ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the relationship between musical participation and social bonding in La Negrería fiesta of Huancaya, Peru. La Negrería is celebrated throughout the central Peruvian Andes, and the use of black masks is a defining feature of this occasion. Fiesta origins reference both Catholic elements and African slavery which bond participants together by shared religous and historical backgrounds. The organizational structure of leadership positions and dance participants maintain order and encourage a collective identity of "sameness" in their attire and behavior. The musical structure and elements maintain flow and musical consistency, allowing sychronized dance movements to stay fluid and together throughout the fiesta. Neighboring communities distinguish themselves from each other by variations in their music, dance, and costumes. Fiesta origins, organization, music and dance, and distinction from other communities allows Huancaya participants in La Negrería to establish social bonds through a unique collective identity.

MUSICAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL BONDING IN LA NEGRERÍA FIESTA OF HUANCAYA, PERU

By

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Preface

I was first introduced to the fiesta of La Negrería in January 2010 while I was visiting my fiancé and his family in Lima, Peru. I was invited by my fiancé's parents to attend a "folklore performance" on the outskirts of the city. I had already experienced several performances in Lima, such as *peñas* (restaurants or bars that perform a variety of regional dances in one evening) and city festivals that are considered as "folklore." Yet, this fiesta was very different than the folkloric and touristic performances I had experienced previously.

Once we arrived at the fiesta site, I began asking questions trying to decipher the meanings of what I was experiencing. Why are the dancers wearing black masks? What do they mean? Why do they dance in that manner? I felt even more perplexed by the conflicting answers I received from everyone. After a long day of dancing, eating, and drinking, I left the fiesta slightly confused but eager to better understand the importance of this tradition. The more I learned about this tradition, the more fascinated I became, and thus my thesis topic came to be.

Throughout this thesis, I use the "ethnographic present" tense to describe the events I observed during my fieldwork. As stated by Anthony Seeger, using the present tense to describe the events is meant to "emphasize the particularity of the events, not their normativity" (Seeger 2004, xvii). Most of my fieldwork was conducted during a three week period in December 2010 and January 2011. After the Negrería fiesta I had attended in Lima the previous year, this was the first time I had traveled to the towns of Huancaya and Tomas.

Considering my limited time in the field, I do not wish for the reader to mistake my use of present tense to reflect static or unchanging events. On the contrary, the use of present tense is meant to guide the reader into my analysis of the unique fiesta celebrations. As people are continuously negotiating and establishing their societies and identities, it is unnecessary to consider any musical occasion as fixed, stagnant, or removed from any temporal frame.

Most of my fieldwork and interviews were conducted in Spanish. While interviewing my informants, I typically addressed them in a formal manner, such as referring to them as "Señor" and their paternal last name. Yet, due to the similarities in the last names of several of my informants, in my thesis I have addressed them at first by their full name and thereafter by their first name. The majority of the Spanish-English translations from these interviews that I reference in this thesis are my own. In Latin America, people commonly use both their paternal and maternal last names in their full legal name. However, paternal last names are more dominant and emphasized. In Peru, the paternal last name comes before the maternal last name. Throughout my thesis and in my bibliographic references, I use both last names or the paternal name in full and the maternal name abbreviated to identify my informants. In my in-text citations I only use the paternal last name. In cases where I have multiple people with the same paternal last name, I also use their maternal last name to differentiate between sources and interviews.

This thesis is about the importance of participating in society through musical activity. Musical performance allows social groups to establish and negotiate their identity through artistic expressions. This case study is an example of how music and dance participation enhances social bonding and collective identities. It is through the

power of music and performance that social identities may be realized, constructed, and negotiated.

Map of Peru and the Yauyos province (located within the department of Lima). The majority of my fieldwork was conducted in the communities of Huancaya and Tomas, and city of Lima (Municipalidad Distrital de Huancaya, 2007).

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not be possible without the help and support of the Morales family. Our road trip through the central Peruvian Andes in December 2010 and January 2011 was an unforgettable experience. I will not forget their generosity and willingness to help me obtain important information and key contacts. Thank you Nansi, Cesar, Ingrid, and especially my husband, Christian, who has assisted and supported me through the entire fieldwork, research, and writing process.

I wish to also thank my friends and professors in the ethnomusicology and musicology division of the University of Maryland, School of Music. I hope our conversations will continue to challenge and provoke each other into better scholars and thinkers. My advisor, Dr. Robert Provine, and co-advisor, Dr. Fernando Rios, have been essential to my academic development and writing. Their continual guidance, support, and encouragement have incited the value and importance of music and music research. I would also like to thank my good friend, Evan Meier, for his help transcribing musical selections from La Negrería fiesta.

Most of all, I would like to thank my family and especially my parents, Emily and Bill. Without their continuous support and openness to allow me to freely explore the world, I would not be the person who I am today. My brothers, Evan and Michael, continue to inspire me with their creativity and artistic pursuits. My family and friends provide me with the motivation and inspiration to constantly challenge myself in every aspect of my life. Thank you.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

January 1, 2011

I woke up abruptly at 6:00am to the sound of several gunshots in the air, marking the beginning of the festival. I quickly got out of bed and put on layers of sweaters topped with a raincoat as the Andean mountain temperatures and weather conditions would dramatically change throughout the day. Over the past few days in Huancaya, I spent my time exploring the layout of this small mountain town and concluded that it was a very beautiful, quiet, and peaceful place to live. Yet, I was sure today would be different. As I heard the brass band begin to play in the distance, I left my fiancé's grandparents' house and followed the sounds of the band to a house near the town's central plaza.

I walked along the narrow, gray, stone streets lined with adobe houses. As I approached the house of the mayú, the band began to play the pasacalle melody and the mayú began to dance. The mayú would serve as the dance coordinator and choreographer for the next two days of the festival. While he danced towards the exit of his house, the Banda Orquesta Social Huancaya, also known as BOSH, followed the mayú onto the street and to the next house. The mayú, accompanied by the band, danced into the patio, or courtyard, of the second house where another mayú was waiting. He was dressed in the same type of colonial-style riding pants, tall boots, and a suit jacket and tie. His face was covered with a black, leather mask with an exaggerated, bushy black beard and eyebrows, and bright red lips. On his head, he wore a rimmed hat with a colorful feather sticking straight up, and in his hands he carried a whip, which he held out in front of his body while dancing.

As we entered the courtyard, the BOSH performed a new melody with a similar tempo while the two mayús danced together. Besides the band and dancers, only a few spectators were present to watch the beginning of the fiesta. After a few minutes of dancing, the music stopped and a woman walked around the courtyard passing out little cups of calientito, a warm alcoholic drink. The alcalde catalán, one of the festival's organizers, began to say a brindis, or toast, discussing the importance of maintaining the community's traditions. After a few more drinks were passed around, the band began to play and the two mayús danced together on the patio. As the mayús began to dance towards the exit of the house, the band changed the melody and followed the dancers to the next house.

At the next house, the same events were repeated by dancing with the third mayú and also the mayordomo, the festival's sponsor. At each house, more calientitos were passed around and everyone took turns saying a brindis. These events continued throughout the morning as more negritos, or black-masked dancers, arrived as well as other festival spectators. Unlike the mayús, the mayordomo and los negritos wore a dark, Western-style business suit. They all wore the same black mask and rimmed hat, and they carried a small bell in their right hand. The women participants dressed in a fitted Western-style business suit, but did not wear any mask. As more and more people arrived to the mobile festival areas, the mayús began to signal the dancers into two lines to organize new dance patterns and choreographies.

Around 9:00am, many of the fiesta's participants had arrived. After visiting and dancing in several houses throughout the town, everyone was invited into another house to eat the traditional festival desayuno (breakfast), which was a mote and cow tripe soup,

called mundongo or patasca.[1] *After breakfast, a few more negritos arrived and they presented themselves to the mayús. Yet, the mayús, acting in character as strict bosses, were not pleased. They demanded that the latecomers kneel before them and provide reasons for their tardiness. Everyone around them began to laugh and yell, "Tindi! Tindi!"*[2] *While the mayus contemplated holding the tardy negritos by their arms and legs while one of them pretended to whip him, they instead decided it would be best for the irresponsible and disorderly negritos to take an extra shot of calientito. After all, the fiesta just started and there would be more opportunities for tindis throughout the day.*

Around the world festivals are special occasions that provide a break from the routines of everyday life. Festivals are a means of expression that explore relationships between the collective and the individual, the ideological and the physical, and the past and the present. Festivals provide opportunities for people to establish and negotiate their identity and relationship with one another. Participating in festivals enables people to build strong social and emotional bonds with one another. Musical activity is often at the center of festival occasions and is essential in creating these bonds.

La Negrería is an annual fiesta performed by many communities in the central Peruvian Andes. Each community has a distinct tradition of how they perform the dance and the music that accompanies the movements. While attire may differ between communities, the black mask worn during the event is a defining feature of this fiesta.

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[1] Mote is a type of white corn kernel found throughout Latin America.
[2] A type of joke or playful punishment where several people hold someone by their arms and legs while another person whips them. This will be further discussed in Chapters one and two.

Every aspect of the event, from the black masks to the use of military brass bands, is embedded with community values, identity, and history. This is evident in the town of Huancaya, where I conducted the majority of my research and fieldwork. In La Negrería fiesta of Huancaya, music and dance are central to the community's collective sense of identity.

The term "identity" is defined as how people relate to one another and recognize themselves by certain shared habits and values. "*Identity* involves the *partial* selection of habits and attributes used to represent oneself to oneself and to others by oneself and by others; the emphasis on certain habits and traits is relative to specific situations" (Turino 2008b, 95). The idea of a "collective identity" relates to how people come together over particular shared experiences or habits. This collective identity through music and dance participation encourages social bonding among fiesta participants in La Negrería of Huancaya, Peru.

The district and town of Huancaya are nested in the central Peruvian Andes in the province of Yauyos within the department of Lima. At an altitude of 3,455 meters, Huancaya is located on a national park reservation called *La Reserva Paisajística Nacional*. Huancaya is about a day's drive from two major cities in Peru, about 300 kilometers east from the coastal capital, Lima, and 150 kilometers west from the city of Huancayo in the Mantaro Valley. The main economy is livestock farming, such as cattle and sheep. During most of the year, when there are no festive occasions, residents are constantly mobile as many of them tend to their livestock on the mountaintops and trade with nearby towns and the bigger cities. Since the latter half of the twentieth century, many Andean residents migrated and relocated to nearby cities for educational and

economic opportunities. Annual festivals, such as La Negrería, not only serve as distractions from the monotonous daily routines but also reunite the community.

The fiesta of La Negrería occurs in December and January to pay homage to the birth of Jesus Christ. Like most festivals in the Andes, it seems that there is no single explanation of the origins and reasons for survival of this tradition, or the importance of this festival to the community. Nonetheless, the importance of the tradition is reflected in the many participants who go to great lengths, such as travelling long distances, to be a part of this occasion. In Huancaya, La Negrería officially begins on New Years Eve with a brief dance rehearsal and several speeches by the newly elected mayor. It is during the following two days when participants assume their roles as *los negritos y doctores de Huancaya*.[3]

Studies and Terminology on Festivals

Festive occasions exist around the world but how researchers define these events differ in academic writing. Many scholars debate the issue of terminology when discussing a particular event. How researchers choose to define events is important to how their research relates to other studies and how readers' understand a particular tradition. Researchers throughout literature in ethnomusicology, anthropology, and sociology use several terms to define festive occasions.

In Zoila Mendoza's book *Shaping Society Through Dance: Mestizo Ritual Performance in the Peruvian Andes* (2000), she chooses to use the term "ritual" instead of fiesta or festival. She compares her study with other anthropological studies that have

[3] When I attended the 2011 La Negrería fiesta in Huancaya it only lasted two days. In previous years, the community sometimes celebrated the fiesta for three days.

"focused on ritual as a particularly transformative realm of experience in which central concerns of the everyday world are addressed and reworked." She also tries to extend the term "ritual" to "overcome some of the limitations of classical anthropological studies that have treated 'ritual' as an essentially unchanging conservative force and as a redressive mechanism of the 'order' of society" (2000, 31). Mendoza uses the word "ritual" to address how public dance performances display and change constructions of ethnic and racial identities in participants and observers.

Stanley Brandes (1988) argues that the term "ritual" tends to be problematic as it means different ideas to different scholars: "Some anthropologists, like Anthony Wallace (1966), seem to restrict the term to the religious domain, whereas others, like Sally Falk Moore, Barbara Myerhoff, and their associates (1977), extend the term to the secular world as well" (1988, 7). Similarly, sociologist Michael Roemer states in his article on the Japanese Gion Festival that, "Rituals serve a number of purposes, from secular to nonsecular, and it is important to recognize that they, like the cultures that mold and are crafted by them, are not stagnant" (2007, 188). Yet in this same article, he inadequately defines the difference between secular and religious rituals. He vaguely suggests that secular gatherings consist of irregular membership and lack of member commitment. Furthermore, Roemer uses the term "festival" when discussing the Gion Festival at large, but he switches to the word "ritual" when discussing religious actions and participation. The term "ritual" is inconsistently defined throughout the literature in ethnomusicology, anthropology, and sociology.

Unlike Roemer, Brandes chooses to define his terms based on emic accounts in his fieldwork in Tzintzuntzan, Mexico:

> To my knowledge, no Spanish speaker, whether Tzintzuntzan or elsewhere, would conceive of a fiesta as a *rito, ritual, ceremonia,* or any other term that could translate readily into the English "ritual." Fiestas incorporate ritual activity, by which people in Tzintzuntzan tend to mean formal religious ceremony; however, they are much broader in scope, encompassing as well a rich complex of economic exchanges, leisure activities, local cultural events, and social gatherings. Indeed, in some fiestas ritual activities, although essential, play a rather muted role. They would seem to justify, rather than constitute, the main fiesta proceedings. (Brandes 2000, 7)

In some instances, the term "ritual" is too limiting. Similar to Roemer's use of "ritual," Brandes declares that terms such as fiesta or festival emphasize the idea of an occasion, whereas ritual implies a type of action. Brandes refers to anthropologist Robert Smith, whose work focuses on Peruvian fiestas, arguing that, "…[a] festival is a kind of occasion. It is a well-bounded period of time, a period of special significance to the community" (Brandes 1988, 8). Festivals or fiestas are special occasions that are celebrated annually around a fixed date or time period. Yet, other scholars reject using these words interchangeably and choose to define these two words differently.

Stuart Rockefeller (1999), whose research focuses on comparing religious fiestas and folklore festivals in southern Bolivia, distinguishes between "fiesta" and "festival" as entirely distinct terms. He uses the term "fiesta" to describe religious celebrations organized by the *campesinos* (peasants, country dwellers), which are greatly participatory. In contrast, "festivals" or more specifically, "folklore festivals," are representations of what folklorists or festival organizers understand to be the most essential performative features of a fiesta. "Folklore festival" performances have more presentational elements as they are performed in front of an audience, often for outsiders and tourists (1999, 120-122).

