<div align="center">

◇
2

Strategies of the Black Pacific

Music and Diasporic Identity in Peru

HEIDI CAROLYN FELDMAN

</div>

Peru has not collected census data about racial and ethnic identity since 1940. Reaffirming this decision in 1961, Census Director Pedro Gutierrez stated, "The question about race has been omitted because there is no racial problem in Peru" (*La Prensa* 1961, 5).

Decades later, in 2009, a taxi driver in Lima questioned me about the recent election of the first African American president of the United States, Barack Obama. "Pardon my frankness," he said, "but how is it that a country like yours, with such racial problems, succeeded in electing a black president?" Implicit in his statement was a comparison between Peru (where presidential elections in the 1990s had foregrounded the ethnic backgrounds of Japanese Peruvian Alberto Fujimori, nicknamed "El Chino," and mestizo Alejandro Toledo, known as "El Cholo") as a country with "no racial problem" versus the United States, with its history of legalized segregation and institutionalized discrimination against blacks in housing, restaurants, buses, employment, and other forms of public life (see Oboler 2005).[1]

For Afro-descendants in Peru, all is not what it seems. Anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena (1998) explains that Peruvian national ideology long has held that there is no such thing as race, while at the same time members of non-European groups are excluded from membership in the educated and "decent" classes, creating an environment of silent racism. Afro-Peruvian scholar José Campos, similarly, explains that "racism in Peru is felt but not seen" (quoted in Portocarrero 2000, 208; see also Sims 1996). Isolated protests have highlighted less subtle forms of discrimination: the use of blackface on a 1988 televised drama about slavery (R. Santa Cruz 1988); the demeaning and racist stereotypes presented by the Peruvian comedic TV character "Negro Mama" (taken off the air after protests by Afro-Peruvian organizations in 2010) (Quiroz 2010); the 2004 Lima phonebook cover juxtaposing the image of a black bellhop carrying luggage with

images of a white doctor, nurse, and home repair technician (Bridges 2004); charges in 2007 that a nightclub refused to admit blacks (*Living in Peru*, 2007); the 2009 commercial by the major Peruvian newspaper *El Comercio* that depicted Afro-descendants as cannibals (aired shortly after the Peruvian government's official apology to Afro-Peruvians for discrimination) (Peru.com 2009); the persistence of racial stereotypes in advertising and product displays on billboards and in stores (Becerra 2010); and so on.

In the twenty-first century, Afro-Peruvian NGOs are challenging frequently cited estimates that blacks make up less than 3 percent of the country's population, highlighting the detrimental consequences of black social invisibility in Peru, where many blacks live in poverty and few are found in white-collar jobs or high-ranking professional positions. Published estimates of Peru's black population vary in the absence of scientific measures and/or agreement about what constitutes "blackness" in Peru. The 1940 Peruvian census designated Afro-Peruvians as 0.47 percent of the population (quoted in Glave 1995, 15), and in 2010, the CIA's World Factbook stated that 3 percent of Peru's population was "black, Japanese, Chinese, and other" (World Factbook 2010). Yet, in 1995 José Luciano and Humberto Rodriguez Pastor described the Afro-Peruvian population as an estimated 6 to 10 percent of the population (Luciano and Rodriguez Pastor 1995, 271), and in 2002, Peru's Commission on Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian Peoples (CONAPA) estimated the Afro-Peruvian population to be 3 million, or 13.5 percent of the country's total population (Congreso de la República, Comisión de Amazonía, Asuntos Indígenas y Afroperuanos 2002, 4). The commission criticized the lack of ethnic data in the national census for its role in the continued social invisibility and sublimation of Afro-Peruvians, stating, "Afro-Peruvians do not figure in the poverty map created by the government to establish its investment priorities, so they find themselves abandoned. Even if being on the coast means possibilities for access are more feasible than in an indigenous community high in the Andes, they have no dependable infrastructure that allows them to mobilize themselves.[2] Programs to alleviate poverty do not consider the coast to be a critical poverty zone, nor do they consider Afro-Peruvians a vulnerable group" (ibid., 5).[3]

To be sure, this critical condition is not limited to Peru. Throughout Latin America, people of African descent tend to be invisible, and ideologies of *mestizaje* and whitening to "improve the race" mask the persistence of racializing practices that keep people of color in positions of poverty and low social prestige (see Andrews 2004; Dzidzienyo and Oboler 2005; Minority Rights Group 1995; Wade 1997; Whitten and Torres 1998).

However, a closer look at the experience of Afro-descendants on the Pacific coast suggests that something is different in what I call the black Pacific

(Feldman 2005, 2006). While Afro-descendants struggle against social invisibility all over Latin America, in Peru and neighboring countries they seem to be *more* invisible, making efforts to fight racism more difficult. In international scholarship on the African diaspora, Peru has maintained a low profile at best. Few studies of slavery or blackness in the Americas even mention Peru, and maps of slave routes often completely omit the Pacific coast. Thus, many people (both Peruvians and non-Peruvians) are unaware of the existence of African-descended people or cultural traditions in Peru.

In 1993, African diaspora studies were enlivened by Paul Gilroy's model of the black Atlantic, a cultural world made up of citizens of Africa, Europe, and the Americas who share a transnational community linked by waterways and commerce, expressive culture forms, and "structures of feeling" (Williams 1977). Gilroy's black Atlantic model rejects the classic notion of the African diaspora as a one-way relationship between a center (the African homeland) and periphery (those longing to return), instead proposing a multidirectional, postnational cultural flow. Opposing Afrocentric models, Gilroy locates the birth of black Atlantic culture and the social construction of black racial identity in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Building upon the work of W. E. B. Du Bois ([1903] 1994), Gilroy describes the double consciousness of blacks in the New World, who identify with both premodern Africa and the modern "West," resulting in what Gilroy calls a black "counterculture of modernity" (Gilroy 1993).

Some critics, while embracing Gilroy's emphasis on hybridity and multidirectionality, have sought to move beyond the Anglocentric nature of his examples (Fox 2006; Oboe and Scacchi 2008; Williams 1995). However, most efforts to address the omission of the Afro-Latin American experience from Gilroy's model retain his exclusive focus on the Atlantic.

My research in Peru suggests that while Gilroy's black Atlantic model reinvigorated the way scholars think about the African diaspora, it left unexplored the lesser-known communities of African descendants in countries along Latin America's Pacific coast. In an effort to map previously uncharted African diasporic territories on the margins of the black Atlantic, I locate what I call the black Pacific (Feldman 2005, 2006) in Peru and (tentatively) other areas along the Andean Pacific coast (Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, and Colombia) where the history of slavery, and even the persistence of people and cultural expressions of African descent, is unknown to many outsiders. I imagine the black Pacific as a second diaspora on the margins of the black Atlantic because of its geographical location along the Pacific coast and the second journey made by enslaved Africans that severed them from the shared structures of feeling and waterways of Gilroy's black Atlantic. After some enslaved Africans crossed the Atlantic

Ocean, they were re-exported (legally or illegally), generally continuing on to Peru from Cartagena by sea (via Panama).[4] Colonial Peru's market then became an important supplier of enslaved Africans for the Pacific coast (Bowser 1974, 26–51, 54–55).

Within their respective countries, black Pacific people tend to be socially invisible and their sense of African diasporic identity is sometimes dormant.[5] With few or no visible surviving African-descended cultural forms, black Pacific populations appear to be no longer "very African" in Herskovits's terms (1941), especially compared with black Atlantic cultures such as Cuba or Brazil. This loss of cultural heritage has led to several revivals of African-derived culture and accompanying struggles over how to reclaim forgotten and largely undocumented history. In the isolated black Pacific, revival leaders search for African heritage in unconventional places, remapping "center" and "periphery" in the African diaspora and inventing traditions to restore a link with the African past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Whereas for Gilroy, black Atlantic double consciousness results from dual identification with premodern Africa and the modern West, the black Pacific negotiates ambiguous relationships with local *criollo* and indigenous culture and with the black Atlantic itself.

The Afro-Peruvian music revival (1950s–1970s) and its legacy provide an excellent example of the black Pacific condition and its strategies to recover African diasporic identity. As the following examples demonstrate, these strategies suggest new ways to map the African diaspora, and they bring into relief the difference between citizens of black Pacific and black Atlantic worlds.

Excavating Africa in the Black Atlantic

In early-twentieth-century urban Peru, few cultural traditions remained that were considered Afro-Peruvian. Race was perceived as changeable, whiteness was equated with social mobility, and, as Raúl Romero explains (1994), Peruvians of African descent typically were not viewed as a separate ethnic group because they identified culturally, along with the descendants of Europeans, as *criollos*, a term that originally described the children of Africans born into slavery and later included European descendants born in Peru. After independence, the word *criollo* came to describe a set of cultural practices that were believed to be of European origin, including *música criolla*, or Creole music. At Lima's *jaranas* (multi-day, invitation-only social gatherings involving the communal affirmation of shared *criollo* culture through food, drink, humor, music, and dance), ethnically diverse *criollos* performed *música criolla*, especially the *marinera*, on the guitar, *cajón* (box drum), and other instruments.[6] Those who did not play an instrument sang, danced, or performed the special rhythmic handclap patterns

unique to each musical genre, affirming the participatory character of creating and maintaining a shared culture. Although the performers were of mixed ethnic backgrounds, by the middle of the century this music was considered to be of strictly European origin (Romero 1994).

