, 1988. Print.

Manrique, Nelson. "Contrael viento, el Mito, el Teatro, la Violencia." *Diógenes. Anuario Crítico del Teatro Latinoamericano*. Marina Pianca, directora. Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1989. (279-287). Print.

Maraví Aranda, Javier. "Con nervios de toro." *Voces del interior: Nueva dramaturgia peruana*. Eds. Escudero, Ruth and Luis A. Ramos-García. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 2001. 101-119. Print.

Matos Mar, José. *Estudio de las Barriadas Limeñas*. 1955. United Nations report Lima 1966. Series: Urbanización, migraciones y cambios en la sociedad peruana. Print.

---. "Nuevo rostro de la cultura urbana del Perú." *América Indígena* 51.2-3 (1991): 11-34. Print.

Mayer, Enrique. "Peru in Deep Trouble: Mario Vargas Llosa's 'Inquest in the Andes' Reexamined." *Cultural Anthropology* 6.4 (1991): 466-504. Print.

---. *Ugly Stories of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform*. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2009. Print.

Mendoza, Zoila. *Crear y sentir lo nuestro. Folclor, identidad regional y nacional en el Cuzco, siglo XX*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2006. Print.

Meneses Rivas, Max. *La utopía urbana: El movimiento de pobladores en el Perú*. Lima: Editorial Brandon Enterprises, 1998. Print.

Mignolo, Walter. "Coloniality of Power and Decolonial Thinking." *Cultural Studies* 21.2-3 (2007): 155-167. Print.

---. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance. Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2003. Print.

---. *The Idea of Latin America*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2005. Print.

Mitos y leyendas. "La Leyenda de Anchanchu: Vampiros de Bolivia." mitosleyendas.com. Web. 23 Oct. 2011.

Morris, Robert J. "The Theatre of Julio Ortega". *Latin American Theatre Review* (Fall 1972): 41-51. Print.

---. "Theatre and Politics in Contemporary Peru." *Latin American Theatre Review*. (Summer 1980): 59-71. Print.

---. "The Theatre of Sebastián Salazar Bondy." *Latin American Theatre Review*. (Fall 1970): 59-62. Print.

Natella, Arthur Jr. *The New Theatre of Peru*. New York: Senda Nueva de Ediciones, 1982. Print.

Nunn, Frederick M. "Professional Militarism in Twentieth-Century Peru: Historical and Theoretical Background to the Golpe de Estado of 1968." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 59.3 (Aug. 1979): 391-417. Print.

Oleszkiewicz, Malgorzata. "XIII Muestra Nacional de Teatro: The New Theatre in Peru." *The Drama Review* 33.3 (Autumn 1989): 10-17. Print.

Ortega, Julio. *Adiós, Ayacucho*. Lima: ISHI Publications y Mosca Azul Editores, 1986. Print.

---. "Los cuentos de Ribeyro." *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 417 (1985): 128-145. Print.

- . "Pishtaco." *Antología crítica del teatro breve hispanoamericano: 1948-1993*. Eds. Jaramillo, María Mercedes and Mario Yepes. Medellín, Colombia: Editorial Universidad de Antioquia, 1997. 493-504. Print.
- Ospina Villalba, Galia. *Julio Ramón Ribeyro: Una ilusión tentada por el fracaso*. Bogotá: Fundación Universidad de Bogotá Jorge Tadeo Lozano, 2006. Print.
- Paerregaard, Karsten. *Linking Separate Worlds. Urban Migrants and Rural Lives in Peru*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997. Print.
- Palmer, David Scott. "Peru, the Drug Business and Shining Path: Between Scylla and Charybdis?" *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 34.3 (1992): 65-88. Print.
- Pérez, María Teresa. Introducción. *Cuentos*. By Julio Ramón Ribeyro. Madrid: Cátedra, 2008. p. 11-81. Print.
- Peru. International Center for Transitional Justice and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Anexo 2. "*¿Cuántos peruanos murieron? Estimación del total de víctimas causadas por el conflicto armado interno entre 1980 y 2000.*" Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación. Lima: Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003. Print.
- Philip, George. "The Military Institution Revisited: Some Notes on Corporatism and Military Rule in Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 12.2 (1980): 421-436. Print.
- Punomístico. "El Anchanchu de Los Andes." *Puno, Ciudad Mística*. punomistico.blogspot.com. 17 Nov. 2005. Web. 23 Oct. 2011.
- Purizaga Vega, Medardo. *Inti Raimi*. Lima: Editorial Universitaria San Martín de Porres, 1986. Print.

Quijano, Aníbal. "Colonialidad del poder y clasificación social." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 6.2 (2000): 342-386. Print.

---. "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality." *Cultural Studies* 21.2-3 (2007): 168-178. Print.

---. *Dominación y cultura, lo cholo y el conflicto cultural en el Peru*. Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1980. Print.