While festival or fiesta describe an occasion or type of performance, David Guss (2000) uses Milton Singer's concept of "cultural performance" in his study of Venezuelan festivals. He distinguishes cultural performances as "framed" or "bracketed" experiences or moments set apart from the usual spatial and temporal life. Furthermore, "cultural performances are important dramatizations that enable participants to understand, criticize, and even change the worlds in which they live" (Guss 2000, 9). Guss recognizes the vagueness in his terminology but believes it allows for flexibility in that the meanings in cultural performances will continue to change throughout the years. Festivals, therefore, are sites of "social action where identities and relations are continually being reconfigured" (2000, 9).

As the definition of a cultural performance remains flexible, it is difficult to decipher whether the term "ceremony" would meet Guss's definition. Anthony Seeger's study on the Suyá Indians in Amazonian Brazil (2004) describes the Mouse Ceremony. "The Mouse Ceremony is a rite of passage in which a young boy begins his initiation into the male-oriented activities of the village plaza" (2004, 2). The Mouse Ceremony includes ritual activity, which is accompanied by music and dance throughout a two-week period (2004, 3). This ceremony is essential in reestablishing relationships throughout the village, with their natural surroundings and spiritual beliefs. In this context, the term "ceremony," while it may be equally important to community life, differs from a festival or fiesta in that it is a life-cycle event with the focus on a particular community member.

The definition of a performance depends on how the participants and actors relate to the particular event. The performance of La Negrería is not a life-cycle event but an

annual event. Although La Negrería contains ritual elements of religious actions and participation, the term "ritual" is used in different ways with different people, both in secular and spiritual contexts. Over recent decades and due to several factors, such as tourism, festivals can sometimes be associated with more folkloric presentational events where several different genres or musical styles are performed in juxtaposition with each other. As both a participatory and presentational occasion in a set moment in time and enjoyed by the entire community, the participants often use the term "fiesta" to describe the cultural performance of La Negrería.

Studies on Andean Traditions and Musical Participation

Most of the literature I consulted for this thesis consists of works from many of the leading ethnomusicologists and anthropologists studying Andean traditions and Latin American festivals. While festivals are celebrated throughout the world, my research on La Negrería parallels several other studies on Andean mestizo traditions. Many of these studies discuss common themes such as ambiguous origins, fiesta organization, the relationship between cultural changes and transformations of traditions, masking and role-playing, and other music-making traditions present in Andean societies.

The fiesta of La Negrería involves choreographed dancing, often referred to as "dance drama." Ethnomusicologists who study Peruvian musical traditions, namely Thomas Turino (2008a) and Raul Romero (2001), use the term "dance drama" to describe the costumed and masked festival dances "that enact or allude to particular characters and narratives" (Turino, 75). It is common in Andean festivals for people to portray a variety of personages derived from their past and recent histories (Romero, 57), but participants

and observers may contest the various origins and meanings of the masks and costume attire worn during the fiesta.

Studies by Thomas Turino (1993; 2008a), David Guss (2000; 2006), and Zoila Mendoza (2000) discuss the commonality of ambiguous and changing narratives about fiesta origins in Latin American traditions. Latin American and Andean traditions often have complex meanings derived from the many layers of national, regional, and local histories. These histories are embedded in traditions and displayed during festivals by performative features, such as music, dance, attire, and language.

As described by both Mendoza (2000) and Turino (2008a), in Paucartambo, Peru, costumed dance groups are often representations and narrations of local histories. During the festival, members and relatives of the Paucartambo community participate in various dance groups. These dance groups assume different characters and roles, such as "devils, lawyers, enemy Chilean soldiers, drunken liquor traders, African slaves, noble jungle Indians, and Qolla traders from the altiplano region of Puno" (2008a, 72). These characters display varying perspectives on different national, regional, and local histories, from the Spanish colonial period to the Chilean war to the local tradesmen. Furthermore, through these dance groups, participants and observers demonstrate how social identities are perceived and valued in the community.

Mendoza's research is particularly helpful in demonstrating how various dance groups dress up and stereotypically mimic other social groups based on their perception of race and class. In her book (2000), Mendoza explores how social groups perceive intrinsic constructions of "propriety" and "decency" by contrasting the relationship between the Majeños and Qolla *comparsas* (dance troupes). The Majeños comparsa

wears masks that emphasize "white" phenotypes and male maturity, which is associated with European bourgeoisie, social prestige, and economic power (2000, 126-127). The music and dance of the Majeños further confirms their prestigious stature as they are accompanied by an expensive brass band, and "while dancing, they push back their jackets and put one hand at the waist, imitating a male posture of defiance" (ibid., 138).

On the contrary, the Qollas comparsa represents the "indigenous" identity through their performance and display signs of low status and social marginality (ibid., 164). Their costumes consist of "black work boots, ankle-high with metal toe and rubber soles, known in Peru as "miner's boots" (2000, 175). Displaying a subordinate social role, the Qollas are characterized as mischievous, informal, and playful due to their lack of economic success and social propriety. This is evident in their musical performance as "the Qollas lament that they probably will not have enough to trade for their two dearest seasonings, namely, hot peppers and salt," and again later "in the fourth stanza the Qollas fear that their puna products will not be valuable enough to trade for the valley products" (2000, 179). Mendoza's analysis of the festival in San Jeronimo demonstrates how local perceptions of race and social class are acted out in music and dance. This explains how ideas of social status, race, and economics are linked to performative elements displayed in fiestas. The Majeños and Qollas display commonsensical, ingrained notions of social status, aesthetics, and behavior in their festival costumes, music, and dance movements.

Throughout Latin America, many annual fiestas share a similar method of organization and sponsorship. Many ethnomusicologists and anthropologists who study

Latin America discuss the *cargo* system of individual financing of fiestas.[4] In Andean Peru, Mendoza traces the *cargo* system back to the colonial period and relationship with the Catholic Church. Brandes (1988) observes that fiestas in Tzintzuntzan, Mexico use two methods of financing, "one in which individual sponsors bear financial responsibility, the other in which the community as a whole is held financially responsible" (1988, 41). Raul Romero (2001), whose work explores ideas of musical authenticity in the Mantaro Valley of Peru, similarly acknowledges both the individual method of sponsorship and the communal method of sharing the fiesta expense (2001, 55).

Fiestas in the Andes typically have a similar organization where every year a new *mayordomo* is obliged to sponsor the fiesta.[5] As noted by Turino and several other scholars, this role tends to be a huge economic hardship, but also a source of great personal pride for the individual and their family. "The major sponsors of the festival and of individual dance groups fulfill their social responsibilities to the town, their friends, and their neighbors and gain prestige and influence as a consequence" (Turino 2008a, 82).

The role of the mayordomo may shift depending on the fiesta tradition. As discussed by David Guss (2000) in his research on Venezuelan festivals, the mayordomo assumes both the sponsorship and leadership role of the festival. In other locations, such as Huancaya, the mayordomo receives the financial and funding responsibility. Other

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[4] The word *cargo* translates from Spanish to English in several ways. Definitions include, being in charge of (caretaker), holding a position of (worker), or paying for (finance), which all fit the description and essence of the festival sponsor.

[5] In other regions of Peru and throughout Latin America, communities may use different terms for the *mayordomo*, such as *prioste, caporal* or *capitana*.

fiesta positions, such as the *alcalde catalán* and *mayú*, assume the responsibility for the fiesta's participant, music, and dance coordination. The *cargo* system, where one or several sponsors provide the food, drinks, and band for the celebratory event, is a common tradition observed throughout Andean literature on music and festivals.

The fiesta organization and participant roles affect the participatory and presentational manner of fiesta traditions. In his book *Music and Social Life* (2008b), Thomas Turino examines the different musical and social elements in participatory and presentational performances.

> Participatory performance is a special type of artistic practice in which there are no artist-audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants performing different roles, and the primary goal is to involve the maximum number of people in some performance role. Presentational performance, in contrast, refers to situations where one group of people, the artists, prepare and provide music for another group, the audience, who do not participate in making the music or dancing. (2008b, 26)

Turino continues to explain that through shared musical values, synchronic dance movements and constant social interaction, the ability to create intense social bonding is greater in participatory music.

While Turino stresses social bonding through participatory musical activity, Michael Roemer suggests that religious action in the Gion Festival also creates a sense of group bonding. "Gion Festival's lead participants also experience a strong sense of belonging via ritual involvement. It is through these collective ceremonies that those involved gain a stronger sense of communal identity and receive social support" (Roemer 2007, 188). Thus, fiestas that incorporate both participatory musical values and spiritual activity further heighten the sensation of social bonding and human connectedness.

Participatory values and social bonding within the fiesta organization change when fiestas are moved from Andean towns to major urban centers. Thomas Turino (1993) and Raul Romero (2001) both conducted studies on the musical transformation created from changes in rural and urban settings. In the book *Moving Away from Silence* (1993), Turino discusses the musical practices in small town of Conima, which is located at the far southeast altiplano region of Peru. Conducting fieldwork in both Conima and Lima, Turino examines how Conima-migrants in Lima re-conceptualize their musical practices as their environment and social position change. Raul Romero also conducts a comparative analysis between the people who live in the Mantaro Valley and their migrant relatives residing in the urban coastal center of Lima. Similarly, Romero discusses the changes that influence musical aesthetics and performance between the two regions.

The major differences between Turino's and Romero's studies are the ethnic groups studied and the relative geographical proximity between Conima and the Mantaro Valley to Lima. The Mantaro Valley is located in the central Peruvian Andes and is only about an eight-hour drive from Lima. Often residents of the Mantaro Valley identify more as mestizo due to several transformations, such as mining and capitalist circuits, that have happened in the region during the twentieth century.[6] Conima, on the other hand, is about a two-day drive from Lima. Conima residents tend to identify as indigenous, as their cultural variants contrast with those who identify as local mestizos. Definitions of ethnic and social groups are relatively determined by surrounding social

[6] Mestizo is defined as "a social category in the Andes implying a mixture of European and indigenous heritage. Whereas it was once used as a racial category, it is now better understood as a cultural/class category implying a mixture of Iberian and indigenous cultural habits" (Turino 2008a, 142).

groups in connection with social life, community values, and traditions.[7] Relative social differences establish ethnic identities, such as indigenous and mestizo.

In Peru, geographical distance and trade are important to the relationships between different cultural groups. This is essential when discussing ideas and portrayals of "Blackness" or "Africanness" in certain communities. Heidi Feldman's research on the revival of Afro-Peruvian music in the coastal cities of Peru reveals the interesting relationship between Afro-Peruvian culture and the Andean interpretation and representation of African culture (Feldman 2006). From instrumentation to dance styles, Feldman's description of Afro-Peruvian musical practices is vastly different than Andean representations of "Africanness" in their performances.

While the aural and physical musical aesthetics vary greatly between Afro-Peruvian and Andean traditions, Feldman observes cultural borrowings between the coastal cities and Andean communities. She argues that certain Andean fiesta elements, such as fiesta sponsorship and group dancing, have been appropriated and adapted by Afro-Peruvian communities (2006, 188). Conversely, Andean Christmas fiestas incorporate dances referred to as *los negritos* to "commemorate the presence of Black laborers in the Andean mines during times of slavery" (2006, 197). These dances do not necessarily resemble Afro-Peruvian dances but are more of an Andean interpretation of "blackness." During Andean negritos performances, performers further allude to ideas of "blackness" as they sometimes imitate Black behavioral stereotypes (2006, 197). Fiesta

[7] Often indigenous communities in the southern Andean and altiplano regions of Peru and Bolivia organize themselves around egalitarian principles where group consensus is emphasized over individualism (Turino 2008a, 7-8).

participants who represent los negritos build on their own ideas of race, ethnicity, and identity rather than actually mimicking African cultural traditions.

Despite several newer studies on Andean fiesta traditions and music in Peru, these studies do not begin to cover the vast musical diversity of this region and country. In recent years, many scholars reference the dance of los negritos in Peru or the *la morenada* in Bolivia, or allude to other black masking fiestas. Yet, the fiesta of La Negrería is rarely studied on its own. Those studies that have been done on the dances of los negritos are often outdated or lack critical and theoretical analysis.

A few Peruvian scholars in the area of folklore studies have contributed to the documentation of fiestas of los negritos (Pabletich, Pulgar, and Vizcaya, 1973; Espinoza 1995; Flores 2002; Trigos 2008). Several of these studies are limited to the town of Huánuco, whose fiesta is famous for elaborate costumes and lively dance steps. Other studies focus on documenting the La Negrería tradition in different towns and communities in the Andes, such as Pachahuara (Espinoza 1995). I have only located one study of this tradition in Huancaya from a community member, who sought to preserve the history and names of main fiesta contributors and sponsors of the fiesta during the twentieth century (Trigos 2008). Most of these folklore studies provide detailed descriptions of the dance steps, costumes, and other elements displayed during a fiesta; they do not analytically discuss these case studies beyond those descriptions. Through my fieldwork and research, my aim is to provide both analytical and descriptive data on La Negrería tradition.

Fieldwork and Research Methods

My fieldwork methods include video and audio documentation, participant-observation techniques during the fiesta, and several interviews with various participants and knowledgeable members of the community. Between December 22, 2010 and January 16, 2011, I observed four different celebrations of this tradition. I visited two Andean towns, Huancaya and Tomas, where I observed multi-day celebrations where community members honored the birth of Jesus Christ by performing the dance of los negritos. In Lima, I saw this celebration replicated by their respective migrant-community associations during a Sunday afternoon celebration.

As the fiancée of the grandson of a highly respected former mayor of Huancaya, I used my connection to local fame to interview several knowledgeable community members. In Lima, I searched in cultural centers and the *Biblioteca Nacional de Perú* (National Library of Peru) for information that I could not obtain on site during my limited amount of time in the field. I also used Internet videos and bought DVD recordings of La Negrería and other negrito dances to compare and contrast similar traditions of using black masks in other communities. After a month of fieldwork, ten hours of video recording, eight hours of interviews and audio samples, and numerous pages of notes and descriptions, this thesis is my attempt at deciphering how musical activity and participation create social bonds that reinforce community values and identity in Huancaya's La Negrería.

In the ensuing chapters, I demonstrate the complex nature of Andean fiestas and how La Negrería negotiates community identity and bonding. The second chapter discusses the origins of the fiesta from differing perspectives. I examine not only how

this fiesta exhibits the local and national history of Peru but also how it reveals contradictory values and meanings through attire and language. This chapter demonstrates how despite varying fiesta interpretations among participants, whether historical (references to Colonial oppression) or religious (relating to Catholicism), the fiesta connects community members together and promotes social bonding.

Chapter three examines the construction of the fiesta from its organization to the roles of the participants. This chapter explores another facet of social bonding by discussing community values of participation. I analyze how the fiesta connects participants to the community and reflects local values, such as sameness, reciprocity, and communal contribution. This chapter demonstrates how fiestas can negotiate social changes as I refer to recent changes of women participation in the fiesta. Moreover, it evaluates what participants and observers deem as a successful event and how that success translates to reflect community values and a collective identity.

Chapter four brings together the previous chapters by discussing the music and dance of La Negrería in Huancaya. Music and dance are central to how this community defines itself. In this chapter, I discuss Huancaya's original band, BOSH, which is a source of great pride for the community, as they are known and celebrated throughout the central Peruvian Andes. By examining the music of La Negrería performed by BOSH, I analyze the musical structure and elements that facilitate and support dance participation. These musical ideas and dance movements link participants together to intensify social bonding.