Before the Afro-Peruvian revival, many blacks in Peru identified with *criollo* culture, yet they were denied the social benefits afforded white *criollos.* In the 1960s, while African independence movements and the U.S. civil rights movement sought to overturn colonialism and racism, respectively, in Peru, music and dance were the first successful arenas for the politics of black resistance. Whereas for some critics, staged music and dance might seem an unlikely format for collective protest, the first step for Afro-descendants in the isolated black Pacific was to make themselves visible as a group by organizing around a newly embraced collective, ethnic, and diasporic identity before they could unite in a political struggle for civil rights. In the Afro-Peruvian revival, black Peruvians began by mounting staged performances that reinscribed forgotten and ignored black culture in Peruvian official history, starting with times of slavery (plantation settings, slave dances, and so on). The leaders of the Afro-Peruvian revival reconstructed lost black Peruvian music and dances for theatrical performances and recordings, musically promoting racial difference to challenge the prevailing ideology of *criollo* unity without racial equality.

Many Peruvian musicians date the beginning of the revival to 1956, when Peruvian scholar José Durand (a white *criollo*) founded the Pancho Fierro company, which presented the first major staged performance of reconstructed Afro-Peruvian music and dance at Lima's Municipal Theater.[7] Several black Peruvians who participated in Durand's company formed their own groups in the 1960s, including the charismatic siblings Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz. Perú Negro, the only group from the revival still existing in the twenty-first century, was founded in 1969 by former protégés of Victoria Santa Cruz.

Nicomedes Santa Cruz (1925–1992), an internationally renowned poet, folklorist, record producer, theater director, television and radio personality, journalist, and composer, is considered by many to be the father of the Afro-Peruvian revival (see Figure 2.1). Nicomedes Santa Cruz and his sister Victoria Santa Cruz (b. 1922) were born into a family of black intellectuals, artists, and musicians whose contributions to Peru's cultural life went back six generations (O. Santa Cruz n.d.). The Santa Cruz siblings were inspired to create a black theater company when they saw a 1951 performance by the U.S.-based Katherine Dunham Company at Lima's Municipal Theater (Santa Cruz 2000). Dunham, an African American choreographer and anthropologist, studied African-derived cultural expressions of the Caribbean and translated them to staged and stylized choreographies. Nicomedes Santa Cruz later described Dunham's show as the

Figure 2.1. Nicomedes Santa Cruz and his wife, Mercedes Castillo. Courtesy of Caretas Ilustración Peruana.

first staged performance in Peru to present blackness in a positive light (Santa Cruz 1973, 24).

In 1958, Santa Cruz founded the theater company Cumanana, which he used as a vehicle to bring his recited *décimas*, collected Afro-Peruvian songs and re-created Afro-Peruvian folklore to the public stage.[8] In 1963, Santa Cruz made a life-changing trip to Brazil, where he immersed himself in Afro-Brazilian culture and conferred with noted scholars of Afro-Brazilian folklore. Shortly after his return from Brazil, in 1964, Santa Cruz produced the ethnographic album *Cumanana*. This 2-LP boxed set, recorded by Santa Cruz and his company of the same name, contains the first recordings of many Afro-Peruvian genres that Nicomedes Santa Cruz had collected, reconstructed, and/or re-created, along with a 100-plus-page booklet on Afro-Peruvian music. *Cumanana* exerted a lasting influence on contemporary ideas about the black musical past in Peru; photocopies of the booklet circulate to this day as underground black history texts.

The most influential (and controversial) theory promoted in the booklet accompanying *Cumanana* (see Figure 2.2) demonstrates Santa Cruz's turn to the

black Atlantic as a surrogate for Africa. Santa Cruz affirmed that an Angolan couple dance called *lundú,* featuring a pelvic bump in its descriptions by European chroniclers, became the Peruvian *landó,* a forgotten dance formerly performed by Africans and their descendants in Peru (Santa Cruz remembered seeing his grandparents perform the *landó* before it disappeared from practice, and he remembered his mother singing fragments of the verses). According to Santa Cruz, the African *lundú* also gave birth to over fifty couple dances found throughout Portugal, Spain, and the Americas, all featuring the pelvic bump "leitmotif" as part of their choreography. Santa Cruz's central piece of evidence for the persistence in Peru of a dance descended from the African *lundú* is the description, originally published in 1790 in the newspaper *Mercurio Peruano* and later cited by Manuel Fuentes in his influential book *Lima* ([1867] 1925), of an unnamed "indecent" erotic dance performed by enslaved Africans in eighteenth-century Lima (Santa Cruz [1964] 1970b, 18–20, 47). Santa Cruz further argued that the *landó* was the progenitor of the *marinera,* claiming African, not just European, heritage for Peru's most revered *criollo* dance. He supported this claim by citing elements of the *marinera*'s choreography that, he affirmed, were survivals of the *lundú*'s leitmotif: the requirement that the man and woman face each other and perform in a coquettish fashion throughout the dance, the use of the handkerchief, a "simulated pelvic bump" in the final figure, and so on (Santa Cruz [1964] 1970b, 20).

Where did Santa Cruz learn of the African origin of the Peruvian *landó?* Apparently he based his theory on a transposition of Brazilian scholars' writings
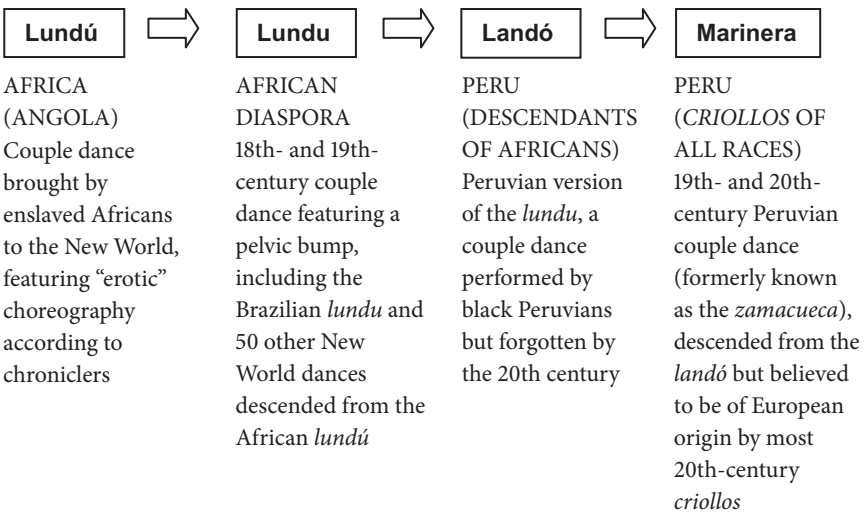
Lundú	Lundu	Landó	Marinera
AFRICA (ANGOLA) Couple dance brought by enslaved Africans to the New World, featuring "erotic" choreography according to chroniclers	AFRICAN DIASPORA 18th- and 19th-century couple dance featuring a pelvic bump, including the Brazilian *lundu* and 50 other New World dances descended from the African *lundú*	PERU (DESCENDANTS OF AFRICANS) Peruvian version of the *lundu,* a couple dance performed by black Peruvians but forgotten by the 20th century	PERU (*CRIOLLOS* OF ALL RACES) 19th- and 20th-century Peruvian couple dance (formerly known as the *zamacueca*), descended from the *landó* but believed to be of European origin by most 20th-century *criollos*

Figure 2.2. Nicomedes Santa Cruz's theory of the African origins of the Peruvian *marinera.*

about the Afro-Brazilian dance called *lundu*. There is no historical evidence to date that a dance called *lundú* (the Angolan progenitor of the Brazilian *lundu*) existed in Peru. However, Edison Carneiro and Luis da Cámara Cascudo (scholars Santa Cruz met in Brazil and whose books he cites in *Cumanana* in support of his theory) both wrote about the Brazilian *lundu*, a well-documented dance of Angolan origin (Carneiro 1961; Cascudo 1962). In *Cumanana*, Santa Cruz affirmed that the Peruvian *landó* must have had the same origin and choreography as the Brazilian *lundu*. His evidence for this correlation appears to come primarily from Cascudo's entry about the *lundu* in his *Dictionary of Brazilian Folklore*, which states that the African *lundú* gave birth to a series of Brazilian dances as well as to the Peruvian, Chilean, and Argentinean *samba cueca* (Cascudo 1962, 434–435; Santa Cruz [1964] 1970b, 18). In connecting the Brazilian *lundu* with the Afro-Peruvian *landó*, it appears likely that Santa Cruz relied on the similarity of the names of two lost dances, *landó* and *lundu*, that originated in black populations of different countries, making a significant assumption about the unity of all African diasporic dances described as "erotic" by chroniclers, colonizers, and other biased observers.