Rama, Ángel. *La ciudad letrada*. Montevideo, Uruguay: Arca, 1998. Print.

Ramos-García, Luis A. "Introducción: Las voces del interior en el teatro peruano." *Voces del interior: Nueva dramaturgia peruana*. Eds. Escudero, Ruth and Luis A. Ramos-García. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 2001. xvii- lxxix. Print.

—. "El teatro callejero peruano: proceso de cholificación." *Gestos* 25 (April 1998): 105-116. Print.

Reyes, Alfonso. "Notas sobre la inteligencia americana." Ensayistas.org. Web. 28 Apr. 2010. <<http://www.ensayistas.org/antologia/XXA/reyes/>>.

Ribeyro, Julio Ramón. "De color modesto." *Cuentos completos*. Madrid: Alfaguara, 1994. 194-204. Print.

---. "Fin de semana." *Teatro*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1975. 107-151. Print.

---. "Lima, ciudad sin novela." *La caza sutil*. Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1975. 15-19. Print.

---. "Piel de indio no cuesta caro." *Cuentos completos*. Madrid: Alfaguara, 1994. 154-161. Print.

---. "Prólogo a la tesis de Marc Vaille-Anglès." *La caza sutil*. Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1975. 143-144. Print.

Rizk, Beatriz J. "La fragmentación de la(s) ideología(s) y su efecto en las prácticas culturales e interpretativas de una dramaturgia comprometida: Dragún, Guarnieri, Vianna Filho y Rovner." *Latin American Theatre Review* 38.1 (Fall 2004): 39-57. Print.

Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead. Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. Print.

Rojas-Trempe, Lady. *Alumbramiento verbal en los 90. Escritoras peruanas: signos y pláticas*. Lima: Arteidea Editores, 1999. Print.

---. "Yuyachkani y su trayectoria dramática en Perú: Entrevista a Ana Correa y Augusto Casafranca." *Latin American Theatre Review* (Fall 1994): 159-165. Print.

Romero, José Luis. *Latin America: Its Cities and Ideas*. Washington, D.C: Organization of American States, 1999. Print.

Rosas-Paravicino, Enrique. "La evocación teatral del Inti Raymi y su inserción en la agenda de la modernidad." *JALLA 2006*. Jornadas Andinas de Literatura Latinoamericana. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 2007. CD ROM.

Rubio Zapata, Miguel. *El cuerpo ausente. Performance política*. Lima: Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani, 2006. Print.

---. "Diablos Danzantes en Puno, Perú." *ReVista, Harvard Review of Latin America* 7.1 (Fall 2007): 66-67. Web. 23 Oct. 2011.

Said, Edward. *Orientalismo*. Trans. María Luisa Fuentes. Madrid: Debate, 2002. Print.

Salazar del Alcazar, Hugo. *Teatro y violencia. Una aproximación al teatro peruano de los 80'*. Lima: Centro de Documentación y Video Teatral, 1990. Print.

Salazar Bondy, Sebastián. "Intervención de Sebastián Salazar Bondy." *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos*. Lima: Latinoamericana Editores, 1986. 59-66. Print.

---. *No hay isla feliz*. Lima: Ediciones Club de Teatro, 1954. Print.

---. *Lima la horrible*. México: Ediciones Era S. A., 1964. Print.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. "Existentialism." Trans. Bernard Frechtman. *Existentialism and Human Emotions*. New York: Citadel Press, 1987. Print. 9-51.

Seligmann, Linda T. *Between Reform and Revolution: Political Struggles in the Peruvian Andes, 1969-1991*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1995. Print.

Schopenhauer, Arthur. *The World as Will and Representation*. Trans. E.F.J. Payne. New York: Dover, 1966. Print.

Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1985. Print.

Shields, Rob. *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London, NY: Routledge, 1991. Print.

Slawson, Richard J. "The Political and Economic Causes of the Demise of the Teatro Nacional Popular of Peru." *Latin American Theatre Review* 28.2 (Spring 1995): 97-104. Print.

---. "The Teatro Nacional Popular and Peruvian Cultural Policy (1973-1978)." *Latin American Theatre Review* 25.1 (Fall 1991): 89-95. Print.