The last chapter is a comparative analysis of variations in La Negrería fiesta. It reveals how local communities distinguish themselves from each other through music,

dance, costumes, and other performative elements. Differences in performative elements in Andean communities allow groups to localize their identity within their specific identity. This chapter also examines how Andean migrant communities in Lima adapt the La Negrería fiesta into new spatial and temporal environments. I discuss how in spite of urban transformations of the fiesta, participants and attendees still maintain similar values of participation and fiesta success.

From my fieldwork in Huancaya and neighboring areas, I approach my thesis with both descriptive and analytical views. My fieldwork serves as a source of documentation of this fiesta. My thesis will be one of the few case studies written in English and devoted solely to this tradition. I hope this thesis may serve as a springboard for further investigations and studies on this important fiesta. Moreover, this thesis will add another perspective to current literature on fiestas in the Andes and around the world. This is essential to help our understanding of the importance of participating in musical activity and social bonding.

While many folklorists and anthropologists have discussed or referenced this tradition, my aim is to provide an ethnomusicological perspective on how the music and dance of La Negrería connects the people of Huancaya to their community while establishing or negotiating identities and values. Throughout Latin America, fiestas serve as important avenues of social interaction and group participation by means of musical activity. Layered with different collective and individual meanings, historical references, and participatory activities, fiestas are powerful and constantly changing occasions. Moreover, fiesta occasions are artistic expressions that allow participating members to understand and establish their place in the world.

Chapter 2: Origins of La Negrería

Each year, fiesta performance allows communities and fiesta participants to relive various interpretations of their historical past or spiritual beliefs. Andean fiestas are often multi-faceted celebrations that display many layers of history, local meaning, and individual interpretations. While there may be several different perspectives on fiesta origins, these interpretations demonstrate the complex and important nature of the fiesta. My aim in this chapter is not to determine which interpretation is true but to demonstrate how these varying perspectives meet the same objective of bonding fiesta participants and community members together.

Many scholars observe multiple interpretations, historical and spiritual, in festival meanings and origins. Thomas Turino noticed contradictions between explanations while observing the *achachk'umu* dance in Conima, Peru. While some townspeople mentioned that the dance represented their ancestors or sacred places of the mountains, others declared it was comical satire of the Spanish colonizers. Confronted with very contradictory interpretations of the dance's meaning, Turino approached an older musician and asked why there were various meanings. According to Turino, the older musician responded, "It has to be that way; a dance has to have a number of meanings, it cannot have just one" (Turino 1993, 98).

Raul Romero also noticed these multiple interpretations of festival origins during his fieldwork in the Mantaro Valley. "Many dances are interpreted in different, sometimes ambiguous ways by townspeople themselves, like the *huaconada*, which is considered by some to be a representation of a peasant resistance fighter in the war against Chile and by others a representation of a pre-Hispanic mythical being" (Romero

2001, 57). While these are two very different interpretations of the same character, they are both drawn from the community's collective past and history.

The *morenada*, defined as the "dance of blacks," which is celebrated in Bolivia, is also of disputed origins.

> Some claim it arose from African slaves parodying their masters while working in the silver mines of Potosi, while others say it is based on the movement and songs of Africans in the lowland vineyards where they were put to work producing wine. Still others support the increasingly popular belief that it had nothing to do with African slaves at all but originated among Aymara groups living on the Altiplano near Lake Titicaca. From there it traveled with the coca merchants who brought it along with their wares to the miners of Oruro where it appeared as early as 1913. (Guss 2006, 318)

People from the same cultural group reciting vastly different beliefs of fiesta origins are unanimous throughout the Andes. Located in the central Peruvian Andes, the fiesta of La Negrería of Huancaya is no exception.

In Huancaya, several community members have different interpretations of the origins and meanings of La Negrería fiesta. The characters that participants maintain during the fiesta reflect these different interpretations. The black mask, which is a defining feature of the fiesta, has some of the most interesting and contradictory interpretations. These interpretations emphasize either religious or historical ideas and these ideas demonstrate how individuals connect to their communities at large.

In addition to individual interpretations, the physical and behavioral characteristics displayed by fiesta participants further complicate these varying perspectives. The complex and multiple perspectives on the origins are embedded in the individual's interpretation, fiesta attire, behavior, and the events held during the day. Yet, these varying perspectives appear not to hinder but to enhance community bonding.

Perspective #1: One of Three Wise Men from Africa

When I asked several people about why they celebrate and participant in La Negrería, often they responded, "The fiesta is for the adornment of Jesus Christ." While I repeatedly heard this response, I was still perplexed by how this religious meaning related with the fiesta attire and black masks. While watching *los negritos* dance on the blacktop of the local school, Josué Salazar Cotera overheard me lamenting my confusion with my fiancé. As a Huancaya native who now resides in the coastal city of Trujillo, Josué has researched and traced the musical origins of several Huancaya fiestas, including La Negrería.[8] During an interview, he explained that the black masks worn by fiesta participants represented one of the three wise men that visited Baby Jesus after his birth. According to Josué, the black mask symbolized the one wise man that was from Africa.

In an interview with the former mayor of Huancaya, Rossini Salazar Flores, he mentioned how many towns celebrate the fiesta between December 25 and January 6 each year. He suggested that this was the period of time when the three wise men came to visit baby Jesus.[9] Rossini further explained that one of these three wise men was of African descent and color. The black mask represented the wise man from Africa and los negritos dance to adorn the birth of Jesus. Rossini's interpretation reinforces Josué's

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[8] Josué's research on the original songs of La Negrería are accessible on the town of Huancaya's official website (Salazar Cotera, n.d.).

[9] During the interview, Rossini Salazar Flores used the terms "tres reyes magos," which translates as the three kings or wise men. Catholicism often discusses the three wise men and three kings interchangeably as the three distinguished foreigners who came to visit Jesus Christ after his birth. In this case, we are concerned with one of the three wise men or kings of African descent.

ideas and explains why La Negrería occurs in December and January throughout the Andes.

All the masks worn by the dancers have gray and black facial hair. Similar to the Majeños mask worn in the festival of Paucartambo as described by Zoila Mendoza (see Chapter one), the mask of La Negrería resembles a face of an older man, a mature man. "The concept of *madurez* (maturity) must be understood not only in reference to age but mainly to social status. A mature male is one who has a strong economic base and/or stable economic activity that allows him to carry through all the demands involved in ritual performance and sponsorship" (Mendoza 2000, 127). The gray and black mustaches and beards on the masks resemble an older person with qualities of maturity, responsibility, and wisdom, qualities that one of the three wise men would surely possess.

In Huancaya, during the fiesta and throughout the days, everyone addresses the dancers as "doctors." This is sign of high respect due to the townspeople's belief and understanding that educational levels coincide with social status and prestige. The formal business suits that the dancers wear further demonstrate the notion of prestige. References to education levels and business suit attire conform to Western aesthetics of decorum and social stature, influenced by Spanish and other Western countries. These associations relate to how one acquires wisdom, thus referencing the Catholic vision of the three wise men.

Events that occur within the fiesta, such as the *belén*, also allude to Catholic beliefs. The belén, which refers to the birthplace of Jesus Christ, Bethlehem, is part of the fiesta that takes place outside the church in the afternoon. It is during the belén that fiesta participants prominently display their religious beliefs with the community of

Huancaya. The belén incorporates important Catholic elements, such as the adornment of baby Jesus, repentance, and church donations.

The belén begins with new musical repertoire and dance choreographies (which will be furthered discussed in Chapter four). After the music and dance finish, the fiesta participants gather around the three *mayús,* the dance leaders, who stand in front of the church. The mayús read off a list of participants' names in front of the entire community. While reading off names, the mayús give humorous nicknames to participants and joke about their mistakes, problems, and mishaps. For example, one mayú said to a participant that, "although your father plays *charango* well, you play nothing.[10] Also, you win the Peru cup!" In other words, the mayú stated that this participant is not only a bad musician, but also drinks too much. According to several community members, this humorous public denouncement of fiesta participants serves as repentance for their sins.

After the participants are publicly denounced, they place their hats on a series of hooks located behind the mayús. The music begins and everyone dances in an unorganized, playful manner, trying to tap each other on the head. After the music and dancing stops, the mayús return the participants' hats after they donate money to Baby Jesus. The mayús then extend the invitation to the general public to give donations to the church. As the sun sets behind the mountains, the belén concludes the formal part of the fiesta. The remainder of the evening turns into a *baile sociale* (social dance) where everyone removes their masks and freely dances to popular tunes with their family and

[10] Charango is defined as an "Andean stringed instrument modeled on the Spanish guitar (or *vihuela*), although much smaller in size. It has between four and twenty strings divided into four or five courses. Regional tunings abound" (Turino 2008a, 139).

friends. The belén is an important religious part of the fiesta agenda and reflects an Andean interpretation of Catholicism.

Figure 1: ***The Mayú and Belén List***

The relationship between Andean communities and Catholicism dates back to the sixteenth century. Colonized by Spain, "Peru was the seat of the Spanish viceroy that governed most of the Spanish-ruled South America beginning in the sixteenth century" (Feldman 2006, 192). During the colonial period, church officials and missionaries were financially supported by the colonial state. "The prime political role of the church was to convert Andeans to a European ideology and modes of behavior, and thus strengthen the ground for an acceptance of Spanish political legitimacy and moral superiority, as well as to subvert the indigenous religious base of the former political system" (Turino 1991, 261).

Yet, convincing Andean communities to convert to Catholicism was not easy and was heavily resisted at first. Spanish missionaries slowly began a process of incorporating European aesthetics and values into schools and educational curriculum by

teaching European musical instruments and musical forms (ibid., 263). Music and dance attracted Andeans and provided missionaries and clergy a useful tool for instilling ideas of Catholicism. Eventually, "the Spanish clergy in Peru superimposed Catholic fiestas on preexisting Andean celebrations" (ibid., 264). As part of Spain's attempt to gain hegemony over the populations in Andean Peru, they transformed Andean fiestas and traditions to contain Catholic themes and ideologies. Although La Negrería of Huancaya clearly demonstrates Catholic beliefs, it is also juxtaposed with several other interpretations and historical events.

Figure 2: ***Negritos Dancing in front of the Church***

Perspective #2: Representation of African Slaves

While the fiesta clearly displays religious elements of Catholicism, many other people have a different interpretation of what the black mask represents. Several of the people I interviewed mentioned that the black masks represent the African slaves that were brought over by the Spanish during the colonial period. Rossini Salazar Flores, who previously mentioned the relationship between the black mask and the wise man from Africa, also explained another interpretation of origins of La Negrería.

> La Negrería fiesta developed many years ago as a memory of African slavery. The Africans [brought by the Spanish colonizers] arrived here in Peru as slaves and with them; they brought their music and customs. As slaves, they felt humiliated and oppressed due to the Spanish. But they also wanted to be happy and distract themselves from these hardships. They used the music and dance as their tool, as their medicine, to achieve this. So then they began to dance this dance that we call "La Negrería" and it was adopted by various towns in the Andes. And the dance remained, year after year, even after the Spanish left. (Salazar Flores, personal communication, 2010)

Rossini suggests that the fiesta developed from mestizo Andean populations imitating the dances of the African slaves.

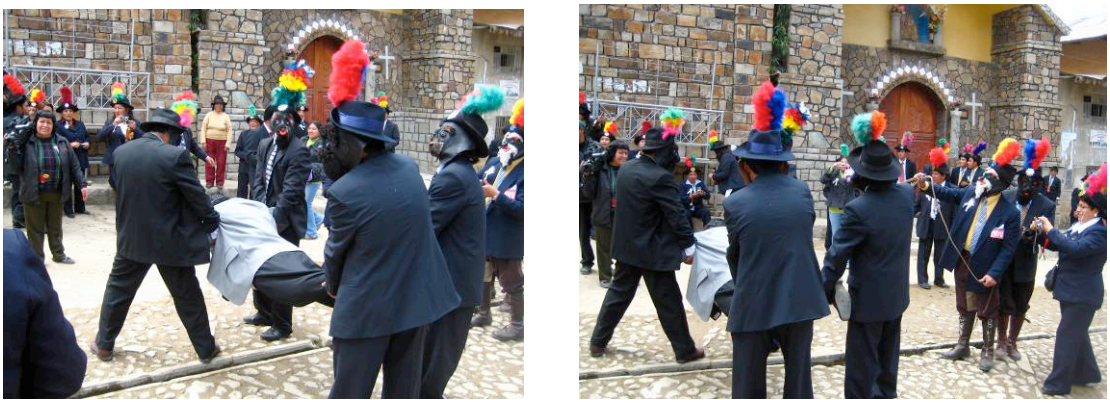
The relationship between African slaves and indigenous populations was also mentioned in an interview with Eugenio Fernandez Salhuana. Eugenio, who has served as the mayú for Huancaya's La Negrería fiesta for over fifteen years, shares a similar perspective on the fiesta origins.

> The dance of La Negrería is a copy or imitation of the black slaves that arrived in Peru during the colonial period. They were good-humored and happy people and would come to mountains to sell their products, to this day, they like to dance and this is an imitation of their dance. (Fernandez Salhuana, personal communication, 2010)

Eugenio refers to the playful nature of the African slaves and common stereotypes of Afro-Peruvians, yet in a positive manner. Eugenio also hints towards a positive

relationship between the Andean and Afro-Peruvian communities as they exchanged cultural and economic products.

Other performative elements during the fiesta, such as costume accessories and behavior, suggest representations of African slavery in Peru. Throughout the fiesta, the mayús hold whips and act as overseers of the other dancers. The role of the mayús is to maintain order among the dancers and ensure that no one is misbehaving (see Chapter three). The mayús act almost as a slave owner. If a fiesta participant is late, dancing out-of-sync, not properly dressed, too drunk, or goes against proper fiesta protocol, a *tindi* occurs. Tindi refers to a comical punishment where a participant is held by their arms and legs by other dancers. Then, they are playfully whipped by the mayús, resembling slave owners whipping their disobedient slave.



Figures 3 and 4: *Tindi Time*

The language used during the fiesta alludes to black stereotypes. When addressing the dancers, such as during the belén, the mayú speaks in what is perceived as a stereotypical African or black accent by changing the accented syllable in the word or dropping certain letters. For example, during the belén, the mayú refers to the

participants as "*doctos*" instead of "*doctores.*" When participants suggest that someone receives a tindi, they yell "*agarrá"* (catch or hold), accenting the last syllable. This use of language and behavior during the fiesta helps participants maintain their characters. These performative features in Huancaya's fiesta of La Negrería also reflect possible origins in African slavery. Afro-Peruvian scholars and local researchers further support ideas and interpretations of fiesta origins rooted in African slavery.

According to the research of the anthropologist, Bettina E. Schmidt (2007), the Spanish colonizers brought African slaves to Peru during the colonial period between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the colonial time, about 95,000 enslaved Africans were imported to Peru (ibid., 198). "The first official slaves arriving in Peru in 1529 were imported from Spain (hence they spoke Spanish), and were brought to Peru to fight together with indigenous people from Middle America and Cañaris from Ecuador against the Incan Empire" (ibid., 197). After the Spanish defeated the Inca Empire, African slaves were sent to work in the mines, for instance, "in Zaruma (Ecuador), Potosí (Bolivia) and Huancavelica (Peru)," (ibid., 197) where they worked alongside indigenous populations. Currently, these locations also utilize black masks in their fiestas.