It is interesting to note that in the 1930s and 1940s, Peruvian scholar Fernando Romero had made a very similar argument (not cited in *Cumanana*), positing that the Peruvian *zamba*, a dance of African origin, had evolved into the *zamacueca* and later the *marinera* (Romero 1939a, 1939b, 1940, 1946a, 1946b). Romero stated that the Peruvian *zamba* was descended from the African *quizomba* (from Angola) because of similar choreographic traits, especially the *golpe de frente* (pelvic bump) or Bantú *m'lemba*, which simulated sexual intercourse. According to Romero, the pelvic bump was at one time performed as the epilogue of the Peruvian *zamacueca*, demonstrating the survival of an African trait (Romero 1940, 99).

However, while Romero noted that dances performed by black couples in colonial Peru were described in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as containing an "indecent" pelvic bump, he did not mention a dance called *lundú*. Rather than attributing this commonalty to a single origin dance, Romero indicated that black Peruvian dances seemed to display tendencies shared by a number of African dances, including those that made their way to Brazil. The *landó* does not figure in Romero's genealogy at all, though he does refer in passing to a variant of the samba called *samba-lundú* (Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz later described the *zamba-landó* as the progenitor of the *landó*) (see Romero 1939a, 1939b, 1939c, 1939d, 1940, 1946a, 1946b, 1947).

With his album *Cumanana*, Nicomedes Santa Cruz—whose grammar school education prohibited his admission to the elite category of *gente decente* (whites and honorary whites; see De la Cadena 1998)—was able to popularize

and disseminate his theory of the African *lundú* so widely that, decades later, most Peruvians who know anything about Afro-Peruvian music are aware of it. Many Peruvians positively state that the *landó* came from an African dance called *lundú* and that these dances are the basis of the *marinera*. Black musicians and dancers often say that the *landó* is the mother of all black music and dance in Peru and that all black rhythms come from the *landó*. Javier León observes that this public repetition of Santa Cruz's theory over a period of several decades has "transformed something that could be plausible into an incontrovertible fact" (León Quirós 2003, 106). Whether or not the theory is historically accurate, the fact that so many people *believe* it is true is an important element of the construction of Peruvian blackness by way of the black Atlantic in the twentieth century.

Nicomedes Santa Cruz made the first recording of a *landó*, "Samba Malató," for the album *Cumanana* in 1964. Santa Cruz began with a verse fragment remembered by his mother ("*la samba se pasea por la batea, landó, samba malató, landó*") (Santa Cruz y su Conjunto Cumanana [1964] 1970b, 47). Working with guitarist Vicente Vásquez, he elaborated a new musical arrangement, with guitar and percussion parts inferred from the basic rhythm of the surviving melody fragment. In order to support Santa Cruz's thesis that the *landó* was of African origin and that it later developed into the *criollo marinera*, the re-created "Samba Malató" had to sound both "African" and similar to the *marinera*. Several elements of Santa Cruz's arrangement are reminiscent of the *marinera*, especially the instrumental core of guitar and *cajón*. Elements of the recording that are commonly associated with West African music and its derivatives include the use of Afro-Latin percussion instruments (*bongó* and bell) and call and response between a soloist and chorus.

But Santa Cruz tried to make "Samba Malató" sound even more "African" in the second verse. In this added section, Santa Cruz embellished the fragment his mother remembered with what he later called "arbitrary Afroid wordage" (Santa Cruz [1964] 1970b, 47): "*Arambucurú, e loñá, loñá; a la recolé, uborequeté; babalorichá, arambucurú; oyo cororó, oyo cororó; a la mucurú, e loñá, loñá; a la recolé, e kiri kiri; babalorichá, e mandé, mandé; oyo cororó, oyo cororó ;e arambucurú . . . landó!*" (Santa Cruz y su Conjunto Cumanana [1964] 1970a). Some of these words are, or resemble, names of people or places in Africa (for example, Oyo was a kingdom in Yorubaland, or present-day Nigeria, and the Mande are a West African ethnic group descended from the kingdom of Mali), some are Spanish or Portuguese adaptations of Yoruba words used in Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Cuban religions (for example, "*babalorichá*"), while others are of unknown origin.

In the third edition of *Cumanana*, Santa Cruz publicly repented for this

artistic license, and he asked other recording artists to banish the added verse from the repertoire (N. Santa Cruz [1964] 1970b, 47). However, few Peruvians are aware of Nicomedes Santa Cruz's retractions, and other groups continue to perform and record the song with its Africanesque lyrics to this day. In fact, several Peruvians have told me that the lyrics are an African survival from ancient times. Thus, as was the case with the *lundú* theory, whether or not Nicomedes Santa Cruz's extrapolations from the Afro-Brazilian experience accurately characterize the "real" Afro-Peruvian past, they invented a version of the past that many Peruvians believe to be true. Santa Cruz's excavation of Peru's missing African heritage in "more African" black Atlantic cultures came to be one of several definitive strategies of the Afro-Peruvian revival that emphasize the marginalization of the black Pacific. Revival artists also borrowed musical instruments and chants from Cuba and Brazil, along with references to African-derived religions and Cuban singing styles. Thus, Cuba and Brazil (where many retentions from West African cultural practice could be found) became surrogates for Africa in the effort to restore a sense of diasporic identity and African cultural heritage to Afro-descendants in Peru.

Remembering Africa with the Body

Like her brother, Victoria Santa Cruz looked toward the black Atlantic to forge a transnational diasporic identity for black Peruvians, transplanting musical instruments and cultural expressions in revival productions (see Figure 2.3). But Victoria Santa Cruz's most celebrated legacy in Peru is her idiosyncratic deployment of "ancestral memory" as the cornerstone of a choreographic technique that enabled her to "return" to Africa by looking deep within her own body for the residue of organic ancestral rhythms.

Victoria Santa Cruz worked with her brother Nicomedes as co-director of Cumanana from 1959 until 1961. She studied in Paris and then returned to found her own company, Teatro y Danzas Negras del Perú (1966–1970s).[9] Later, she became director of Peru's Conjunto Nacional de Folklore (1973–1982). In these and other capacities, Victoria Santa Cruz trained a young generation of dancers to use her method to reclaim their African heritage, creating a lasting role for ancestral memory as a choreographic strategy in Afro-Peruvian dance (see Feldman 2006, 65–79; León Quirós 2003, 284–287, 305–310; León Quirós 2007, 143).

Explaining what she means by "ancestral memory," Victoria Santa Cruz writes: "What is ancestry? Is it a memory? And if so, what is it trying to make us remember? . . . The popular and cultural manifestations, rooted in Africa, which I inherited and later accepted as ancestral vocation, created a certain disposition

Figure 2.3. Victoria Santa Cruz. Courtesy of Octavio Santa Cruz Urquieta.

toward rhythm, which over the years has turned itself into a new technique, 'the discovery and development of rhythmic sense' . . . I reached my climax . . . when I went deep into that magical world that bears the name of rhythm" (Santa Cruz 1978, 18). Elsewhere, she said: "Having discovered, first ancestrally and later through study and practice, that every gesture, word, and movement is a consequence of a state of being, and that this state of being is tied to connections and disconnections of fixed centers or plexus . . . allowed me to rediscover profound messages in dance and traditional music that could be recovered and communicated. . . . The black man knows through ancestry, even when he is not conscious of it, that what is outwardly elaborated has its origin or foundation in the interior of those who generate it" (V. Santa Cruz 1988, 85).

Victoria Santa Cruz has spent her adult lifetime developing the philosophical approach to life and well-being that she calls "Discovery and Development

of the Sense of Rhythm" (see Santa Cruz 2004). During the revival, she used this method to guide young Afro-Peruvians to discover their ancestry. Later in life, convinced that she had discovered something with cosmic ramifications, she used her method to teach students at Carnegie-Mellon University in the United States, where she was a tenured professor in the 1980s and 1990s.

A basic tenet of Victoria's method is the presumption that a sense of rhythm is innate in all black people by way of ancestry. "From an ancestral memory of Africa," she explains, "without knowing of the existence of an African continent; I learned the foundations of rhythm. Rhythm, without the intellectual connotation of 'time and beat.' Rhythmic combinations inherited, and in the passage of my life, recreated by me, awakened those inherent qualities of the human being. Qualities which taught me to discover the door that suffering hides, whose secret is not to exit but: To Enter" (e-mail communication with the author, July 25, 2003). Victoria Santa Cruz believes that the African origin of all black people is an organic culture with an inherent knowledge of the secret of rhythm. This does not mean that all black people are in touch with their ancestral memory. It means that through the method Victoria has discovered, they can reconnect with the knowledge that lies dormant within them, using the tool of rhythm. "Long ago," explains Victoria, "Africa discovered the secret of rhythm, the secret of movement. The black man vibrates to silence" (Santa Cruz 1979, 7).

This placement of ancestral memory in the black body is both compelling and problematic, seeming to support biological determinism and stereotypical assertions that rhythm, dance, and other essential qualities are in the blood of black people. While leading scholars of race and ethnicity (e.g., Appiah 1992; Gilroy 1993, 2000) take issue with such essentializing notions, arguing that "racial" behavior is learned, not inherent, and that "race" itself is an invention, I affirm that it is important to recognize the emic discourse of citizens of the African diaspora such as Victoria Santa Cruz (see also Scott 1991, 262). As Peter Wade observes, black and Native American participants in "new" social movements (that is, movements focused on identity politics) frequently organize around essentialist views of their own identity and history. As a result, scholars such as myself, whose training encourages us to identify the social constructedness of racial or ethnic identity, sometimes find that our analyses conflict with the beliefs of the people we represent. In an important passage that helped me sort out the disjuncture between my academic training, on the one hand, and what I have learned from Victoria Santa Cruz, on the other, Wade writes, "When academics deconstruct these historical traditions or more generally when they show how 'essentialisms become essential,' they may be weakening those identities and claims" (Wade 1997, 116). Because Victoria Santa Cruz helped mobilize a new sense of racial identity in a generation of Afro-Peruvians by using her concept

of ancestral memory, I maintain that we must recognize both the empowering and the essentializing aspects of her approach.

