

The Danced Spirituality of African Descendants in Peru

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Abstract

This paper investigates the danced spirituality of Afro-Peruvians who were not able to maintain an African religious system, but developed a type of Afro-Catholicism. An expression of this is the religious celebrations during the Christmas season within the town of El Carmen in Chincha, Peru, specifically focusing on the dance *Atajo de Negritos* (as interpreted by the Ballumbrosio family). These celebratory festivities have been adapted from Catholicism by the black population of El Carmen using music and dance as an offering to two Catholic figures: the *Virgen del Carmen* (Virgin of El Carmen, the town's patron saint) and *El Niño Jesus* (Baby Jesus – the image of Jesus Christ as a newborn).

Introduction

During ceremonies within the major African-derived religions of the Americas (e.g., *Vodou*, *Candomblé*, and *Santería*), dance is always present. Enslaved Africans in countries such as Haiti, Brazil, and Cuba, were able to maintain their religious practices in the New World by syncretizing or fusing elements of their African religions with the Catholic religion that was imposed upon them. They continued worshipping African deities by disguising them as Catholic saints. As a Peruvian and a practitioner of Afro-Peruvian dance forms outside of Peru, I have been asking myself what the spiritual forms of expression within Afro-Peruvian dance are. Living in the San Francisco Bay Area — a diverse area with cultural elements from various parts of the world — I have been exposed to traditional dance forms of Africa and its diaspora, where the music, dance, and myths are intertwined and African religions, vividly present, are the

seam that holds these together. This has provoked me to try to uncover those forms in my own diasporic tradition.

To understand this, this paper investigates the danced spirituality of Afro-Peruvians who were not able to maintain an African religious system but developed a type of Afro-Catholicism. An expression of this is the religious celebrations during the Christmas season within the town of El Carmen in Chincha, Peru, specifically focusing on the dance, *Atajo de Negritos* (as interpreted by the Ballumbrosio family whom I discuss later). These celebratory festivities have been adapted from Catholicism by the black¹ population of El Carmen using music and dance as an offering to two Catholic figures: the Virgen del Carmen (Virgin of El Carmen, the town's patron saint) and El Niño Jesus (Baby Jesus — the image of Jesus Christ as a newborn).

Atajo de Negritos is an annual Christmas celebration also known as *Hatajo de Negritos*, *Danza de Negritos*, *Navidad Negra*, or Black Christmas. Ethnomusicologist William Tompkins (1982) describes it:

...[I]n the department of Ica, the Christmas season brings with it the *Atajo de Negritos*, a group of male adolescents dressed in the likeness of the Three Wise Men, who sing and dance to the accompaniment of a violin in praise of Baby Jesus in front of the nativity scenes of various neighborhood homes. Even though mestizos and blacks alike interpret the dances, blacks from the areas of Ica, which are more densely populated by Afro-Peruvians, consider the dances and songs as part of their own musical heritage, and in their performance, the groups present not only the Wise Men and the shepherds, but the enslaved Africans who were forced to work in the fields as well (p. 158).^{2&3}

As musicologist Chalena Vasquez (1982) reminds us, this dance exists in various towns of the Coast and Andean regions of Peru, but El Carmen is the only town where its members are of African descent.

History and Catholicism

Peru was the largest empire in pre-Columbian America, extending from what is now Panama to Chile. According to historian Frederick P. Bowser (1974), Peru's riches in mineral resources — gold and silver during its earlier years — attracted Spanish conquistadores who fled other Spanish settlements in search of these riches, bringing along with them enslaved Africans. Concerned about native contact with African religions, the Crown insisted that Africans who were bound for America had to meet

one of two criteria: they had to be born either in Spain or Portugal or had to have lived in these countries and been baptized (Bowser, 1974: 4).

According to anthropologist and sociologist Denys Cuche (1977), from the beginning of slavery, Africans experienced great amounts of pressure in matters of religion. Manuel Fuentes reported that Africans were baptized upon their arrival: "When blacks arrived in Lima and were taken from the depot, the first thing the masters did was render them Catholic by baptizing them" (as cited in Cuche, 1977: 78).

Lima was the capital of the Spanish Viceroyalty during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Spanish first settled in Downtown Lima, building cities and churches that are still active and functioning today. A walk through downtown permits an encounter with massive Baroque style churches, cathedrals, and convents: La Catedral de Lima, Iglesia de la Virgen del Rosario, Iglesia de San Francisco, Convento de Santo Domingo, Iglesia de Santa Rosa, Iglesia de Las Nazarenas, and more, all within a five block radius.

My first visit to Peru to investigate Afro-Peruvian dance heritage took place in August of 2012. As I walked through downtown Lima with Dr. Augusto Zavala (the director of the National Afro-Peruvian Museum in Lima) and two dancers from the States, we passed Iglesia de San Francisco, where Dr. Zavala pointed at the church and informed us that there was historical evidence that enslaved Africans used to be sold on that church's grounds (Personal communication, August 22, 2012).