Emiliano Flores Trujillo's book, *Danza Negritos de Huanuco* [Negrito Dances of Huanuco] (2002), quotes José Varallanos who suggests that the dances originated during the colonial period in the cities and villas where African slaves would imitate the music and dances of their Spanish owners (ibid., 9). In the same chapter, Flores Trujillos cites Rosa Alarco as suggesting that this particular dance evolved from the Spanish dance called *morisca* performed in the fifteenth century. The dance used a hand bell, and everyone would dance in pairs. Alarco argues that the dances were first performed in the

haciendas and then in the cities (ibid., 9). According to this reference, the dance that is performed today is a mestizo imitation of an African imitation of a European dance.

Other local literature on fiesta origins does not make the same connection to European dances. In the 1973 publication, *Antologia de "Los Negritos"* [Anthology of the Negritos], one author believes that during the colonial era when fiesta sponsors did not have enough African slaves to dance for the event, they would hire indigenous dancers. These dancers were made to wear black masks (Pabletich, Pulgar, and Vizcaya 1973, 12). Esteban Pabletich, however, argues that the dance originally was used to protest for Peruvian independence and later for the abolishment of African slavery (ibid., 34).

African slavery was officially abolished on December 3, 1854 in Huancayo, Peru, under president Ramón Castilla. According to Pabletich, on this date and for the next several weeks, the public celebrated and danced in several cities (ibid., 35). From Huancayo, the news of African freedom traveled north through the Andes until the town of Huánuco. The ex-slaves brought the dance to Huánuco as a celebration of their freedom. Coincidentally, the emancipation of slavery occurred near the Christmas holiday, which celebrates the birth of Jesus Christ. This is why Andean communities celebrate both the liberation of the slaves and the birth of Jesus Christ simultaneously (ibid., 34-35).

Interpretations of Interpretations of La Negrería

It is difficult to decipher the many local interpretations of and publications on the origins of La Negrería. To further complicate the matter, many scholars who consult these local publications seem to interpret each work differently. Interviews with community members and observations during the fiesta also demonstrate the contradictory and overlapping meanings behind fiesta features.

The two different interpretations of the fiesta's origins emphasize either a more religious (relating to Catholicism) or historical (referring to African slavery) interpretation of La Negrería fiesta. Events and characteristics of the fiesta, such as the belén, references to "doctors," and expressions of male maturity reflect certain beliefs that the black mask represents one of the three wise men. Yet, other performance features, such as language, behavior, and the relationship between African and Andean populations suggest that the black mask resembles a different historical interpretation of African slavery in Peru.

Through performance, the fiesta brings these interpretations together. As both prestigious doctors and African slaves, participants move between different social and economic positions. Playfully demeaning each other while also donating to the local church, participants display a history of human oppression and suffering but also religious benevolence and repentance. These satirical and contradictory elements create a complex and rich experience for both participants and spectators.

Despite the different interpretations of the fiesta, each interpretation links fiesta participants together through either shared religious beliefs or relating to the same historical past. According to Roemer's study of Kyoto's Gion Festival, a major Japanese

religious festival, participants who engage in collective spiritual activity gain a strong sense of communal identity, social support, and develop lasting relationships (2007, 188). Similarly, fiesta participants in La Negrería collectively engage in religious activity, which help establish bonds with one another. Historical interpretations of the fiesta also link participants together as they relive a historical narration of oppression and struggle against the Spanish colonizers.

These shared historical and religious origins bond fiesta participants together. Participants establish their identity with one another and their community by sharing religious beliefs and a historical past. While sharing a religious or historical background are powerful links between participants, fiesta organization and musical performance further intensifies these bonds.

Chapter 3: Fiesta Organization

Throughout Latin America and in Andean communities, the *cargo* system is a popular method of financing and organizing traditional fiestas. This system relies on a rotation of individual sponsors and families to endure the financial responsibility or sometimes has the entire community contribute to the financial burden. If communities select individual sponsors, they may bear the financial brunt but also raise funds through family and friends before and during the fiesta. Thus, the *cargo* system method promotes collective giving and contributions. Through the fiesta organization and various roles enacted by participants, La Negrería promotes social bonding and instills community values of reciprocity and collective identity.

Leadership in La Negrería: *The Mayú, Alcalde Catalán and the Mayordomo*

The main leadership positions in Huancaya's La Negrería are the *mayú*, *alcalde catalán*, and the *mayordomo*. The community selects people within the community to fill these positions. Often, experience and reliability qualifies certain members of the community to gain these leadership roles. The attire worn during the fiesta differentiates the various leaders from the general dancers and participants.

The general dancers typically wear a dark blue or black business suit and hold a handbell in their right hand. The mayordomo also wears a similar outfit and sometimes sports a thick, red sash with the words "mayordomo" diagonally across his chest. The mayús, on the other hand, wear Western-style riding pants with a longer, blue suit jacket. Instead of a bell, they dance holding a whip. The mayús also wear tall mining boots that lace up their knees. Similarly to the general participants and dancers, the mayús wear the

black mask and a rimmed hat. The hat has a small mirror in the middle with a feather sticking up from the top. Excluding the black mask, the outfit of the mayús resembles that of the Spanish colonial élite.

Figure 5: ***Three Mayús*** *– These are the three mayús from the 2011 Huancaya La Negrería fiesta. Eugenio Fernandez Salhuana stands in the middle as the head mayú.*

The mayú is the director and choreographer of all the general participants and dancers. In Huancaya, there is one head mayú and two assistant mayús to help coordinate the dance movements with all the general dancers. The head mayú wakes up the earliest and is the first person to dance in the morning. The band and alcalde catalán meet the head mayú at his house around 6am to begin the fiesta. The mayú first dances alone accompanied by the band at his house and then dances towards the house of the assistant mayús. At the second house, the two mayús dance together. After the music

stops, the wife of the mayús pass around drinks and the mayús make speeches. Then, the mayús dance to the house of the third mayú, followed by the house of the mayordomo, where they also dance, drink, socialize, and give speeches. The routine continues throughout the day as more dancers join the fiesta and community members invite the dancers to their houses. The mayús direct the dancers on where to stand, how to dance, and when to change movements.

Figure 6: ***Mayú Dancing with the BOSH*** *– This picture is taken at the beginning of the day when the head mayú dances alone with the band.*

Besides directing and coordinating the dancers, the mayús are in charge of maintaining order throughout the day. During the fiesta, the mayús look out for people misbehaving or acting disorderly. If the mayús discover someone acting against proper fiesta conduct or showing signs of disrespect, they order a *tindi*. As mentioned in Chapter two, a tindi is a punishment where the offender is held by their arms and legs and

whipped playfully. Reasons for tindi include arriving late for the fiesta, bad dancing, lack of dancing, drinking too much or any other action that may contravene or disrespect the fiesta's organization and dance.

When new dancers arrive, they report to either the mayús or the alcalde catalán. Dressed in a simple business suit without a mask or hat, the alcalde catalán is the coordinator and director of the fiesta. He is in charge of inviting people to dance or participate in the fiesta. He carries and maintains a list of all the dancers and participants who donate money or products, such as beer, for the event. This list is later used for the belén. The alcalde catalán also coordinates invitations from community members that would like to host the dancers and band in their homes. During the fiesta, the alcalde catalán communicates with the mayú on the next location to direct the negrito dancers.

While the mayús and alcalde catalán coordinate and direct the fiesta, the mayordomo is financially responsible for the entire fiesta. Every year, a new mayordomo is selected to have both the honor and financial burden of the fiesta. According to Eugenio Fernandez Salhuana, who served as the head mayú for the past fifteen years and accepted the mayordomo position for the 2012 fiesta, there are two ways that one is selected the mayordomo.

> The community chooses who will be the mayordomo each year. They cannot reject the offer. But since I am not a *comunero* (land owner), I do not have the same rights or obligations as them. In that case, sometimes people volunteer to come and host the fiesta. The people who were originally obligated to host the fiesta will then sponsor the following year. (Fernandez Salhuana, personal communication, 2010)

The community either selects the mayordomo or people will volunteer to the host the fiesta. Hosting the fiesta is an obligation for Huancaya *comuneros* (land owners) while members who live in the community without as many land rights have a choice.

As explained during an interview with Daniel Salazar R. (2011), who hoped to be selected mayordomo for the fiesta in the city of Huancayo, the mayordomo for the following year accepts the offer during the fiesta. The current mayordomo provides an offering, typically meat, to the newly elected mayordomo. The mayordomo for the following year makes an official acceptance speech during the fiesta. He may even start planning and fundraising while the current fiesta is still in process.

Figure 7: ***Next Year's Mayordomo*** *– Eugenio Fernandez Salhuana sits in front of an offering of meat as he accepts the mayordomo position for the 2012 year.*

The mayordomo has the enormous task of providing breakfast, lunch, and dinner for the entire community, fiesta participants, and spectators. He is also responsible for hiring the band. Family and friends collaborate and help contribute financially or by donating items. Daniel explained, "If I receive the fiesta, maybe someone can give me cows or sheep for the food. Someone can help cook. Someone else can help provide

beer. Maybe another person will just donate money. The moment they select me as mayordomo, I will begin to discuss these arrangements" (Salazar R., personal communication, 2011).

Despite help and collaboration from family and friends, the financial burden is still immense. The fiesta can cost anywhere from 7,000 to 10,000 soles or more (about $2,500 to $3,500 USD), which in relation to a family's median agricultural and livestock income can be rather costly. Yet, this burden is offset by the social prominence and prestige that they accrue within the community. As fiestas act as the center of community life and culture in Andean communities, fiesta expenses "may have priority over other needs, activities, and expenses that may seem more important to an outsider" (Romero 2001, 51). While the mayordomo bears the primary financial responsibility, the general dancers, los negritos, also participate in the finances and fiesta organizational structure.

The Dancers of La Negrería: *Los Negritos*

When people discuss the tradition of La Negrería, they often refer to the general group of masked dancers as *los negritos*. However, as mentioned in Chapter two, during the fiesta they are to be addressed as "*Doctores*," as a sign of respect and prestige. Unlike the community selected leadership positions of La Negrería, los negritos volunteer to participate in the fiesta. Yet, some participants feel a sense of obligation and duty to dance in the fiesta because they want to support the mayordomo and participate in the traditions of the Huancaya community.

Participants who choose to dance in the fiesta are often members of the Huancaya community. Dancers identify themselves with the town of Huancaya as their place of birth or through family relations and heritage. During the latter half of the twentieth century, many people migrated from Andean communities to bigger cities for several reasons, such as educational and employment opportunities (which will be further discussed in Chapter five). Due to this massive migration, many people use fiestas as reasons to return to their communities to visit family and friends.

Inclusion of migrants who reside or work in other areas but still identify as *Huancayano* (someone from Huancaya) is not new to the fiesta. "Migrant participation is already a familiar phenomenon in the festival system of the valley, since it has been occurring since the beginning of the century, when thousands of peasants began to migrate to the nearby mining centers but always came back for the patronal festivals of their towns not only to observe but also to contribute economically in significant ways" (Romero 2001, 103). Sometimes migrants will offer to host the fiesta as the mayordomo to demonstrate their commitment to their hometown community. Family and friends from other areas of the selected mayordomo may also make a significant effort to attend and contribute to the fiesta.

Andean communities value their family relationships and traits of reciprocity. For the current mayordomo, the fiesta allows them to celebrate their relationships with family and friends. Family and friends help support the mayordomo, both emotionally and financially, and assist in providing a successful fiesta. Their attendance adds greater participation, which is a desired attribute in the fiesta. If the fiesta is deemed successful, participants pin money on the coat of the mayordomo during the celebration. This action

measures their support and respect for the economic burden of the mayordomo as well as their enjoyment of the fiesta.

Figure 8 and 9: ***Pin the Money on the Mayordomo*** *– Pinning money on the mayordomo during the fiesta demonstrates the financial reciprocity within the community. It is also an indication of a successful fiesta.*

The fiesta not only redistributes wealth within the community but also creates a collective identity among participates as everyone wears the same clothes and mask, which hides their individual identities. According to an 81-year-old former mayú and Huancaya resident, Hercilto Trigos Sandoval, many years ago the mayús were stricter about dancers removing their masks during the fiesta. People would get dressed privately before going out in public so that no one would know their identity. Even when dancers drank, they would only lift the mask up halfway in order to conceal themselves. Yet,

while the fiesta embraces "sameness" and collective identity, the stringent rule of never revealing one's identity has become more lenient in recent years. This might be due to another recent change in the fiesta organization—women's participation.

In the past twenty years, more women have begun to participate in the dance of los negritos. Many of the people I interviewed noted that the inclusion of women participants was the most significant change in the tradition over the decades. At first, incorporating the women into the tradition was not only controversial but also difficult. Community leaders did not know how to effectively include them without disrupting the tradition. While I was interviewing Hercilto, he recalled the transition from only men dancing to both men and women participating in La Negrería.

> While I was mayú, women started to want to dance La Negrería. I had to tell them that they could not dance because the community leaders agreed that it was against the tradition. The women were very upset by this. After the fiesta, I went to the community meeting and told everyone that women needed to dance. They were, after all, part of the community. This fiesta is for the community. Not everyone agreed to this but the following year, the women began to dance but in a separate line. (Trigos Sandoval, personal communication, 2011)

Although women are permitted to dance, they must dance in a separate line behind the male negritos. While the mayordomo tends to be a male-dominated position, their wife may participate in the mayordomo position and dance along side her husband at the front of the line during the fiesta. Unlike the male negritos, female negritos do not wear the black mask. Furthermore, mayús typically spare female negritos from receiving tindi as it seems inappropriate. Although the fiesta performance clearly distinguishes between the women and men dancers, the women are not necessarily seen as female, but as having a neutral gender.

Women who dance in La Negrería are referred to as *"maricas,"* which is a slang term that translates as "transvestite" or someone who dresses up as the opposite sex. This relates to not only their participation in a male-dominated tradition but also to the blue business suit worn by female negritos.[11] Women are not held to the same requirements as the men, yet as they are restricted from expressing a more feminine identity, their gender becomes neutral. Their neutral gender, however, allows women participants to contribute to the same collective identity as men participants.

Figure 10: ***The Female Negritos*** **–** *Often the female negritos, or "maricas," dance at the back of the line—behind the men negritos and in front of the band.*

[11] According to Josué Salazar Cotera, it took several years of experimenting with different types of female clothing, such as women dancing in traditional Andean layered skirts or holding baby dolls, before the community agreed that woman participants should wear the female version of a Western-style business suit.

The *brindis* (speeches or toasts) made throughout the day further enforces this collective identity and feeling of belonging to the community of Huancaya. Anyone, participants and spectators, attending the fiesta may speak during one of the many dancing and musical breaks. These speeches often commemorate the community of Huancaya. Sometimes speakers may comment on the development and progress of the community or discuss the importance of maintaining traditions such as La Negrería. Speakers also congratulate the mayordomo and other honored members of the community. Some people may donate crates of beer to the dancers or musicians to further encourage the celebratory nature of the fiesta. The amount of speeches, financial donations, and participants as well as effective leadership and organization are all indicators of the success of that year's fiesta.