Victoria Santa Cruz is famous in Peru for her use of ancestral memory as a means to re-create forgotten Afro-Peruvian dances, especially the *landó*. She writes: "One of my most important choreographic works was the creation of the 'disappeared' *landó* dance, which had disappeared as a form, but was alive in my ancestral memory" (Santa Cruz 1995). Victoria Santa Cruz first became acquainted with the Peruvian *landó* when she was a child. She recalls, "The first time I heard this beautiful and simple melody was from the lips of my mother's sister when I was barely six years old; this was one of the clues that moved in me unforgettable memories related to ancient ancestral connections" (ibid.). In this melody's rhythm, years later, she found the blueprint for its choreography. She writes, "Just as I discovered that all melodic lines implicitly carry their own harmony, I also rediscovered that the rhythmic combinations in a rhythmic phrase or unit also generate their respective movement and gesture, provided that we find a level of psychic connection" (ibid.).

Victoria Santa Cruz believes that through her choreographic re-creation of the *landó*, she recovered a musical memory of her ancestral homeland that is more "African" than contemporary Africa. She has been to Africa, and she perceives Africans who lived under colonialism as more European than African (Santa Cruz 2000). Thus, her Afrocentric re-creation of the *landó* creates an "island of time" (Assman 1995) by skipping over the Middle Passage entirely to recover a direct link with the Africa that preceded the Atlantic slave trade and colonialism.

Although Victoria Santa Cruz is unanimously credited with having rescued the *landó*'s choreography from obscurity, Afro-Peruvian musicians and scholars disagree about whether or not the choreography performed as *landó* since the revival—a dance featuring laundresses carrying washbasins and wringing clothes to dry—is the one she re-created.[10] When I asked Victoria Santa Cruz herself, her answer was elusive. She responded that "choreography" is simply a word that describes movements and figures that are the result of a process. That process is what is important and should be remembered (Santa Cruz 2000).

In addition to re-creating the lost *landó*, Victoria Santa Cruz used her ancestral memory to restore the "correct" manner of performing the *zamacueca* (a couple dance similar to the *marinera*), to choreograph African-inspired possession rituals, and so on. As director of Peru's national dance ensemble during the military revolution of the 1970s, she helped craft the ideology, training methods, and content of Peru's national folklore. Years later, Victoria Santa Cruz and her idiosyncratic method are generally acknowledged as pivotal in the struggle to

reclaim the forgotten Afro-Peruvian past and elevate black arts to the stage in Peru.

Why was Victoria Santa Cruz's method so widely accepted? Perhaps because of the black Pacific's diasporic isolation and the lack of research and publicly available resources about Peru's actual African heritage, ancestral memory may have been perceived as one of the only available routes to recovering the remote African past. Further, in a country where people of African descent faced the double predicament of being invisible as an ethnic group but discriminated against as individuals, locating Africa in one's own body is likely to have been a tremendously empowering act for Victoria Santa Cruz's protégés, and a disarming one for critics (see Feldman 2006, 58–72). As Victoria Santa Cruz herself might say, while the choreographies she re-created became enduring symbols of African heritage, they are only end results of what is more important—the process that resulted in their creation.

Relocating Africa in Peru

About two hours south of Lima by car, a dirt road leads inland from the Panamerican Highway to several small districts in the province of Chincha, where blacks settled after abolition and continued to perform agricultural labor. The districts of El Carmen, San Regis, El Guayabo, and San José are known for their high concentration of black residents, their folklore and music traditions, and their rural lifestyle. Roads are unpaved and most residents lack plumbing or telephones. In the 1960s and 1970s, urban revival artists (including the Santa Cruzes) flocked to rural Chincha in search of surviving African-descended music. Scholars soon learned that Chincha was the source of the rural music and dance staged by the new urban black folklore and they began to write about its traditions (Tompkins 1981; Vásquez Rodríguez 1982). Tourists began to flood the El Carmen district in Chincha at certain times of year, when the residents performed the traditions that put Chincha on the map as Peru's recreated "Africa" in the black Pacific.

By the time I arrived on the scene to begin my doctoral research in the 1990s, Chincha was widely considered to be the center of black musical heritage in Peru and a full-fledged tourist attraction. The legend of Chincha was disseminated through tourism offices and brochures, newspaper articles, cab drivers, scholars, films, and television, all of which prepared visitors for an enclave of African survivals. As a result of this buildup, when I visited Chincha, I was surprised at how *Andean* (meaning expressive of indigenous or mestizo highland culture) some of the local traditions seemed. Appearing to negate common perceptions of deep-seated antagonism between black and indigenous Peruvians

(see Greene 2007), the afromestizo nature of Peru's black expressive culture demonstrates what may be another distinguishing feature of the black Pacific—the relatively high level of mixture of indigenous and African-descended cultural traditions and peoples, a condition not found in black Atlantic regions such as Cuba and Brazil (where hybridity and creolization tend to be framed in terms of black-white mixture and where a smaller percentage of the population is of indigenous descent).[11] Why did certain public discourses about Chincha seem to ignore these comparisons to Andean traditions?

As cultural critic George Yúdice notes (2003), in the global era, elites and subaltern groups increasingly convert culture into a resource that connects local citizens to global economies. Exemplifying Yúdice's notion of cultural expediency, Chinchanos and their global co-producers have used blackness as cultural capital since the 1970s. On any given weekend at the modest home of the Ballumbrosios, El Carmen's designated family of culture bearers, one is likely to find a crew of international tourists, artists, scholars, filmmakers, and others who wish to document, analyze, or simply experience black Peru's rural origins. The public emphasis on the African over the Andean side of Chincha's multiethnic heritage converts local black culture into a resource for both tourism and the commerce in "authentic" rural Afro-Peruvian music. This phenomenon is particularly apparent in the festivals widely deemed to be most representative of the area's African-descended culture: the *yunza* and Black Christmas.

The *yunza* is a group dance performed throughout the Peruvian Andes at the end of Carnival. Each year a host decorates a tree with fruits, candies, gifts, balloons, toilet paper, and other adornments. Locally popular music styles are played, and the community performs a circle dance around the tree. Periodically, a couple dances in the center of the circle and then uses an axe to chop at the tree. Traditionally, the couple that knocks the tree down must host the following year's *yunza*.[12]

Despite the African "hype," the *yunza* appears to be an Andean survival in black Peru. The main difference between El Carmen's *yunza* and its Andean counterparts is the music, which in El Carmen includes Afro-Peruvian styles popularized during the urban revival. A typical *yunza* band in El Carmen prominently features the *cajón* (the quintessential symbol of black music since the revival) along with two or more guitars, singers, and small percussion. However, according to Miki González, a rock musician who lived in El Carmen in 1978, there were no *cajones* in El Carmen until *after* the revival (González 2000). If this is true, the "black" music that separates El Carmen's *yunza* from its Andean counterpart was borrowed from the urban revival rather than preserved in El Carmen and staged in the revival. In fact, at a meeting I attended in El Carmen's Centro Cultural Afroperuano San Daniel Comboni in 2009, community elders

stated that the *marinera* (a graceful and intricate couple dance with handkerchiefs) was traditionally danced at the *yunza* until the late 1970s, when the style changed to faster and more "indecent" dances popularized in the revival, such as the *festejo*.

Another feature that marks El Carmen's *yunza* as "black" for many tourists and some urban Afro-Peruvians is the eroticism of the couple dances, reconstructed as an African retention since the revival. Exemplifying Yúdice's notion of cultural expediency, in 2000 the *yunza* was part of the fifteenth annual Black Summer festival, organized by the municipality of Chincha to promote tourism. T-shirts and posters displaying caricatures of large-lipped, voluptuous, dancing black women were sold in the street (see Figure 2.4). This strategic ethnic marketing relies on the Peruvian cultural stereotypes that Deborah Poole (1997) has described that separate the sexualized black female body from the virginal Inca maiden in the national imagination. At the *yunza* that I witnessed in 2000, most couples that danced in the center of the circle of onlookers conformed to expectations of eroticism, with suggestive, low-to-the-ground moves and body-hugging proximity. However, all is not what it seems, as I discovered when I showed my videotape of the *yunza* to Adelina Ballumbrosio, matriarch of El Carmen's "first family" of Afro-Peruvian music and dance, who had not ventured out of the house to see the *yunza* in several years. As she watched, she began to laugh. When I asked her to explain what was funny, she told me that nearly everyone dancing around the tree was a tourist from Lima, while the residents of El Carmen sat and watched the tourists.