- Soberón, Santiago. "40 años de César Vega." *Identidades: Reflexión, Arte y Cultura Peruana* 3 Oct 2005: 15. Print.
- Sokoloff, K.L. and S. L. Engermann. "Institutions, Factor Endowments, and Path of Development in the New World." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14.3 (2000): 217-232. Print.
- Solari Swayne, Enrique. *Collacocha*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la UNMSM, 2005. Print.
- Sotomayor Roggero, Carmela. *Panorama y tendencias del teatro peruano*. Lima: G. Herrera Editores, 1990. Print.
- Spivak, Gayatri. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988. 271-313. Print.
- Starn, Orin. *Nightwatch: The Politics of Protest in the Andes*. Durham and London: Duke UP, 1999. Print.
- Students of the World. "Economy Peru: GDP, GNP, currency, produce, mining products, agriculture, consumption, natural resources." studentsoftheworld.info. Web. 7 July 2011.
- Subirana, Katherine. "Lima, la nuestra." *El Comercio* [Lima, Peru] 19 Jan. 2009: A16. Print.
- Tamayo Vargas, Augusto. "Julio Ramón Ribeyro: Un narrador urbano en sus cuentos." *XVII Congreso del Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana: El barroco en América; Literatura hispanoamericana; Crítica histórico-literaria hispanoamericana*. Madrid: Cultura Hispánica del Centro Iberoamericano de Cooperación, U. Complutense de Madrid, 1978. 1161-1175. Print.
- . *Literatura peruana*. Vol. 3. Lima: Peisa, 1993. Print.

Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire. Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003. Print.

Teatro Ikaro. "Conjuros al viento." *Textos de teatro peruano* 4 (1998): 142-148. Print.

Trastoy, Beatriz and Perla Zayas de Lima. *Lenguajes escénicos*. Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2006. Print.

Turino, Thomas. *Moving Away from Silence. Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration*. Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1993. Print.

United Nations. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Popular Division. *World Urbanization Prospects. The 2009 Revision*. New York: United Nations, 2010. Print.

Valcárcel, Luis E. *Tempestad en los Andes*. Lima: Editorial Minerva, 1927. Print.

Vallejo, Javier. "Me olvidé la memoria en algún sitio." *El País* [Madrid] 10 Aug. 2010. Web. 19 Oct. 2011.

Vargas Llosa, Mario. *La utopía arcaica. José María Arguedas y las ficciones del indigenismo*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultural Económica, 1996. Print.

Vega Herrera, César. "El ascensor." *Soñar sí cuesta mucho*. Ed. César Vega Herrera. Lima: CONCYTEC, 1989. 107-164. Print.

Vich, Victor. "Popular Capitalism and Subalternity. Street Comedians in Lima." Trans. Brent Hayes Edwards and Nora Nicolini. *Social Text* 81 22.4 (Winter 2004): 47-64. Print.

- Vidal, Hernán. "Desarrollismo, teatro y cultura nacional peruana: *No hay isla feliz* de Sebastián Salazar Bondy y *Collacocha* de Enrique Solari Swayne." *Gestos* 5 (1988): 53-84. Print.
- Vilca, G. Juan. "Hatun Yachaywasi." *Voces del interior: Nueva dramaturgia peruana*. Eds. Escudero, Ruth and Luis A. Ramos-García. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 2001. 43-68. Print.
- Villegas, Juan. *Historia multicultural del teatro y las teatralidades en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Galerna, 2005. Print.
- White, Gavin David. "Displacement, decentralization and reparation in post-conflict Peru." *Forced Migration Review* 33 (September 2009): 44-46. Print.
- Williams, Raymond L. *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford UP, 1973. Print.
- . *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*. Ed. Tony Pinkney. London and New York: Verso, 1989. Print.
- Wise, Carol. "The Politics of Peruvian Economic Reform: Overcoming the Legacies of State-Led Development." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 36.1 (Spring 1994): 75-125. Print.
- Wolfenzon, Carolyn. "El pishtaco y el conflicto entre la costa y la sierra en *Lituma en los Andes y Madeinusa*." *Latin American Literary Review* 38.75 (2010): 24-45. Print.
- Wood, David. "Literatura y cultura popular en el Perú contemporáneo." *Heterogeneidad y literatura en el Perú*. Ed. James Higgins. Lima: Centro de Estudios Literarios Antonio Cornejo Polar, 2003. 329-52. Print.
- Yaeger, Patricia. "Introduction: Dreaming of Infrastructure." *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*. 122.1 (2007): 9-26. Print.

Zavala Cataño, Víctor. *Teatro campesino*. Lima: Universidad Nacional de Educación La Cantuta, 1969. Print.

Curriculum Vitae

Mary Barnard

Education

- 2006-2013 Ph.D in Spanish Literature
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. New Brunswick, New Jersey
- 2004-2006 M.A. in Spanish
University of North Texas. Denton, Texas
- 2001-2004 B.A. in Spanish, minor in Linguistics
The University of Texas at Arlington. Arlington, Texas

Occupation

- 2011-2012 Guest Faculty in Spanish
Sarah Lawrence College. Bronxville, New York
- 2009-2011 Teaching Assistant
Department of English
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. New Brunswick, New Jersey
- 2008-2009 Graduate Fellow
Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. New Brunswick, New Jersey
- 2006-2009 Teaching Assistant
Department of Spanish and Portuguese
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. New Brunswick, New Jersey
- 2004-2006 Teaching Assistant
Department of Foreign Languages
University of North Texas. Denton, Texas