Measures of Success

If the fiesta presents all elements valued by the community of Huancaya, the fiesta is a success. These elements include good organization and leadership, maximum participation, and sufficient food and supplies. Each of these elements assists in creating social bonds and may enforce values of communal giving and collective identity within participants.

Good organization and leadership includes making sure the fiesta begins on time and knowing where the dancers will go next. The alcalde catalán is essential for deciding where los negritos will parade and dance next. He must communicate this with the mayús. As the music and dance changes according to new locations, the band must communicate between the mayús and the alcalde catalán to play the appropriate musical

tunes that accompany the dancers' choreography. Communication between different leadership roles and band is vital, not only for good organization, but also for maintaining the flow and continuity of the dance and music during the fiesta (see Chapter four).

The more participants who attend and dance in La Negrería, the more the fiesta is considered successful. As this is a fiesta by the community and for the community, participation is highly encouraged. Participation, however, is restricted to those with the appropriate costume and attire. All male participants must wear the same black mask, and both male and female participants must wear the blue or black business suit. This particular dancing uniform is distinct to the community of Huancaya (and will be further discussed in Chapter five). By wearing the same type of attire, the fiesta strives for "sameness" in identity.

If the entire community receives the same breakfast, lunch, and dinner throughout the day, and there is a quality band that encourages a good amount of dance participation, the mayordomo has succeeded in fiesta planning. If the fiesta is successful, the mayordomo will reap the benefits of financial reciprocity through beer and monetary donations. While fiesta attendees donate money, beer, and other supplies to the fiesta, they also make more *brindis* and speeches to celebrate each other and the Huancaya community. These speeches create a collaborative feeling and sentiment among fiesta participants.

A successful fiesta dissolves any sense of individualism from participants and forms a distinct, collective identity. It neutralizes the female gender, encourages dancing and moving together, promotes monetary giving and redistribution, and allows everyone to celebrate with each other as members of the same community. The Andean *cargo*

system of fiesta financing also enhances values of community obligation, social responsibility, and communal giving in Huancaya. Participants in La Negrería form united social bonds that result from the fiesta organization.

Figure 11: ***Los Negritos Dancing in Huancaya*** *– The negritos dancers all wear the same Western-style business suit and black mask.*

Social Changes in the La Negrería: *Women Participants*

While the La Negrería promotes community bonding, the fiesta also serves as a medium to negotiate social changes. One female negrito dancer, Marina Salazar Sandoval, mentioned that the society of Peru is *machista* and the inequalities between men and women were greater in the past (Salazar Sandoval, personal communication

2011).[12] The inclusion of women into a male-dominated tradition can be interpreted as lessening these gender inequalities.

During the 2011 La Negrería fiesta in Huancaya, it seemed that the women had great pride in participating and dancing. Between dance breaks and speeches, the women gathered together and took group pictures of all the female negritos. The women had a separate crate of beers that they drank and passed around with each other and proudly refused to share with the men (as the men already had plenty of beer). Their dancing and coordination was more synchronized than the male negritos. Throughout the fiesta, the female negritos displayed a clear sense of female pride.

Figure 12: ***The Female Negritos of Huancaya*** **–** *This is a group picture of all women negritos, or "maricas," in front of the church in Huancaya.*

[12] The word *machista* is used to describe a type of male chauvinism or an exaggerated pride and excessive display of masculinity. It is used to characterize thought processes that value characteristics culturally associated with the masculine (powerful, tough) and in turn, denigrates of traits culturally associated with the feminine.

Despite this sense of female empowerment, the fiesta still demonstrates the differences between male and female participants. While women participate as a separate group of dancers at the back of the lines, they understand the importance of maintaining a collective identity with the rest of the Huancaya community. They uphold community values of sameness and synchronization by their attire, dance movements, and behavior throughout the fiesta. By participating in the valued ideas of the fiesta, social bonding ensues within gender groups but also as a community at large.

Conclusion: Fiesta Organization and Community

Throughout the fiesta, there is a theme of community support and belonging. The success of La Negrería thrives on community involvement. The fiesta serves as a tool to foster community pride and engagement. Participants gain more confidence in their local Huancaya identity through musical and dance participation in La Negrería. Although there is a strong sense of community and collective identity, there is also an element of distinctiveness that is present in the various leadership roles.

While there are specific leadership and sponsorship roles in the fiesta, these positions rotate between different community members. Every member has the opportunity to prove their commitment and dedication to the Huancaya community. While several elements of the fiesta emphasize collective identity and sameness, the various leadership positions available provide an opportunity for community members to gain social prestige and honor. Yet, these leadership and sponsorship positions do not exempt them from dressing, behaving, or dancing drastically different from the other participants.

Similarly to the leadership positions, women are not absolved from difference in attire and dance movements. The women who contested their original exclusion from the fiesta also demonstrate the strong desire to engage in community activities. While issues of gender equality within the fiesta organization may still be disputed, the women negritos dance with fervor and pride. Their desire to participate in the fiesta may be interpreted as an expression of their dedication and strong connection to the community of Huancaya.

La Negrería is a celebration of the Huancaya community. Although the fiesta organization and the various roles enacted by the members of the community are important, the music and dance is what binds the entire fiesta and the participants together. The musical and dance participation in the La Negrería further enhances ideas of collective, group identity which, in turn, strengthens social bonding and a sense of community belonging. The musical activity is what distinguishes this festive occasion from all other moments in the year.

Chapter 4: Music of La Negrería

Music and dance are essential features in Andean fiestas. The music and dance of any Andean fiesta is crucial not only in establishing the celebratory nature of the event, but also in defining the event itself. The type of music performed often alludes to the particular community and fiesta celebrated. Furthermore, music and dance are important in Andean fiestas because they support the continuity of the tradition, perhaps even more than the fiesta organization or fiesta origins. In La Negrería of Huancaya, participation in the musical and physical experience of the fiesta facilitates community and social bonding.

Throughout the Andes, there are many different types of musical ensembles and groups that may accompany a fiesta. In La Negrería, brass bands are typically hired to perform for the event. In English literature on Andean musical traditions, scholars often translate the term "*banda de música"* as "brass band," despite the fact that these ensembles contain several non-brass wind instruments, such as saxophones and clarinets (Katz-Rosene 2008, 2). Most brass bands consist of trumpets, trombones, baritones, tubas, saxophones, clarinets, and snare and bass drums. It is usually helpful for bands to have several performers playing the same instrument so that musicians can take intermittent breaks during long musical passages and throughout the long days of fiesta performance. While conducting my fieldwork in the Yauyos region and in the city of Lima, I saw that brass bands were the optimal ensemble choice for many of La Negrería fiestas I attended.

Such brass bands are ubiquitous throughout Peru and in the Andes. Yet, there is little information, particularly in English, on brass bands in scholarly works. Joshua

Katz-Rosene's thesis, "Versatility, Tradition, and Modernity in the Andean Banda de Musicos," (2008) is one of the few works devoted solely to this tradition. Other scholars, such as Thomas Turino and Raul Romero, occasionally mention the existence of brass bands in their regional studies. The majority of scholars studying Andean music tend to focus their research on musical ensembles associated with indigenous identity or those that are deemed as "traditional." These musical ensembles often use a variety of native and European instruments.

European instruments such as violins and harps have been widely adopted throughout the Andes for centuries. As mentioned in Chapter two, the Spanish often used music as a tool for Catholic conversion. Western European instruments brought over by the Spanish have been adopted into traditional Andean ensembles, such as the *orquesta típica* of the Mantaro Valley.[13] According to Raul Romero, there have been several more recent changes in Andean ensembles, such as the appearance of saxophones throughout the central Peruvian Andes in the 1940s. The incorporation of this instrument in the orquesta típica was "most likely provoked by the massive draft of Andean youngsters for mandatory military service and their subsequent participation in military brass bands" (Romero 2001, 72). Romero's study demonstrates the constant shift and change in musical ensemble traditions in the Andes. Beyond this, I have found little material documentation about the development of brass bands in the Andes despite their popular use in many Andean mestizo fiestas.

Brass bands are typically associated with Andean mestizo fiestas. Often, they are expensive to hire due to their professional quality and ability to produce a loud sound.

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[13] Orquesta típica is a type of musical ensemble consisting of saxophones, clarinets, a harp, and a violin that is used by the people of the Mantaro Valley.

Performing at a high volume is particularly valued in Andean communities, since it is seen as an asset for attracting spectators, encouraging participation among the dancers, and maintaining the overall festive energy of the event. Their expensive price further alludes to notions of wealth and prestige of the mayordomos or fiesta sponsors. In Huancaya, however, the festive energy of the brass band is also due to a more personal connection to the community.

The people of Huancaya take great pride in hiring their brass band not only for prestige, but also because they often hire the famed band that developed from their town. Created by several members from Huancaya, the Banda Orquesta Social Huancaya, also known as BOSH, has become a well-known and distinguished band throughout the region. They serve as an emblem of Huancaya culture and a source of great pride for the community. Their participation in various Huancaya fiestas throughout the year, especially in La Negrería, instills community pride, which encourages community participation in music and dance.

Banda Orquesta Social Huancaya (BOSH)

In the small community of Huancaya, several young entrepreneurs had a vision to create their own brass band to represent the community of Huancaya. In 1971, trumpeter Diogenes Matos Salhuana founded the Banda Orquesta Social Huancaya. Matos hired several of his brothers and family members to perform in the band and handle its administration. However, due to other personal commitments and various work engagements outside of the province among the members, the band faded over the next thirteen years (Trigos 2008, 35).

In 1984, the band regrouped and reorganized themselves under Diogenes' brother, Rosendo. This re-established group recorded their first album in 1986, titled *La más Yauyina de todos tus tiempos* (Yauyina music for all of your occasions), which was aired on the radio and played at parties throughout Lima and the Yauyos region. The theme of Yauyino identity and sentiment connected all six songs on the album. Due to the close proximity of the Yauyos to Lima, BOSH maintained an audience and market throughout this heavily populated region of Peru (Trigos 2008, 36).

In 1990, the band strengthened as they auditioned and incorporated more members from the Huancaya community into the BOSH. When the director retired and moved to the United States in 1997, Cesar Matos assumed his position. Under Matos's direction, BOSH produced several more albums. Over the next decade, the band continued to produce albums and extend their repertoire to music beyond the Yauyos region. *Negrerías*, *huaynos*, *carnavales*, *pallas*, *toriles*, and other tunes were some of the featured musical genres on their albums (Trigos 2008, 36).

Besides their successful albums, the BOSH has won many important big tournaments and festivals throughout central Peru. In Huancaya, BOSH has been declared the *Patriomonio Cultural y Musical* (Cultural and Musical Symbol) of the town. BOSH's fame, popularity, and extensive travel throughout the country fuels pride and honor for the members of the Huancaya community. As the majority of the band members were born in Huancaya, many people view the BOSH as the most representative sound of Huancaya and the greater Yauyo region (Trigos 2008, 37).

Figure 13: ***Banda Orquesta Social Huancaya*** **–** *Also known as BOSH, the brass band is pictured here with the lead mayú and the alcalde catalán in front of the church in the main plaza.*

During the La Negrería and other fiestas in Huancaya, the mayordomo often hires the BOSH to perform, despite their expensive rates. The band's fame and personal connection with the community of Huancaya enhances the celebratory nature of the fiesta. During the speeches made over the course of the fiesta, many participants give toasts and make donations in recognition of the band's presence. Throughout the fiesta, members of the community honor the band by engaging with them through dance participation. While the brass band, BOSH, has a deep connection to the community, the music that they perform also facilitates participation among the members.

In La Negrería, several musical features contribute to the participatory nature of the event. The music structure and several musical elements within the structure

facilitate extended dance sequences and participation during the fiesta. This relationship between the music and dance enhances social bonding between participants.

Musical Structure and Dance in La Negrería

According to several different members of the Huancaya community and BOSH, there are four main musical structures performed during the fiesta. The musical structures consist of the *pasacalle*, *patio*, *esquina*, and *belén* (technical details are given below). According to one of the original members of the BOSH, Rosende Matos, there are about forty or fifty variations of the four musical structures for La Negrería. The band, alcalde catalán, and mayú communicate and signal with each other in order to know where to go and which musical structure to play. Often, the lead trumpet will play the first few notes of the next musical structure, which cues the rest of the musicians. All of these musical structures correspond with the spatial settings and movements of the negrito dancers.

Figure 14: ***Negritos Dancing the Pasacalle*** **–** *During pasacalle, the negritos dance in two lines through the streets of Huancaya. In the front of the dance lines are the three mayús who lead and direct the negritos.*

The band performs a pasacalle when the dancers are walking or skipping in the streets from one area to another, usually in two long lines. When the dancers arrive at their new location, the band switches to the patio. Usually, the patio is performed and danced in a house, courtyard, or plaza area. The negritos may dance using more directed choreography, as spontaneously cued by the mayús. Choreography may include turning around, looping arms and rotating with the person next to them, or even weaving in and out between their two line formations. Although the negritos still dance in two lines, the lines may not necessarily be side by side, as the choreography sometimes utilizes the perimeters of the courtyard or space. This space allows the negritos to create different quadrilateral shapes with their line formations. Like the patio, the esquina may also use similar types of choreography. The band performs the esquina when the dancers arrive at an intersection. The esquina signals the dancers to turn a corner and change direction. Esquinas are usually played between pasacalle passages.

Figure 15: ***Negritos Dancing in front of the Church –*** *During the patio, negritos may dance in two lines that weave between each other.*

Figure 16: ***Los Negritos Dancing the Patio on Blacktop*** **–** *The negritos typically dance in two lines and sometimes dance along the perimeter of the patio space.*

The music of the fiesta moves continuously between the patio, pasacalle, and esquina musical structures throughout the day. Figure 17 demonstrates the dance and music sequence in La Negrería of Huancaya on the morning of January 1, 2011. The dance begins with the negritos in a courtyard of a house which is accompanied by Patio 1. As the negritos leave the house to dance through the streets, the band changes to Pasacalle 1. Once the dancers arrive at the first intersection, the band plays Esquina 1. This tune signals to the dancers to turn onto the perpendicular road. As the dancers turn the corner and continue on the next street, the band plays Pasacalle 2. At the next intersection or corner, the band plays Esquina 2, which is followed by another pasacalle (Pasacalle 1). Once the dancers arrive at their new location, the band ends the dance sequence with a different patio variation (Patio 2).