Like the *yunza*, El Carmen's Catholic festival known as Black Christmas, or the Festival of the Virgin of El Carmen, has Andean parallels. The structure of events mirrors that of Catholicized Andean ritual festivals that re-create and present for worship particular saints and icons that represent the Virgin Mary and Jesus (see Mendoza 2000). During the festival, groups of young boys and men, called *hatajos de negritos,* perform Spanish Christmas songs honoring the Virgin and Jesus, suggesting images of both slavery and Christianity (see Figure 2.5). Groups of black *negritos* once were widespread throughout the region, but the *hatajo* of El Carmen is one of the few remaining black groups. The *negritos* carry rope whips and mark beats with handbells, and between sung verses they perform unison *zapateo* (tap dancing) steps in two parallel line formations, managed by a *caporal* (foreman).

There is much about this music to suggest Andean influence, if not origins. The use of the violin and the full-footed dance stomp are often described as reminiscent of typical Andean traditions (C. Ballumbrosio 2000; Sandoval 2000). Further, as William Tompkins points out (1981, 338), some of the songs and their vocal performance style resemble the popular Andean *huayno* genre.

Figure 2.4. Poster for the 2000 Black Summer Festival. Author's collection.

Figure 2.5. *Hatajos de negritos.* Courtesy of Caretas Ilustración Peruana.

Dances called *negritos* are also performed in many festivals in Peru's indigenous and mestizo highland communities, allegedly having originated when Spanish colonialists obligated Native Peruvian nobles to perform imagined versions of black dances in religious festivals (Salas Carreño 1998, 110). Michelle Bigenho writes that in Lucanas, Ayacucho, Native Peruvians—wearing black masks, carrying whips and shaking handbells—dance in two parallel lines, directed by a "foreman" and accompanied by violin and other instruments (Bigenho 1998).

Is the *negritos* repertoire of Chincha an Andean survival in which Afro-Peruvians imitate an imitation of themselves? Or is it the only remnant of the prototype imitated by indigenous and mestizo Peruvians? While I have no answer to this question, I am impressed by the readiness with which public discourse in Peru affirms an African origin myth without providing historical documentation or explanations for Andean parallels. Surely this is a strategy of the black Pacific, where the mixture of African and indigenous cultures is more common than in the black Atlantic and where that mixture is nevertheless constructed as "black" or "African," not in the essentializing manner of the so-called one-drop rule but rather as a strategic substitute for "more African" retentions such as those found in the black Atlantic.

Noticing the Andean qualities of Chincha's traditions casts a different light on Chincha's role as the legendary site of origins for the urban Afro-Peruvian revival. Ironically, Chincha's traditions sometimes appear less stereotypically African than the re-created ones they inspired. For example, Rony Campos, who succeeded his late father, Ronaldo Campos, as director of Perú Negro, the leading Afro-Peruvian company from the revival, told me that after early Perú Negro members collected black music and dances in Chincha young dancers learned the steps. When the company mounted them as staged dances, Rony said, "my father made them blacker" (Campos 2000). Thus, while Chincha became Peru's "Africa" in the discourse of revival artists, Chincha's music and dance traditions may better represent the multiethnic origins of Afro-Peruvian culture.

Building an Afro-Peruvian Social Movement: Music and Politics

The power of music to affect social change is often underestimated; music is often seen as a mere soundtrack to social movements that involve politics, power, and identity. Social movement scholarship tends either to ignore music altogether or to describe it only in passing (usually focusing only on lyrics or on songs as part of social action events). This may be because social movement theorists initially insisted upon the dominance of structural explanations, minimizing issues such as emotion, culture, creativity, leadership, and the creation of norms and values linked to new visions of subjectivity (see Barker, Johnson, and

Lavalette 2001; Della Porta and Diani 1999; Jasper 1997; Killian 1973; McAdam 1994; Weber 1946). In fact, American studies of social movements have only in recent decades moved beyond structuralism to acknowledge the agency of the actors in social movements (see Della Porta and Diani 1999; Eyerman and Jamison 1995; Jasper 1997). So-called new social movements, a category that generated an explosion of scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s, focus on the politics of identity (racial, ethnic, gender, etc.) and resist Marxist and structuralist modes of analysis. In new social movements, music often serves as a powerful agent of identity formation.

For the marginalized community of Afro-descendants in Peru, beginning in the late 1950s, music was the catalyst that launched the political struggle for civil rights. In the absence of a prominent political movement for black rights, the revival served as the primary means of promoting an African diasporic identity in Peru, elevating performers of African descent to Lima's grandest stages and challenging the invisibility of blacks in Peru by staging the culture of Peru's enslaved Africans and their descendants. Later, music's identity-building work opened the door for more overt political organizing through the formation of several Afro-Peruvian political and social organizations.[13] These groups grew from meetings held in the 1960s and 1970s that were directly inspired by young Afro-Peruvian intellectuals' interviews with Nicomedes Santa Cruz and by the U.S. civil rights and Black Power movements (one group emulated the Black Panthers in dress), and members of these groups included the artists who were active in the revival (Millones 2000; Rojas 2007, 146–148).[14] In the 1980s, Afro-Peruvian university students, some of whom had participated in the groups formed in the 1960s and 1970s, created the Institute of Afro-Peruvian Investigations (INAPE) with the intention of promoting research, analysis, and public lectures about the problems and conditions blacks in Peru faced. However, these early organizations did not attract a broad-based constituency or financial resources (although INAPE did receive initial funding from the Ford Foundation and the National Council of Sciences and Technology [CONCYTEC]), so they were short lived (Rodríguez Pastor 2008, 36; Thomas 2009, 16).

Movimiento Negro "Francisco Congo" (MNFC), which was founded in 1986 and was named for a runaway slave who led a resistance movement in Peru, became the first major grassroots organization to fight for black civil rights and political justice in Peru. This group included in its leadership members of the highly respected Afro-Peruvian Vásquez family, whose patriarch, Don Porfirio Vásquez, had been a major consultant for both José Durand and Nicomedes Santa Cruz during the revival. Nicomedes Santa Cruz himself is said to have attended some of the group's early meetings (Thomas 2009, 18). In its manifesto (Movimiento Negro Francisco Congo 1987), the leaders of the organization

specifically refer to the roles of the Vásquez and Santa Cruz families in pre-serving black music. One of the group's major activities was the re-mounting of the Afro-Peruvian street dance *el son de los diablos* during Carnival. But the manifesto moves beyond recognition of black culture to "promote a platform of ethnic-cultural revindication." It enumerates the conditions resulting from racial prejudice against blacks and outlines a detailed platform for social action, including efforts to promote equal opportunities in work and education, efforts to intervene against drug addiction and delinquency among black Peruvian youth at risk, and so on (Movimiento Negro Francisco Congo 1987, 7–9). The organization attracted funding from Oxfam and the London-based Minority Rights Group. But in the 1990s, internal conflicts led some members of MNFC to form their own organization, Palenque, which lasted until 1995. Around 1999, Movimiento Negro Francisco Congo changed its name to Movimiento Nacional Afroperuano Francisco Congo (MNAFC), reflecting an ideological shift from "black" to "Afro-Peruvian" in the organization's focus.

While Movimiento Negro Francisco Congo dominated the political scene in the 1980s and most of the 1990s, by 2005, according to John Thomas III, at least fifteen Afro-Peruvian organizations were in operation (Thomas 2009, 21).[15] Some organizations involved new actors, but many emerged as the result of the splintering of existing organizations (especially MNFC) into different groups and offshoots in response to internal conflicts.[16] Some capitalized on newly available funding from international organizations interested in supporting the development of Afro-Latin communities and culture (see Rojas 2007, 206–208, 211).[17] Responding in part to the interest areas of foreign funding agencies, orga-nizations began to focus on specialized areas (e.g., women's issues, youth, rural versus urban, specific regions and neighborhoods, blacks and the Church, etc.). In the 1990s, Lima-based organizations tried to broaden their bases, incorporat-ing both urban and rural black populations by holding "*encuentros*" (meetings) in various regions hosted by MNFC (Greene 2007, 469n4; Rodríguez Pastor 2008, 425–429; Thomas 2009, 19). The Foro Afroperuano (Afro-Peruvian Fo-rum), founded in 2002, coordinates and serves as a clearinghouse for the en-deavors of many of these organizations, maintaining an informational website at http://www.cimarrones-peru.org/foro.htm.

The Peruvian government also created organizations that claimed to address the condition of Afro-Peruvians and other oppressed populations, but these initiatives were fraught with problems. In 2001, taking advantage of a $5 mil-lion loan from the World Bank intended for the development of impoverished black coastal communities in Peru, Peruvian president Alejandro Toledo's wife, anthropologist Eliane Karp, spearheaded an initiative to promote policies in support of the rights of Peru's multicultural citizens. The first institution to

result from this initiative was the National Commission of Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian Peoples (CONAPA). This organization, now defunct, was the subject of a scandal over alleged misuse of funds and failure to adequately represent indigenous and Afro-Peruvian citizens (the organization did not even include Afro-Peruvians in its name or personnel at first, despite the World Bank's specific criteria that the funds be used to promote development of that community) (see Greene 2007, 2008; Rojas 2007, 288). In 2004, it was replaced by the National Institute for the Development of Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian Peoples (INDEPA), which inspired its share of criticism for lack of true representation of the people whose rights it ostensibly championed (see Greene 2007; Rojas 2007, 288–289). Government-initiated recognition of Afro-Peruvian culture was achieved through Congresswoman Martha Moyano's Mesa Afroperuana, which, among other achievements, successfully passed legislation making Nicomedes Santa Cruz's birthday (June 4) the Day of Afro-Peruvian Culture and convened the First National Afro-Peruvian Congress in 2004, in conjunction with the Sesquicentennial of Emancipation (Greene 2007, 464; Thomas 2009, 23).[18]

Several of the Afro-Peruvian organizations formed in the 1990s and 2000s recognize the liberating work of revival artists such as Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz, both specifically and indirectly (one is even named LUNDU), and they continue to promote black Peruvian music and dance as a form of cultural preservation and pride. Enabled by the identity-building work of the music and dance revival, these organizations have taken the struggle a step further. While much remains to be accomplished to achieve social justice for Afro-descendants in Peru (see Rojas 2007 and Thomas 2009 for interesting discussions regarding these challenges), this phase of the struggle has allowed many black Peruvians to step out of the Afro-Peruvian revival's folkloric frame (which emphasized the slave past in order to reinscribe blacks in Peruvian history) and shine a spotlight on the visibility and social conditions of contemporary blacks in Peru.[19]

Conclusion: The Black Pacific Region

While the black Pacific strategies employed during the Afro-Peruvian revival (that is, borrowing from other parts of the diaspora, promoting the concept of embodied ancestral memory, presenting cultural traditions of mixed origins as "black," and using music as the first step in the social movement to promote black identity) occur in isolation elsewhere in the African diaspora, the composite picture created by these and other black Pacific strategies brings the black Pacific condition into sharper focus. Citizens of the black Pacific use these types of strategies because of their extreme social invisibility and their isolation from

what they see as "more African" regions of the diaspora. Black Pacific citizens are heirs of the second journey that cut their ancestors off from the African diaspora's mainstream, and if and when they strive to reawaken their dormant diasporic identity and extricate blackness from local creole culture, they find that few resources or traditional strategies for building black identity and recovering lost history are available. Thus, they reinvent traditions and they look for Africa and its legacy in nontraditional locales (other parts of the diaspora, the body, and afromestizo cultural blends).

I offer this model of the black Pacific as a way to better understand the diasporic condition of Afro-descendants in Peru, adding a new dimension to Gilroy's important work on the black Atlantic. On a deeper level, if the black Pacific model resembles the experience of other communities beyond Peru (such as Ecuador, Chile, Colombia's Pacific coast, or Bolivia), it may provide a more nuanced understanding of the larger African diaspora(s).[20]

Notes

Some material in this chapter was published previously in my book, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific,* and in my article "African or Andean? Origin Myths and Musical Performance in the Cradle of Black Peru."

1. It is common in Peru for people with any Asian ancestry to be called "*chino*" or "*china,*" whether or not they are of Chinese heritage, and Fujimori was labeled "El Chino" despite his Japanese ancestry. "*Cholo*" refers to an indigenous, rural person in the process of becoming urban and mestizo. Toledo was called "Cholo" because he was the first president with visibly indigenous ancestry, following Japanese American president Fujimori and a long line of European-descended *criollos*.

2. Peru's Afro-Peruvian population is concentrated along the coast, living in close proximity to the descendants of Europeans. Highland regions are primarily populated by Peru's indigenous peoples, although the great migration waves of the mid-twentieth century brought many indigenous and mestizo peasants to urban coastal areas.

3. This translation is mine, as are all others in this chapter, unless otherwise noted. I will discuss CONAPA in greater detail later in the chapter.

4. According to Scheuss de Studer, some enslaved Africans were taken through the interior from Rio de la Plata by land via Chile (1958, 222–224, 237).

5. There are many possible reasons for the prevalence of the notion that blacks "disappeared" from Pacific coastal countries: the smaller numbers of enslaved Africans and lesser participation in the late years of the slave trade in those countries, national ideologies encouraging "whitening" through miscegenation and targeted immigration, the larger presence of indigenous populations, and social conditions promoting a higher rate of assimilation into coastal creole culture (such as smaller plantations and the prevalence of urban and domestic slavery).

6. Typical *jaranas* lasted from four to eight days and nights, during which time the door was locked so that no one could leave before the official *despedida* (farewell) (Bracamonte-Bontemps 1987, 233; Tompkins 1981, 93).

7. Although Durand's Pancho Fierro company is acknowledged as a milestone, a few smaller

theatrical initiatives had already introduced black Peruvian music to the concert stage in Lima. Beginning in 1936, Samuel Márquez's Ricardo Palma company performed a mixture of *música criolla* and a few "old black songs" in a theatrical performance (Tompkins 1998, 500). In the 1940s, Rosa Mercedes Ayarza de Morales (a white *criolla* pianist/composer) transcribed, staged, and published symphonic and chamber music arrangements of black Peruvian songs performed for her by the elderly Ascuez brothers, who were revered for their knowledge of disappearing black Peruvian musical traditions. Pancho Fierro company member Nicomedes Santa Cruz viewed Durand's company as an extension of the Pampa de Amancaes, the site of an annual Lima festival of folkloric and *criollo* music and dance that was discontinued shortly before the Pancho Fierro company was founded in the 1950s (Nicomedes Santa Cruz quoted in R. Vásquez Rodríguez 1982, 37).

8. The Spanish *décima* is a poetic form based on ten-line strophes that came to the Americas with the Spanish conquest. In Peru, rural black and indigenous populations adopted the *décima*. Nicomedes Santa Cruz revitalized the *décima* and used it as a vehicle of negritude and political protest, performing it on stage, on television, and in recordings.

9. In Paris, Victoria Santa Cruz studied at the Université du Théâtre des Nations and École Supérieure d'Études Chorégraphiques. During this period, she also visited Africa for the first time as a member of a student theater group that toured Tangiers, Marrakesh, and Casablanca as well as Spain, Italy, Belgium, and Portugal (Revollar 1967, 7). The exact content of Victoria Santa Cruz's studies and cosmopolitan experiences in Paris and their impact on her later work in Peru is an area where further research is needed.

10. During the Afro-Peruvian revival, two *landós* were collected from elders in the Afro-Peruvian community and mounted for staged performance: "Samba Malató," which was re-created by Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz with Cumanana, and "Samba *Landó*," which was collected in rural El Guayabo and stylized by the music and dance company Perú Negro. Each of these songs features a distinct choreography (see Feldman 2006, 73–74, 109–115, 274–275n22; León Quirós 2003, 214–215; Tompkins 1981, 296–298).

11. In Peru, it is commonly asserted that blacks and indigenous Peruvians historically have been separate, and even opposed, populations. Blacks in Peru are said to have fought against indigenous Peruvians. For example, the free colored militia helped suppress the largest indigenous revolt against the Spanish, the Túpac Amaru rebellion, in the 1780s (Bowser 1974, 7, 333). As anthropologist Shane Greene notes, twenty-first-century efforts by the Peruvian state to promote a multicultural agenda tend to "privilege indigeneity over blackness, culturalizing Indians and racializing blacks" (Greene 2007, 467). However, it is important to note that separate racial terminology developed in colonial Peru to describe and document the numerous children born of black-native unions (*zambos/as*), and that several prominent leaders of the Afro-Peruvian musical and political movements, including the late Amador Ballumbrosio of Chincha, were/are of mixed black and indigenous heritage (E. Ballumbrosio 2000; Thomas 2009, 7n16). Further, William Tompkins notes that especially along the northern coast, there is significant cross-fertilization between native and black Peruvians in music and dance (1981, 375–376). In contrast, in Cuba, as in many parts of the Caribbean, the indigenous population was decimated soon after European colonization, leaving little cultural legacy. While indigenous populations with distinct cultural traditions do survive in Brazil, discourses surrounding creolization, hybridity, and *mestizaje* in Brazil and other black Atlantic nations tend to be about mixtures involving "black" and "white," making the afro-indigenous mix in the black Pacific stand out as distinctive.

12. This practice has been discontinued in El Carmen.

13. While little has been published at this writing about the development of Afro-Peruvian political organizations, John Thomas III conducted research on this topic in 2005 and 2009 and his MA thesis on the subject is forthcoming (see also Thomas 2009).

14. An older group that was active in the 1960s was Grupo Harlem, which may have been founded by Victoria and Nicomedes Santa Cruz's father. Raúl Romero states that Grupo Harlem began in the 1930s (1994, 321). Grupo de los Melomodernos was a group consisting primarily of lawyers and academics, founded by Afro-Peruvian lawyer Juan Tasayco. Two organizations emerged in the 1960s and 1970s among the younger Afro-Peruvian population: the Cultural Association for Black Peruvian Youth (ACEJUNEP) and its sister organization El Tribú (The Tribe). These groups held "Soul Parties" for Afro-Peruvian youth, with Afro-Peruvian music, salsa, and U.S. black popular music (Rodríguez Pastor 2008, 36; Romero 1994, 321; Thomas 2009, 15–16).