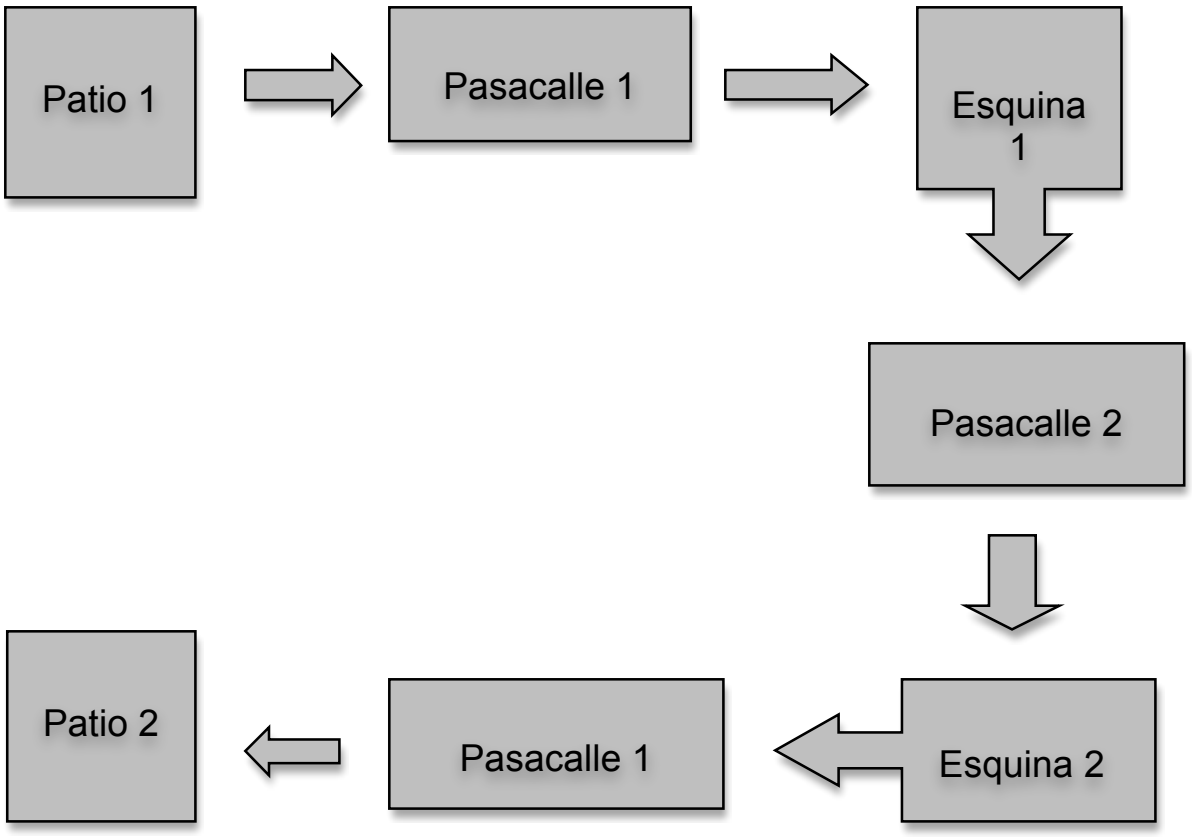

Figure 17: ***Dance and Music Sequence of La Negrería of Huancaya.*** *I have numbered the melodies to distinguish between the variations in each type of musical structure. These numbers are not necessarily how the musicians categorize the musical structure variations.*

Unlike the patio, pasacalle, and esquina, which are used throughout the day, the belén only occurs during the belén ceremony of the fiesta. The belén occurs in the late afternoon when the dancers honor the Baby Jesus and make donations to the community and church (see Chapter two). During the belén ceremony, there are several other musical variations, referred to as the *belén entrada, belén cantata, belén instrumentación,* and *belén salida.* These variations refer to the opening, singing, instrumental, and closing portions of the belén ceremony and fiesta. Unique to the belén are the distinctive changes in the music's melody, mood contrasts, added vocal parts, and dance movements.

Unlike most of La Negrería fiesta where the negritos typically dance in either two straight lines or other quadrilateral shapes and formations, during the belén, the negritos dance together in small circles. With their arms around their partner's shoulders, they hop back and forth, pretending to cry due to the lack of money donated to the Baby Jesus. They sing, "*el niño no tiene plata* (the boy has no money)" until the music stops and the mayús begin the belén ceremony (see Chapter two). After the ceremony, the band performs the belén instrumentación and belén salida, where the negritos, now without their hats, run around disorderly trying to tap each other on the head with their bells.

After the belén ceremony and music, the fiesta formally concludes and turns into a *baile social* (social dance). The band performs local favorites, such as *waynos, marineras,* and *salsas*, where everyone in the community, including fiesta participants and visitors, dances together.[14] At this time, the negritos take off their masks and step out of character for the rest of the evening. Besides certain songs that are for couple dancing, everyone dances in several circular formations, holding hands and moving together to the rhythm of the music.

During the fiesta, the music and dance of La Negrería and baile social allow participants to collectively move together. The band, alcalde catalán and the mayús must constantly communicate with each other in order to maintain the collective dancing and smooth transitions from one area to the next. Musical elements within the various musical structures also facilitate in the collective movement of the dancers. These

[14] Waynos and marineras are genres of popular music and dances in Peru. Waynos are secular music and dance songs originating from the Andes. Marinera is a popular courting dance from the Peruvian coast.

musical structures and musical elements are important in maintaining order, consistency, and continuity during the fiesta.

Musical Elements, Form, and Dance in La Negrería

There are several musical elements that relate to how this music assists participation and continuity in the fiesta. Consistency of the rhythm and key, motivic and phrase repetition, open form and texture, and minimal improvisation all contribute to the participatory nature of the music and fiesta. These musical elements suggest how the Huancaya community values participation and fosters a sense of community belonging by means of musical consistency and moving together.

The rhythm and meter in the music of Huancaya's La Negrería stays consistent throughout the fiesta. At a moderate tempo, all of the tunes of the dance maintain a 2/8, duple meter, groove.[15] While some claim that the rhythm is slightly slower during the patio, the difference, if any, is minute (Trigos 2008, 38). The dancers emphasize the consistent rhythm and meter by metrically shaking a small bell held in their right hand. The dancers' steady foot movements correspond with both the bell and the steady rhythmic pattern of the band's music.

There are few dramatic contrasts in the fiesta. Most of the tunes played in La Negrería of Huancaya, whether pasacalle, patio, or esquina, are performed in the same key of Eb major. While some patios are performed in other keys, such as D minor or Bb major, the various musical structures used in a particular music and dance sequence will

[15] When one of the band members handed me a piece of music with the melody of one of the pasacalle tunes written out, the time signature was in 2/8 instead of 2/4. For this reason, I discuss the music and the transcriptions with a 2/8 time signature.

never change to a different key. Similarly, there is never a modulation within the musical structures. Consistency in key signatures in the patio, esquina, and pasacalle allows the band to move seamlessly into the next musical structure without disrupting the familiarity of sounds and pitches. The familiarity of sounds and pitches is also due to the highly repetitive form of the music.

Most of the musical structures have a repetitive, binary form. Within each tune, there are usually two or three strains, which are repeated several times. Often, the strains are in eight-bar phrases, although some pasacalle phrases may vary with a measure or two. For instance, in the pasacalle transcribed in Figure 18 and Figure 19, the A strain is repeated, followed by the B strain repeated at least once. If during the fiesta the band performs the pasacalle and the dancers have not yet reached their destination, the A and B strains are repeated another time. As observed in Pasacalle 1 in Figure 18, some pasacalles include a C strain, which provides more time and flexibility for the negritos to reach their next location. After the C strain is repeated, the melody returns to the repeated A and B strains until the negritos arrive at their next location. Once the negritos arrive, the band transitions into either a patio or esquina and the dancers adapt their movements accordingly

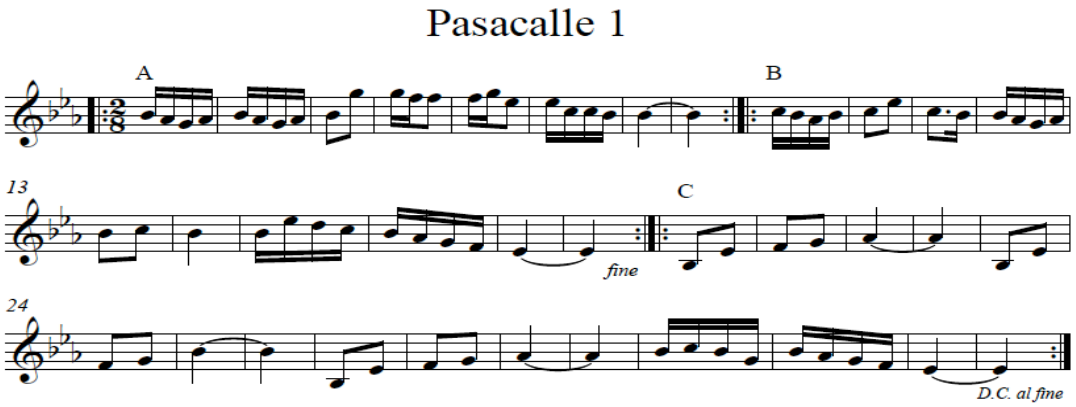

Figure 18: ***Pasacalle 1*** *– This tune is used when the negritos are moving from one location to another.*

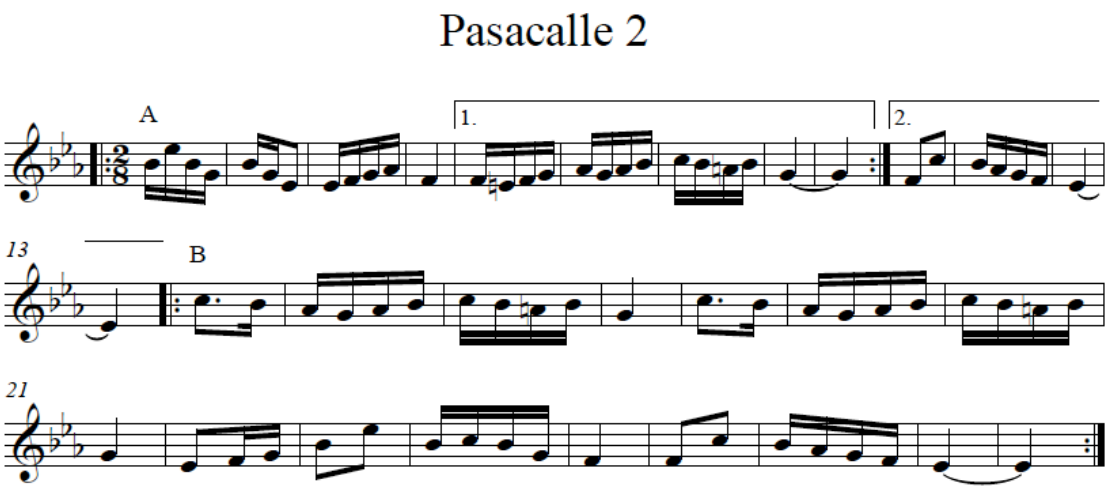

Figure 19: ***Pasacalle 2***

The dance movements used during the pasacalle permits flexibility in musical phrases and form. During the pasacalle, the negrito dancers typically dance or skip ahead in two long lines. The negritos skip or step with the rhythm and tempo of the melody. The movements during the pasacalle contain less of a formalized choreography than the other melodies. Other musical structures, such as the esquina and patio, seem to be stricter in their phrases and form.

Eight-bar strains and binary form seem to be more standard in the patio and esquina due to their corresponding dance movements. The two transcriptions of the esquina variations in Figure 20 demonstrate the common binary form with eight-bar strains. Each strain, A and B, is repeated at least once and the entire melody is repeated as necessary according to the dance movements and readiness of the negritos to move to the next location and musical structure.

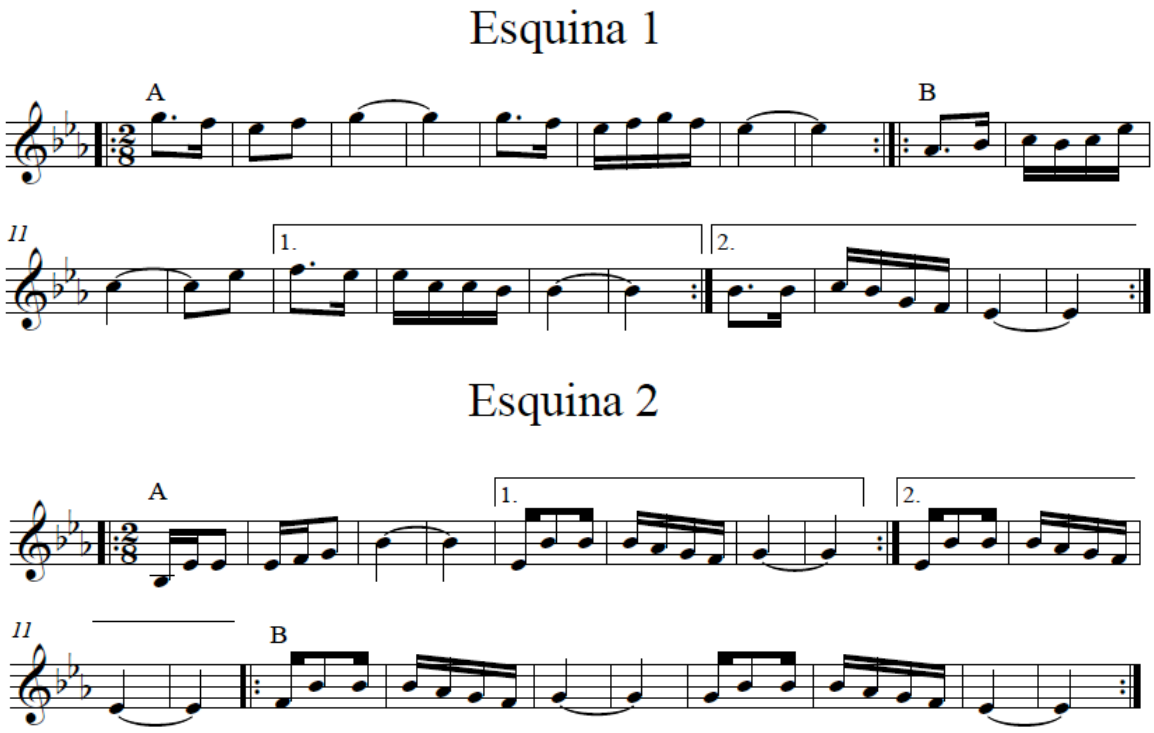

Figure 20: ***Esquina 1 and 2*** *– Esquinas signal the negritos to turn a corner. These esquina transcriptions display the binary form and eight-bar strains that are typical in the music of La Negrería.*

Sometimes during the esquina and patio, the negritos dance moving slightly forward or dance in the same place depending on the size and space of the location. With their left hand on their hip and right hand shaking a bell upwards in the air, they first move their left foot and plant one foot on the ground with each bar or measure. On counts one and four, one foot crosses in front of the other. The dancer resumes a regular standing position briefly on counts two and four as they un-cross their feet. On count three, the left foot takes a step back. Halfway through beat six, instead of stepping, the dancers bend their knees. The dancers conclude their movements on count seven and eight by standing up straight and resting, ready to start the dance pattern again.

This choreography typically happens during the A strain of the patio. As demonstrated below in Figure 21 (Patio 1) during the A strain the dancers usually shift

and move slightly forward after each eight-bar repetition. During the B strain of the patio, the dancers rotate and turn in a circle to their left for eight counts and then to the right for another eight counts. These rotations are each repeated once, and usually followed by the return to the A strain.

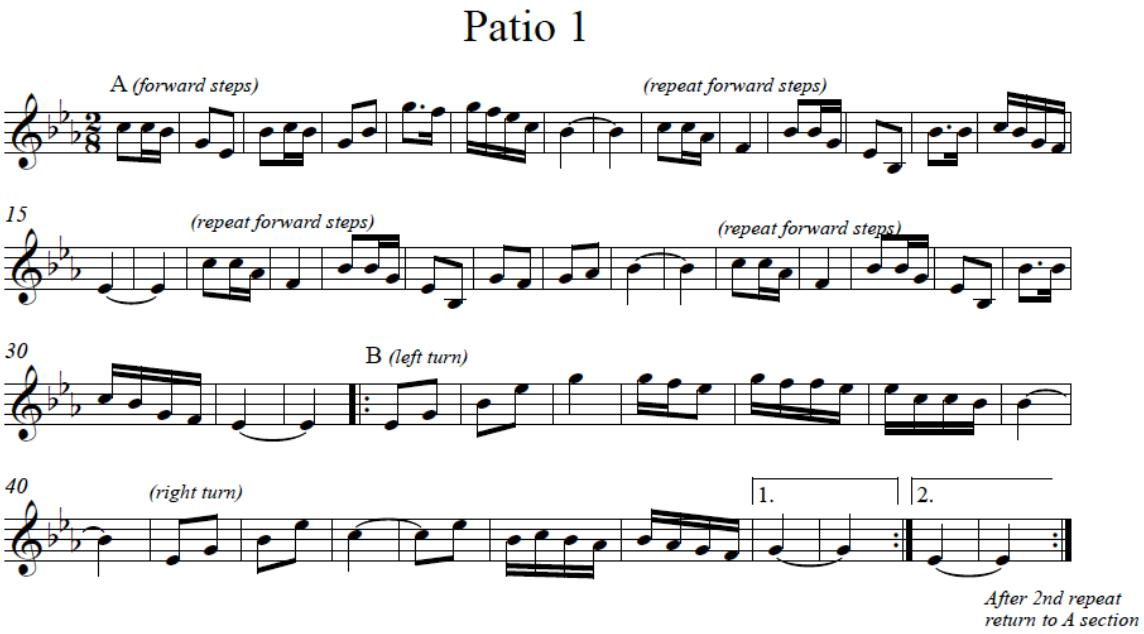

Figure 21: ***Patio 1*** *– This transcription demonstrates the dance patterns typically used during the patio. During the A section, the dancers move in a slightly forward motion for eight bars. During the B section, dancers turn in a circle to the left and then to the right for eight bars.*

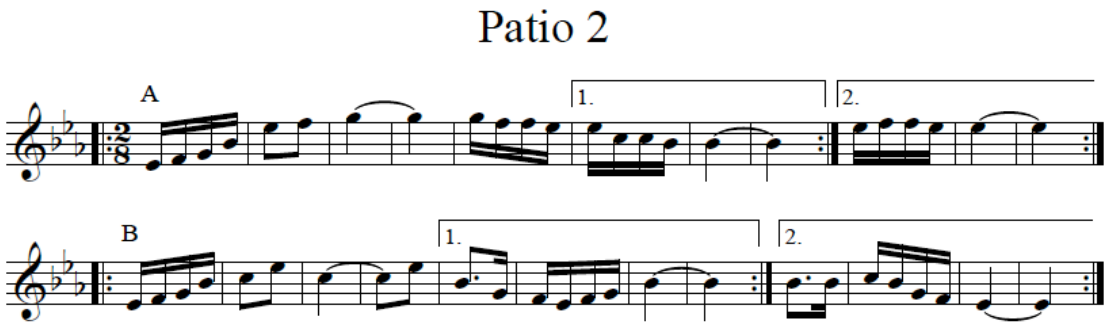

Figure 22: ***Patio 2*** *— Similarly to Patio 1, the negritos dance in facing forward during section A. During section B the negritos first turn in a circle to the left, and then turn in a circle to the right during the second repetition.*

Throughout most of the musical structures, there are similar harmonic patterns and cadences. Chord progressions stay relatively simple and consistent throughout all of the melodic phrases of the tunes. The structures rarely venture beyond progressions of I, IV, and V chords. Many of the melodic strains have open and closed endings (or first and second endings), which allows for strains to be repeated or concluded as necessary. Repetitive strains and consistent harmonic patterns help dancers to rapidly familiarize themselves with the musical structures and corresponding dance movements.

The need to maintain musical consistency and familiarity seems to be why there is little individual virtuosity or improvisation displayed in both the music and dance. Some musicians, such as the trumpeters, may add small ornaments in the highly repetitive melodies performed throughout the day. However, too much ornamentation or too many unfamiliar sounds may order a tindi (see Chapter two or three) for that musician.

The dancers must also dance according to the signals from the mayú and musicians. Throughout the entire day, all the negritos dance and move together in the same style. The synchronized movements assist in forming a collective identity among all the participants. If a negrito fails to stay with the group, the mayú may call a tindi on them. Both the music and the dance emphasize familiarity, sameness, and repetition. Any idea that hints towards individuality is immediately reprimanded by the mayús.

Consistency in the rhythm, meter, key, harmony, and form are essential to the participatory nature of the fiesta. In order to maintain flow throughout the fiesta, smooth transitions and minimal changes to the sounds are necessary. The repetitive strains and binary form provides the dancers flexibility to move between different locations. This also allows negritos to quickly acquaint themselves with any shifts between different

musical structures or dance movements. Any drastic changes to the key, form, or harmony would be inappropriate to the need of the dancers to stay familiar with the music and move consistently together. Most importantly, constant repetitions and consistency of the music and dance movements are critical in creating physical and social synchrony amongst the participants.

Music Before the Brass Band: *"Negrería Antigua Cantada"*

According to Josué Salazar Cotera, before mayordomos hired brass bands in La Negrería fiesta, the community would create the music themselves by singing. Josué, who I happened to meet during the 2011 Huancaya La Negrería fiesta, informed me of his past research on tracing and locating these original songs. His research includes original songs used in La Negrería as well as other annual fiestas and dances in Huancaya, such as *El Curco* and *Coronguina Huancayana* (Salazar Cotera, n.d.).

As claimed by Josué, the original songs of La Negrería were sung in Quechua, a common language spoken throughout the Andes and often associated with highland indigenous identity. The lyrics, which are translated and interpreted from Quechua to Spanish by Josué, refer to the expected offering, such as a *brindis* (toast or speech) or *chicha* (fermented corn beer), that occurs when the negritos are invited to the various houses to dance.

> Original lyrics in Quechua (according to Josué):
> *"Mamallata huillacapahuay, huahuillayqui nilucuyan – cahuitulla siquillampi, ashuapulo pacalaycan – nil"*
>
> Spanish translation/interpretation (according to Josué):
> *"Dile a mi mamá, tu hijo baila negrería debajo del catre, está el porongo de chicha."*

English translation:
Tell my mother that her son dances the Negreria, under the bed is a glass of chicha.

During the fiesta, the negritos visit houses and families that would like to host the fiesta participants for a brief period of time. Often the women or mother of the house will serve the invited negritos some type of alcoholic beverage in exchange for their dancing and presence.

As stated by Josué, the community would sing these songs together in the absence of brass bands or musical accompaniment. Beyond Josué's findings and translation of these lyrics, I have not encountered any other information on performance style or songs used before the incorporation of brass bands in this fiesta. Nonetheless, the act of singing together as a community suggests similar notions of social bonding through musical participation.

Conclusion: Music and Community Belonging

The music and dance of the La Negrería are essential elements of this fiesta. BOSH's connection to the community enhances the pride of the participants and celebratory nature of the fiesta. The musical structure maintains flow and order throughout the fiesta. Musical elements, such as the consistency in rhythm, key, harmony, and form, further enhance flow and add the perception of familiarity to the participants. Musical familiarity allows for participants to establish a sense of community belonging by moving and dancing together. Although little is known about the original songs of La Negrería, the act of singing together as a group could have invoked a similar sense of community belonging.

Musical consistency and repetition throughout the current fiesta allows participants to continuously move and sound together, thus staying synchronized with one another. "Repetition of the rhythmic groove and predictable musical forms are essential to getting and staying in sync with others. Social synchrony is a crucial underpinning of feelings of social comfort, belonging, identity" (Turino 2008b, 44). The simple and repetitive dance steps, which allow a variety of ages and generations to participate together in the same fiesta tradition, further enhance the social synchrony of the community.

Despite individual characteristics, such as age, gender or occupation, that may separate social groups, during La Negrería all participants are held to the same standards of dance participation. The fiesta constrains individual creative freedom to instill a collective Huancaya identity. The flow between the musical structures and dance sequences allow fiesta participants to maintain the collective identity for long periods of time. The musical structures, musical elements, and the participants' pride in Huancaya's own brass band, BOSH, all seem to contribute to the emotional and social bonding experienced in La Negrería fiesta.

Chapter 5: Variations of La Negrería

"You see that little boy dancing in the middle of the blacktop? He must be from Vitis," Josué said.

"Are you sure? But he is dressed the same as everyone else here," I retorted.

"But look at how he is swaying his arms. That is how they dance in Vitis, not Huancaya."

Subtle and obvious distinctions between dance movements, clothing, and other performative features distinguish local communities and fiestas from each other. In Huancaya, the negritos dance keeping their left hand on their waist and shaking the bell in the air with their right hand. This boy, however, was moving both arms to each side with each rhythmic beat. Instead of planting his feet directly on the ground on each count, he kicked his legs out more to the side of his body. This slight difference was why he was identified as being from Vitis and not Huancaya.

This chapter focuses on how the Huancaya community affirms their identify by distinguishing themselves from other communities. While my fieldwork in Peru mostly focused on the town of Huancaya, I also had the opportunity to observe La Negrería fiestas in the town of Tomas and in the capital city of Lima, Peru. Tomas is located about thirty kilometers away from Huancaya, and despite this short distance the community of Tomas celebrates the fiesta in a distinctively different way.

Another town, Huánuco, located further north in the Peruvian Andes, is famous for their elaborate celebration of La Negrería fiesta. Other Andean communities, such as

Huancavelica and Haurochiri, also have distinguishing performative features in their celebrations of La Negrería. While I did not have the opportunity to visit these towns, I have used a "virtual fieldwork" approach and consulted several videos purchased while in Peru to examine other unique celebrations of La Negrería. Information obtained from this approach is limited since the researcher does not control of the selection of material made available by the video maker. Nonetheless, these videos allow the viewer a brief glimpse into how other communities interpret and celebrate La Negrería.

People also celebrate La Negrería in cities, particularly in Huancayo and Lima. Usually regional clubs and migrant communities from their respective towns produce the fiesta. Studies by ethnomusicologists Thomas Turino (1993) and Raul Romero (2001) similarly discuss and compare the urban adaptation of musical traditions of Andean-migrants communities and regional clubs in Lima (see Chapter one). While in Lima, I was able to observe the urban version of La Negrería of Huancaya. Due to the differences between small Andean towns and busy cities, the fiesta transforms within constrained spatial and temporal settings. Although migrant communities alter the fiesta to adapt to new urban environments, the fiesta still maintains a collective identity among fiesta participants.

Whether performed in other local communities or in urban areas, all variations of La Negrería fiesta enable participants to identify and reconnect with their hometown. Other versions of the fiesta display similar values of participation and measures of success. These values help establish each community's unique collective identity. By examining variations of La Negrería fiesta in other local communities and in urban areas,

I observe how performance establishes local identity by differences in dance, music, and costumes with other communities.

Despite different versions of La Negrería throughout the Andes and in urban areas, the fiestas all share similar multiple origins and history. The use of the black mask is a defining feature of the fiesta. Different communities often share other features of the fiesta, such as the presence of brass bands, participatory musical elements, and other costume accessories. Variations in costumes, dance movements, fiesta organization, and musical repertoire are the principal ways in which communities distinguish themselves from each other.

La Negrería of Tomas

In Tomas, the fiesta of La Negrería annually begins on December 25 and usually lasts for two or three days. The community of Tomas organizes the fiesta differently than in Huancaya. When I attended the fiesta in Tomas, there were three different mayordomos. Each mayordomo was in charge of their own dance group, which usually consisted of their family, relatives, and close friends. Each mayordomo hired a band for their dance group. Interestingly, BOSH happened to be among one of the bands hired for the fiesta that year. The fiesta in Tomas is more competitive than in Huancaya. In Tomas, each mayordomo competes as a host and their dance group and band perform against each other.[16]

[16] From my understanding, the mayordomos and bands are not actually declared the winners, but some people may decide that one band (hired by one of the mayordomos) performed better during the evening, thus making them the implicit winner.

Unlike Huancaya, where the negritos wear Western-style business suits, the negritos in Tomas wear *cotóns*. These costumes look like tunics, paired with riding pants and lace-up boots, resembling Spanish and colonial styles. Some of the negritos hold baby dolls, which some say represent the Baby Jesus. While some of the women dress up as negritos, the majority of women participate in the *danza de las pallas* (dance of the pallas). In Huancaya, this dance serves to honor the Virgen Acepciona, which women celebrate annually between January 6 and January 8 (Municipalidad Distrital de Huancaya, 2007). Yet, in Tomas, community members celebrate this occasion in conjunction with the dance of los negritos. In the dance of las pallas, women wear traditional Andean styles with long, layered skirts and braided-hair. They hold *azucenas,* which are tall poles with paper streamers rolling off of them. For each group of male negritos, there seems to be a corresponding female palla group.

Figure 23: ***Danza de las Pallas*** *– The females of Tomas dancing with their azucenas.*

With several different dance groups gathering in the main plaza, they all rotate around the plaza, taking turns in the fiesta spotlight. The musical structure consists of a

slow, repetitive march, known as *la entrada* (see Figure 24). La entrada is in binary form with each strain, A and B, repeated once. The entire entrada repeats until the negritos reach their location. The bass drum accents the melody on the first beat of each measure. The negritos dance this at the beginning of the day as they slowly march towards the plaza in two lines.

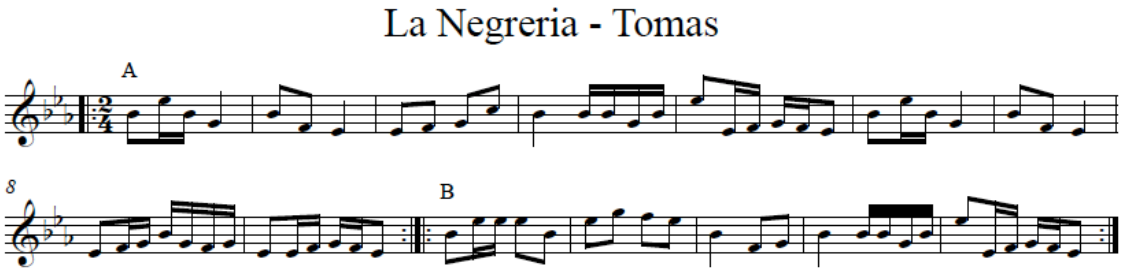

Figure 24: ***La Entrada of Tomas's La Negrería***

As the negritos dance in two lines, their movements alternate between their left and right feet, planting them diagonally forward on each strike of the bass drum. Some people say that this dance movement represents the shackles that the African slaves wore on their feet. Other dance movements during la entrada include the negritos turning around and walking slowly backwards during one of the strains.