15. These organizations (with establishment dates listed according to formal recognition by the Peruvian national registry) are: Movimiento Negro Francisco Congo (est. 1986); Asociación Negra de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos (ASONEDH; est. 1990); Mundo de Ebano and Centro de Desarrollo de la Mujer Negra Peruana (CEDEMUNEP; est. 1993); Cimarrones (est. 1998); Centro de Desarrollo Etnico (CEDET) and Perú Afro (both est. 1999); Mujer Negra y Desarrollo, Margarita, and Ciudadanos Negros (all est. 2000); Mamaine, Asociación Cultural Promoción de Desarrollo—Todas las Sangres, and Lundú (all est. 2001); Asociación Plurietnica Impulsora del Desarrollo Comunal y Social (APEIDO) and Organización para el Desarrollo e Identidad del Rimac (ODIR) (both est. 2002); Organización de Desarrollo Afro-Chalaco, Makungu, and Orgullo Afroperuano (all est. 2004); and Las Mesas Técnicas de la CONAPA and La Mesa de Trabajo Afroperuano (both est. 2005) (Thomas 2009, 33).

16. During the 1990s, the MNFC founded an NGO called the Asociación Negra de Derechos Humanos (ASONEDH), which dedicated itself to attracting international funding for Afro-Peruvian development issues. It also founded the Centro por el Desarrollo Etnico (CEDET), which attracted funding from German organizations in support of MNFC's organizing in the provinces (Thomas 2009, 19–20).

17. MNFC worked with Afro/America XXI, a regional alliance based in Washington, D.C., that sought to unite Afro-Latin movements and lobby for their funding. Interest also was generated by the participation of several groups in the 2001 Third World Conference Against Xenophobia, Racism and All Forms of Discrimination in Durban, South Africa (Thomas 2009: 20, 22). Monica Rojas attributes the flourishing of Afro-Peruvian organizations in part to Alberto Fujimori's neoliberal policies (1990–2000), which promoted a flood of investment and foreign aid in Peru from international organizations (Rojas 2007, 213).

18. Martha Moyano is one of three black members of Congress elected in Peru in 2001 (the others were Cecilia Tait and José Luís Risco).

19. After conducting a study among Afro-Peruvian organizations in the 2000s, John Thomas III concluded that the organizations had not achieved a successful strategy for social change, instead displaying disunity, division, failure to engage the community at a grassroots level, and a lack of coherent goals. John Thomas III's research also shows that over half of the Afro-Peruvian organizations active in 2005 were self-funded (Thomas 2009, 22, 35).

20. The work of several other scholars suggests that communities outside Peru may display characteristics of the black Pacific. Peter Wade, for example, has examined the cultural politics separating the black populations of Colombia's Atlantic and Pacific coasts (1993, 1998), and Michael Birenbaum Quintero has produced a dissertation (2009) and forthcoming work on music

in Colombia's black Pacific. In Bolivia, Robert Templeman (1998) documented how the forgotten *saya* was revived as the soundtrack of the black identity movement in the 1970s, resulting in disputes regarding whose re-created version was authentic. Jonathan Ritter (1998) has explored how the 1970s folklore revival of the Afro-Ecuadorian *marimba* tradition carved out a new public space for "blackness." The black Pacific might also be envisioned as a metaphorically, rather than geographically, bordered community, possibly including some culture groups not located on the Pacific coast. Bobby Vaughn (2005) and Angela Castañeda's (2004) work on Afro-Mexican culture, along with Lise Waxer's work on Cali, Colombia (2002) and the large body of literature on the Mardi Gras Indians of New Orleans, Louisiana (Berry, Foose, and Jones 2003; Lipsitz 1990; Sakakeeny 2002) might all constitute examples of cultures that share strategies and conditions with the black Pacific, despite their distance from the Pacific coast.

Bibliography

Andrews, George Reid. 2004. *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 1992. *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Assman, Jan. 1995. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique* 65 (Spring–Summer):125–133.

Ballumbrosio, Camilo. 2000. Interview with the author. Lima, Perú, March 16.

Ballumbrosio, Eusebio. 2000. "Mira el negro cómo está en el campo: los Ballumbrosios." In *Lo africano en la cultura criolla*, 169–176. Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú.

Barker, Colin, Alan Johnson, and Michael Lavalette, eds. 2001. *Leadership and Social Movements*. New York: Manchester University Press.

Becerra, Miguel Angel. 2010. "Stereotypes of Afro-Peruvians through the Media: The Case of the Peruvian Blackface." MA thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Berry, Jason, Jonathan Foose, and Tad Jones. 2003. "In Search of the Mardi Gras Indians." In *Where Brer Rabbit Meets Coyote: African-Native American Literature*, ed. Jonathan Brennan, 197–217. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Bigenho, Michelle. 1998. "El baile de los negritos y la danza de las tijeras: Un manejo de contradicciones." In *Música, danzas y máscaras en los Andes*, 2nd ed., ed. Raúl R. Romero, 219–252. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Instituto Riva-Agüero.

Birenbaum Quintero, Michael. 2009. "The Musical Making of Race and Place in Colombia's Black Pacific." PhD diss., New York University.

Bowser, Frederick P. 1974. *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Bracamonte-Bontemps, Laura. 1987. "Dance in Social Context: The Peruvian Vals." MA thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.

Bridges, Tyler. 2004. "Long after Slavery, Inequities—and Some Progress—Seen." *Miami Herald*, August 1.

Campos, Rony. 2000. Interview with the author. Lima, Perú, March 16.

Carneiro, Edison. 1961. *Samba de umbigada*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministerio da Educaçao e Cultura Campanha de Defesa do Folclore Brasileiro.

Cascudo, Luís da Câmara. 1962. *Dicionário do folclore brasileiro*. 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro.

Castañeda, Angela Nicole. 2004. "'Veracruz también es Caribe': Power, Politics, and Performance in the Making of an Afro-Caribbean Identity." PhD diss., Indiana University, Bloomington.

Congreso de la República, Comisión de Amazonía, Asuntos Indígenas y Afroperuanos. 2002. "Plan de trabajo." Legislatura 2002–2003, aprobado en sesión del 26-08-02. Lima, Perú. Available at http://www.congreso.gob.pe/comisiones/2002/asuntos-indigenas-afro/PLAN-DE-TRABAJO.pdf. Accessed May 4, 2011.

De la Cadena, Marisol. 1998. "Silent Racism and Intellectual Superiority in Peru." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 17 (2): 143–164.

Della Porta, Donatella, and Mario Diani. 1999. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1903) 1994. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.; repr., New York: Dover Publications.

Dzidzienyo, Anani, and Suzanne Oboler, eds. 2005. *Neither Enemies nor Friends: Latinos, Blacks, Afro-Latinos*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eyerman, Ron, and Andrew Jamison. 1995. "Social Movements and Cultural Transformation: Popular Music in the 1960s." *Media, Culture, and Society* 17 (3): 449–468.

Feldman, Heidi Carolyn. 2005. "The Black Pacific: Cuban and Brazilian Echoes in the Afro-Peruvian Revival." *Ethnomusicology* 49 (2): 206–231.

———. 2006. *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific*. Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press.

———. 2009. "African or Andean? Origin Myths and Musical Performance in the Cradle of Black Peru." *Diagonal: Journal of the Center for Iberian and Latin American Music* 2. Available at http://www.cilam.ucr.edu/diagonal/issues/2006/.

Fox, Patricia D. 2006. *Being and Blackness in Latin America: Uprootedness and Improvisation*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Fuentes, Manuel Atanasio. (1867) 1925. *Lima: Apuntes históricos, descriptivos, estadísticos y de costumbres*. Paris: F. Didot, Frères, Fils & Cie; repr., Lima: E. Moreno.

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

———. 2000. *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture beyond the Color Line*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Glave, Luis Miguel. 1995. "Orígen de la cultura afroperuana." In *De cajón Caitro Soto: El duende en la música afroperuana,* ed. Bernardo Roca Rey Miró Quesada, 13–29. Lima: Servicios Especiales de Edición S.A. del Grupo Empresa Editora El Comercio.

González, Miki. 2000. Interview with the author. Lima, Perú, February 23.

Greene, Shane. 2007. "*Entre lo indio, lo negro, y lo incaico*: The Spatial Hierarchies of Difference in Multicultural Peru." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 12 (2): 441–474.

———. 2008. "On Being Black and Becoming Visible in Peru." *ACAP Magazine* (June). Available at http://www.acap-peru.org/june/on-being-black-and-becoming-visible-in-peru. Accessed May 4, 2011.

Herskovits, Melville. 1941. *The Myth of the Negro Past*. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, ed. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jasper, James M. 1997. *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Killian, Lewis M. 1973. "Social Movements: A Review of the Field." In *Social Movements: A Reader and Source Book,* ed. R. R. Evans. Chicago: Rand McNally College Pub. Co.

La Prensa. 1961. "En el censo no preguntarán la raza; No hay problema racial en el Perú." May 13, p. 5.

León Quirós, Javier Francisco. 2003. "The Aestheticization of Tradition: Professional Afroperuvian Musicians, Cultural Reclamation, and Artistic Interpretation." PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin.

———. 2007. "The 'Danza de las Cañas': Music, Theatre and Afroperuvian Modernity." In *Musical Performance in the Diaspora*, ed. Tina K. Ramnarine, 127–155. New York: Routledge.

Lipsitz, George. 1990. "Mardi Gras Indians: Carnival and Counter-Narrative in Black New Orleans." In *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*, 233–253. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Living in Peru. 2007. "Peru: Miraflores Night Club Denies Racism Charges." June 12. Available at http://www.livinginperu.com/news/4052. Accessed September 21, 2010.

Luciano, José, and Humberto Rodriguez Pastor. 1995. "Peru." Trans. Meagan Smith. In *No Longer Invisible: Afro-Latin Americans Today*, ed. Minority Rights Group, 271–286. London: Minority Rights Publications.

McAdam, Doug. 1994. "Culture and Social Movements." In *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, ed. E. Laraña, H. Johnston, and J. R. Gusfield, 36–57. Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press.

Mendoza, Zoila S. 2000. *Shaping Society through Dance: Mestizo Ritual Performance in the Peruvian Andes.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Millones, Luis. 2000. Interview with the author. Lima, Perú, March 21.

Minority Rights Group, ed. 1995. *No Longer Invisible: Afro-Latin Americans Today.* London: Minority Rights Publications.

Movimiento Negro "Francisco Congo." 1987. "Manifiesto, Plataforma, Estatutos." Lima, Perú: Movimiento Negro Francisco Congo.

Oboe, Annalisa, and Anna Scacchi. 2008. *Recharting the Black Atlantic: Modern Cultures, Local Communities, Global Connections.* New York: Routledge.

Oboler, Suzanne. 2005. "The Foreignness of Racism: Pride and Prejudice among Peru's Limeños in the 1990s." In *Neither Enemies nor Friends: Latinos, Blacks, Afro-Latinos*, ed. Anani Dzidzienyo and Suzanne Oboler, 75–100. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Peru.com. 2009. "Diario 'El Comercio' pide disculpas por comercial racista que ofende a afroperuanos." December 1. Available at http://www.peru.com/noticias/portada20091201/69121/Diario-El-Comercio-pide-disculpas-por-comercial-racista-que-ofende-a-afroperuanos-. Accessed September 21, 2010.

Poole, Deborah. 1997. *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Portocarrero, Gonzalo. 2000. "Comentario." In *Lo africano en la cultura criolla*, 207–212. Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú.

Quiroz, Carlos A. 2010. "Racism Media in Peru Causes Protests over TV Characters That Are Offensive to Indigenous and Afro Peruvians." *Peruanista*, April 8. Available at http://peruanista.blogspot.com/2010/04/racism-in-peru-media-causes-protests.html. Accessed September 21, 2010.

Revollar, Pilar. 1967. "Victoria Santa Cruz y la danza prohibida." *Ella* 43 (October 28): 6–7.

Ritter, Jonathan Larry. 1998. "La Marimba Esmereldeña: Music and Ethnicity on Ecuador's Northern Coast." MA thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.

Rodríguez Pastor, Humberto. 2008. *Negritud: Afroperuanos: Resistencia y existencia.* Lima, Perú: CEDET.

Rojas, Monica. 2007. "Docile Devils: Performing Activism through Afro-Peruvian Dance." PhD diss., University of Washington.

Romero, Fernando. 1939a. "Como era la zamacueca zamba." *Turismo* 140: n.p.

———. 1939b. "Instrumentos musicales en la costa zamba." *Turismo* 137 (March): n.p.

———. 1939c. "La zamba, abuela de la marinera." *Turismo* 141: n.p.

———. 1939d. "Ritmo negro en la costa zamba." *Turismo* 135 (January): n.p.

———. 1940. "De la 'samba' de Africa a la 'marinera' del Perú." *Estudios Afrocubanos* 4 (1–4): 82–120.

———. 1946a. "La evolución de 'la marinera'" (Part 1). *IPNA* 6 (May–August): 29–33.

———. 1946b. "La evolución de 'la marinera'" (Part 2). *IPNA* 7 (September–December): 11–21.

———. 1947. "La evolución de 'la marinera'" (Part 3). *IPNA* 8 (January–April): 12–20.

Romero, Raúl. 1994. "Black Music and Identity in Peru: Reconstruction and Revival of Afro-Peruvian Musical Traditions." In *Music and Black Ethnicity: The Caribbean and South America*, ed. Gerard H. Béhague, 307–330. Miami: North-South Center Press, University of Miami.

Sakakeeny, Matt. 2002. "Indian Rulers: Mardi Gras Indians and New Orleans Funk." *The Jazz Archivist* 16: 9–23

Salas Carreño, Guillermo. 1998. "Representación de la esclavitud en danzas peruanas." In *I Convocatoria Nacional "José María Arguedas" Avances de Investigación—Danza*. Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Sandoval, Lucho. 2000. Interview with the author. Lima, Perú, March 1.

Santa Cruz, Nicomedes. (1964) 1970a. *Cumanana*. With Conjunto Cumanana (Kumanana). 3rd ed. LP. Philips/El Virrey Industrias Musicales S.A., P6350 001/002.

———. (1964) 1970b. "Cumanana: Antología afroperuana." Booklet to accompany the *Cumanana* LP, revised ed. for 3rd ed. of boxed set. El Virrey Industrias Musicales S.A., P6350 001/002.

———. 1973. "De Senegal y Malambo." *Caretas* 479 (June 21–July 5): 22–24.

Santa Cruz, Octavio. n.d. "Familia Santa Cruz." Web Site. Available at: http://espanol.geocities.com/familiasantacruz/. Accessed 2002.

Santa Cruz, Rafael. 1988. "Un 'Matalaché' blanco." *La República,* September 8. Manuscript copy provided by Rafael Santa Cruz.

Santa Cruz, Victoria. 1978. "Negritud en América Latina." *Folklore: Reencuentro del hombre con sus raíces* 1: 18–19.

———. 1979. "Descubrimiento y desarrollo del sentido rítmico." *Folklore: Reencuentro del hombre con sus raíces* 2: 4–7.

———. 1988. "La danza." In *Signo e imagen: La marinera,* ed. Willy F. Pinto Gamboa, 84–85. Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú.

———. 1995. *Ritmos y aires afroperuanos*. CD and liner notes. Discos Hispanicos del Perú S.A., RH.10.0044.

———. 2000. Conversations with the author. Lima, Perú, February 21, February 28, March 29.

———. 2004. *Rhythm . . . the Eternal Organizer,* trans. Susan G. Polansky. Lima, Perú: PetroPerú.

Scheuss de Studer, Elena F. 1958. *La trata de negros en Rio de la Plata durante el siglo XVIII*. Buenos Aires: Libros de Hispanoamérica.

Scott, David. 1991. "That Event, This Memory: Notes on the Anthropology of African Diasporas in the New World." *Diaspora* 1 (3): 261–284.

Sims, Calvin. 1996. "Peru's Blacks Increasingly Discontent with Decorative Role." *New York Times,* August 17, 2.

Templeman, Robert. 1998. "We Are People of the Yungas, We Are the Saya Race." In *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean: Social Dynamics and Cultural Transformations*, vol. 1, ed. Norman E. Whitten Jr., and Arlene Torres, 426–444. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Thomas, John, III. 2009. "Theorizing Afro-Latin Social Movements: The Peruvian Case." Unpublished paper presented at the Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Chicago, May 28. Quoted with the author's permission.

Tompkins, William David. 1981. "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

———. 1998. "Afro-Peruvian Traditions." In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*. Vol. 2, *South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*, ed. Dale A. Olsen and Daniel E. Sheehy, 491–502. New York: Garland Publishing.

UNHCR. 2008. "Peru—Afro-Peruvians." In World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples. Internet source. Available at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/49749ccca. html. Accessed June 8, 2009.

Vásquez Rodríguez, Rosa Elena (Chalena). 1982. *La práctica musical de la población negra en Perú: La danza de negritos de El Carmen*. Havana, Cuba: Casa de las Américas.

Vaughn, Bobby. 2005. "Afro-Mexico: Black Indigenas, Politics, and the Greater Diaspora." In *Neither Enemies nor Friends: Latinos, Blacks, Afro-Latinos*, ed. Anani Dzidzienyo and Suzanne Oboler, 117–136. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wade, Peter. 1993. *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.

———. 1997. *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*. London: Pluto Press.

———. 1998. "The Cultural Politics of Blackness in Colombia." In *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean: Social Dynamics and Cultural Transformations*, vol. 1, ed. Norman E. Whitten, Jr., and Arlene Torres, 311–334. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Waxer, Lise A. 2002. *The City of Musical Memory: Salsa, Record Grooves, and Popular Culture in Cali, Colombia*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press.

Weber, Max. 1946. "The Sociology of Charismatic Authority." In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, 245–252. New York: Oxford University Press.

Whitten, Norman E., Jr., and Arlene Torres, eds. 1998. *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean: Social Dynamics and Cultural Transformations*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Williams, Brackette F. 1995. "Review of *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, by Paul Gilroy." *Social Identities* 1 (1): 175–192.

Williams, Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Factbook. 2010. "Peru." Available at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pe.html. Accessed September 21, 2010.

Yúdice, George. 2003. *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.