Figure 25: ***Los Negritos of Tomas*** *– The negritos dancing la entrada accompanied by a brass band (behind the dancers) early on Christmas morning.*

The *belén,* which is performed in front of the church in the morning, has several parts to it. First, the entire dance group kneels down in two lines as they recreate the birth of the Baby Jesus. The music is slower and more solemn. Then, the music suddenly changes to a very lively, energetic dance as the negritos or pallas celebrate the birth of the Baby Jesus. In pairs of two, dancers jump, loop arms, or hold each other's shoulders as they dance towards the doors of the church. In front of the church doors is a table where the mayor sits with his secretary and a children's doll, which serves to represent the Baby Jesus. Each pair of dancers approaches the table to donate money to the church and then dance back toward the rest of their dance group.

Figure 26: ***The Negritos Performing the Belén in Tomas****—Accompanied by the BOSH, the negritos adorn Baby Jesus outsider of the church*

After lunch, the fiesta quickly turns into a *baile social.* All three bands congregate in the courtyard of the local school. Each band takes turns to play popular tunes and local favorites. The competition between the bands continues throughout the afternoon and into the evening as each band tries to muster as much dance participation as they can.

Similarly to fiesta participants in Huancaya, many people use the fiesta as a reason to return to their community to visit family and friends. The competitive nature of Tomas' Negrería fiesta compels bands to maintain a spirited and energetic sound that encourages dance participation. The dance movements, music, costumes, and fiesta organization are unique to La Negrería fiesta in Tomas. These performative features display a distinct local identity that unites the members of the Tomas community.

La Negrería of Huánuco, Huancavelica, and Haurochiri

Other interpretations of La Negrería as observed through videos and other media sources also demonstrate how each version of La Negrería is unique and distinctive to each Andean community. For instance, the dance of the negritos of Huánuco uses highly elaborate costumes. They use heavily decorated *cotóns* with colorful streamers hanging from the back of their shoulders. On top of their round, rimmed hats, each negrito dancer wears a tall, colorful headpiece that extends up at least three feet high. Dancers hold strings that seem to resemble whips and bells—perhaps alluding to African slavery. In Huánuco, the brass band plays a steady, lively march with highly repetitive phrases and melodies. The negritos dance in lines and pairs with a light, bouncy step or skip in their foot movements (Astuqui, n.d.).

In Huancavelica, fiesta participants also dance with lighter, bouncy foot movements, skipping in lines and pairs. They wear red tunics, white pants, and rimmed hats with colorful feathers. They hold bells in their hands. The brass band plays highly repetitive music in binary form with repeated strains (Beltran 2010). In Huarochiri, the brass band performs music in a slightly slower tempo. Similar to other Negrería variations, the musical strains are highly repetitive. The dance movements are closer to ground as dancers keep their knees bent while moving. Many of the movements emphasize moving from side to side rather than front and back (Pomacaja 2010).

These brief descriptions reflect how the celebration of La Negrería may manifest in different ways, such as the use of different costumes, musical tempos and repertoire, and varying dance movements. Yet, these different fiesta versions still contain similar attributes. Musical repetition to enhance participation, use of brass instruments and march-like repertoire, references to the colonial period in their costumes and accessories, and the use of black masks all connect these versions together. While these features connect all the versions to the same celebration, participants value distinction between communities as a way to differentiate themselves from each other in order to establish their own local identity.

Bringing the Fiesta to the City

In the latter half of the twentieth century, the sounds of Lima changed drastically. During these decades, an influx of Andean migrants increased Lima's population from 600,000 to four million inhabitants (Beall 1982, 63). As they became more aware of the urban benefits, migrants fled to the city for promises of better job opportunities, higher

standards of living, and education. Although pull factors to the city were mostly economical and educational, migrants also left their homes as resources in their villages became more limited and depleted (Beall 1982, 70-71). Due to the close proximity of the central Peruvian Andes to Lima, many migrants came from regions that celebrated La Negrería.

As more Andean migrants moved to urban centers, regional associations and clubs developed to help migrants connect to their rural hometowns and also to help assist migrants adapt to city life. These clubs created contacts and networks among migrants, and helped them to maintain identity with their origins (Jongkind 1974, 472). These new social organizations allowed migrants to stay connected to their Andean heritage, while also encouraging participation in musical performances specific to their region of origin, such as La Negrería fiesta.

The performance of La Negrería in Lima differs drastically from their local community. The fiesta must adapt to new temporal and spatial settings. According to some, the events in Lima or other cities serve as a replica of the original fiesta. The event becomes a presentational performance and folkloric festival as several *invitados* (invited guests) from other regions perform. Instead of all fiesta participants dancing together at once, dancers divide in groups and take turns to demonstrate their dance interpretations. Despite these differences and adaptations of a community's local fiesta to an urban environment, the event still emphasizes community identity and social bonding.

La Negrería of Huancaya in Lima

Since many people have regular work schedules from Monday to Saturday, the event occurs on a Sunday afternoon in January. The replica of La Negrería takes place in a big, cement courtyard or blacktop separated from the city streets by gates and high walls. Everyone who attends pays a small entrance fee of fives soles (less than two dollars), which either goes to the Huancaya's regional club or helps with the rental fee for the space. A mayordomo, who is selected by interest rather than obligation, still sponsors the food and music for the entire event, but his financial burden is divided in half and shared with the region's club or association.

Due to their prestige and fame, BOSH is often hired to provide the musical accompaniment. The band stands at one end of the blacktop and does not move for the entire afternoon. The attendants and guests sit along the perimeter of the blacktop, reserving the middle area for the dancers. In one corner of the blacktop, there is an area where the food is prepared and beer may be purchased. While people wait for the music and dance to begin, they use the time to socialize and catch up with friends and family.

Until the negrito dancers and other *invitados* are ready to dance, the band plays several local favorites and popular tunes, such as *waynos* or *marineras,* where anyone in attendance may dance. When the negritos are ready to dance, they do not dance all together due to restricted space. They dance in different social groups, categorized by gender and age. Men dance in a group together; women dance separately in another group. Children also may dance together. Each group dances for ten to twenty minutes.

Invited by the mayordomo, different groups of invitados come to the event to show off their regional and local dance styles. Sometimes the invitados dance different

versions of La Negrería while other invitados may just perform a dance that most represents their respective community. The costumes vary from traditional layered, Andean skirts to outfits that resemble Spanish colonial elites.

The band performs the same musical repertoire as heard in Huancaya. Yet, due to the spatial configurations of the blacktop, the negritos mostly dance to shortened *pasacalle* and *patio* tunes. The band and dancers sometimes omit *esquina* songs entirely, which signals dancers to turn a corner. If they do include esquina songs, then the negritos adapt their movements by dancing in a circular formation. Other fiesta events, such as the *belén* list that serves as a humorous repentance in Huancaya (see Chapter two), are also omitted from the urban festival due to the lack of time. Despite several modifications made to the fiesta, members who identify with the Huancaya community still maintain similar values of organization and attendance.

Figure 27: ***The Women Negritos of Huancaya-Lima*** *– Unlike in Huancaya, during La Negrería replica performed in Lima, the negritos dance in separate groups based on age and gender due to restricted space.*

Figure 28: ***The Little Negritos*** *– Families from Huancaya that reside in Lima encourage their children to participate in La Negrería of Huancaya in Lima.*

During my time observing the fiesta of La Negrería of Huancaya in Lima, several attendees complained about the disorganization of the event. While I arrived promptly at noon, the majority of the people did not arrive until 3:00pm. The event program started late and did not finish until late in the evening. The hosts ran out of food too early. Furthermore, there were not enough seats for everyone who attended to rest between dances. This is all contrary to the values of a successful fiesta in Huancaya and Lima.

As stated in Chapter three, a successful fiesta depends on maximum dance participation and attendance, a certain level of coordination and quality in the dance of the negritos, minimum chaos, good organization and leadership, and an abundance of food. According to Daniel Salazar, he was not pleased with this particular event because "the festival started too late, it was not well-organized, and there were not enough people dancing" (Salazar R. 2011). Despite several fundamental differences between La

Negrería's Huancaya fiesta and the folkloric festival in Lima, participants still value similar ideas of fiesta success.

With several different dance groups and invitados, the fiesta is transformed from a more participatory experience in Huancaya to a presentational experience in Lima. Differences in the urban spatial and temporal environment further changes the event from a two-day event of continuous dance participation to an afternoon of several dance groups taking turns. Despite several changes from the original fiesta, the Lima replica of Huancaya's La Negrería still uses the same performative features of costumes, dance movements, and music. People also share fiesta values and standards of attendance and organization similar to those that occur in Huancaya. As a reminder of their heritage and identity, the replica fiesta still serves to unite family and friends who identify as *Huancayano* together.

Conclusion: Identity by Distinction

The fiesta of La Negrería establishes community identity and values in several ways. Every Andean community develops distinct and localized performance methods of the same fiesta. Performance features, such as costumes, dance movements, and music, in each fiesta creates a unique collective identity, which allow communities to distinguish themselves from each other. Community identity and values are also reflected in how the fiesta adapted in urban areas.

La Negrería tradition performed in both the originating community and their urban regional club demonstrates how community members uphold the same values of success and participation. In both the replica and the original fiesta, the majority of the

musical structures and distinctive dance movements are similar, despite several modifications in style and performance practice. In both urban and other highland community versions of La Negrería, music and dance are essential in maintaining a distinct identity that unites and bonds community members together.

Chapter 6: La Negrería and Social Bonding

La Negrería of Huancaya demonstrates how fiesta participation establishes social bonds. These social bonds form in various ways with many simultaneous layers of meaning. Through the multiple origins of the fiesta, participants relate to one another by remembering and re-enacting a historical past alluding to Spanish colonialism and oppression. The fiesta contains several Catholic references and elements, which allows participants to connect spiritually to each other.

Since there is no one particular meaning or origin that is considered true or more accurate, participants simultaneously celebrate the emancipation of African slavery and colonial rule as well as the spiritual power of Jesus Christ and repentance of their sins. This fiesta is a celebration of both human rights and the belief that our lives must have meaning beyond our individual human experiences. The fiesta is an attempt to shift participants from their individual everyday lives and experiences to the realization of their important social and collective identities.

As many fiesta participants return to Huancaya to contribute and celebrate La Negrería, they strengthen their familial and friend relationships. The fiesta serves as time to reunite with one another. The fiesta invokes a sense of community obligation for the hosting mayordomo and also their family and friends to support and assist in establishing the prestige of this position. The position of the mayordomo is important in ensuring that all fiesta participants will eat, drink, socialize, and most importantly, dance together. The mayordomo fiesta position tests their relationships with friends, family, and the community by their commitment to provide the essential features of the fiesta, such as food, drinks, and music. Members of the community evaluate their accomplishments by

the amount of material and monetary reciprocity the mayordomo receives during the fiesta.

Other fiesta leadership positions include the mayús and alcalde catalán, which provide order and direction during the event to make sure all participants concur with dress and behavioral standards. The playful tindi punishment (the act of constraining one by their arms and legs to gently whip them while being lightheartedly ridiculed by fiesta participants) exists to reprimand any mischievous conduct or self-proclaimed comedians who go against the conformist standards of the fiesta. Although the fiesta encourages a collective identity of sameness and togetherness over any individualism, the various leadership positions also provide a rotating chance to demonstrate one's dedication and commitment to the members of the Huancaya community.

The recent change of including women in La Negrería further demonstrates the strong sense of dedication and commitment members have toward the Huancaya community. Women protested their exclusion from the fiesta to reaffirm their membership and receive acknowledgment of their place in the community. The fiesta occasion serves as a means to challenge and negotiate social processes. Furthermore, the women's desire to actively engage in community activities and fiestas reveals the importance placed on these occasions in the first place.

The many layers of social expressions expose the importance of festive occasions; however, it is the musical activity that binds these meanings together. The music and dance combines the multiple layers and meanings into a single entity and fiesta narrative. The act of dancing in a unified manner for the duration of the fiesta establishes a sense of

moving together and belonging together. The non-complex and repetitive dance steps allows for all ages and all levels of dancers to participate together.

The musical structures played throughout the fiesta also allow for participants to establish a sense of musical familiarity due to the repetitive nature of the form, key, and harmony. These musical structures and elements provide smooth transitions and musical continuity as participants dance from one location to another around the town of Huancaya. Highly repetitive musical phrases provide a sense of familiarity among the negrito dancers. This musical consistency not only in the musical phrases but also in the key, rhythm, and harmony assists dancers to maintain synchronized dance movements with one another. Throughout the entire fiesta, participants constantly and rhythmically move together as one group.

The musical repertoire and dance choreography of La Negrería are also unique to Huancaya. Other neighboring towns, such as Tomas, celebrate this fiesta in a distinctly different manner with contrasting musical sounds and dance movements. Through distinctive performative and musical traits within each community, the fiesta promotes an idea of belonging to a particular social group and community. This idea is further enhanced by the pride invoked by their community-born band, BOSH.

The band, Banda Orquestra Social Huancaya or BOSH, is distinct to Huancaya community. The majority of the band members identify as *Huancayano* (someone from Huancaya) and during my fieldwork research between December 2010 and January 2011, this band was hired at all four La Negrería fiesta functions I attended. These fiestas were both in the central Andes and in the city of Lima. BOSH has become a popular band to hire throughout the department of Lima, Yauyos region, and throughout other regions

where brass bands are the desired choice for musical accompaniment. Serving as an emblem of Huancaya identity and culture, BOSH's popularity and fame bestows a sense of cultural pride among community members. Yet, even before the band's existence, the community of Huancaya bonded socially and musically by collective singing.

Without music and dance, this event would not be the meaningful, celebratory occasion it is for many of the fiesta participants. "Music, dance, festivals, and other public expressive cultural practices are a primary way that people articulate the collective identities that are fundamental to forming and sustaining social groups…" (Turino 2008b, 2). The La Negrería fiesta promotes a collective identity through performative elements, such as music, dance, costumes, and behavior. This collective identity allows for fiesta participants in Huancaya to socially bond together.

In December and January, La Negrería fiesta occurs throughout the rural and urban communities in central Peru. Although my time in the field was limited, this understudied fiesta tradition reveals the importance of musical participation and social life. La Negrería fiesta demonstrates how musical and cultural performance allows for complex social structures and histories to be united into a unique and emotional artistic expression.

Research on fiestas and festivals, such as La Negrería, is valuable to our understanding of the relationship between musical activity and social experiences. This research is also valuable as it suggests the various ways in which people connect and relate to one another. Yet, this thesis only begins to touch on these ideas. More research on this particular tradition as well as other case studies would further contribute to understanding how musical activity relates to our social experiences.

By applying an ethnomusicological approach to La Negrería fiesta, this thesis contributes to our understanding of music as an emotional and physical agent of social expression. It adds to our knowledge of how musical performance serves to both establish and negotiate identities. It provides insight on how we display our human desire to belong and participate in society. Through music, we express our understanding and place in this world.

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