According to Bowser (1974), between 1560-1650 the records of the ethnic origins of Peruvian *bozales* — enslaved people that came directly from Africa — even though at 32 per cent of the overall figure, shows Angola to have supplied the most number of enslaved Africans originating from any one country. During the 1570s the Portuguese began to actively colonize Angola because of its large population, which appeared as if the country could supply an unlimited number of enslaved Africans, consequently the focus of the slave trade shifted to Angola or Central Africa (Bowser, 1974: 38). These Central Africans were introduced to Christianity in the early sixteenth century before their crossing to Spanish America, due to Portuguese colonization and Catholic conversion of Congo/Angolans on the continent. According to anthropologist Yvonne Daniel (2011), this may be one of the reasons why African religions may not have survived in certain sites of the Diaspora:

From the 15th century forward, Christianity was the religious orientation of the Congo Kingdom, which had the widest political influence also. Despite the varied forms of 16th and 17th century African Christianity, the Congo/Angola region had enduring contact with European Christianity

and this might account for the absence of African tradition-based religions among Central African descendants. (pp. 136, 141, 143, 145-146).⁴

The image of Caspar, one of the three Wise Men, (also known as Three Kings or The Magi) in the Catholic faith, has been depicted as a black man since the twelfth century. According to socio-cultural anthropologist Isidoro Moreno (1999), the image of the Black Magi was promoted and popularized by the Christian faith, especially after the increase of enslaved Africans on the European continent.⁵ Each of the Magi was given different, but related characteristics: old, middle-aged, or young; and European, Asian, or African, symbolizing that everyone or every cultural group could adore the same God. The image of the Black Magi facilitated the integration of Africans into the Christian faith. According to Bowser (1974), the black man's historical connections with Christianity date back to the religious understandings of this era.

Field Experiences: El Carmen, Chincha

El Carmen is a four-hour bus ride south of Lima and is located in the province of Chincha, in the Department of Ica.⁶ It is one of the small towns in Chincha that sprouted around the haciendas after the abolition of slavery, due to landowner needs to house their former slaves (Vasquez, 1982). Chincha is popularly known as the cradle of Afro-Peruvian culture and El Carmen is at the center of this belief. Artists and scholars have been going to El Carmen in search of the roots of Afro-Peru for over 40 years. They have visited Amador Ballumbrosio in his home, where he welcomed foreign and national tourists and gave them a taste of Afro-Peruvian culture through impromptu performances.⁷ Amador has now passed on, but it appears that his spirit and his openness in welcoming people into his home are still around. Upon arriving at the Ballumbrosio's house in August of 2012, my two friends and I were joyfully greeted by two toddlers. One of them, seeing us standing, sat on the couch and patting his hand on the cushion repeated "sientate, sientate (sit down, sit down)." The house was colourful in many ways: people hanging out in the living room watching TV, children running around, Lucia, my first hostess in El Carmen, telling stories, and the walls — brightly painted in the colours of yellow, terra cotta and blue — full of pictures that narrated the family's history.

El Carmen is centered on the Plaza de Armas or town square with the Our Lady of El Carmen Church — founded in 1761 according to the date on the façade — across from it. The citizens of El Carmen are faithful devotees of La Virgen del Carmen. She is celebrated on two main

occasions: on her birthday in the month of July, and in December during the *fiestas patronales* (patron saint's festivities), when the *Atajo de Negritos* takes place.

One of the organizations very active in the communal and religious activities of the town is the *Cofradía Virgen del Carmen* (Virgin of El Carmen Brotherhood), founded in 1933. Its purpose is to propagate the faith through the organization of festivities that praise La Virgen (Anonymous *cofradía* member, personal communication, December 29, 2012).

On December 27, 2012, during my second trip to El Carmen, the Virgin was taken from the church in a procession through the town, which began right after mass at eight o'clock at night and did not end until eleven o'clock the next morning. I went to bed early wanting to be sure to greet La Virgen del Carmen the next morning. I had stayed with one of the Ballumbrosio sisters whose house was just a block up from the family house. The Virgin was expected to reach their home around five a.m. The sound of the processional band — with loud brass instruments approaching — in the block behind woke me the next morning, although it took two more hours before the Virgin actually arrived at our block. At the house, we waited for her with drums — *congas*, *cajon*, *bata* — guitar, and dance.

Black *cofradías* originated in Spain as a form of control over baptized and enslaved Africans and as a way to integrate them into church activities. Africans were grouped in *cofradías* under a patron saint; through these groups they were permitted to gather on Sundays and on feast days and participate in religious processions and festivities (Moreno, 1999). According to Cuche (1977), the indoctrination of enslaved Africans in Peru, a success on the surface, was in reality, a failure. Their participation in the Catholic faith was either superficial or a reinterpretation. "Blacks, in effect, reinterpreted the Catholic cult to fit their own way of believing in order to express their unique religiosity" (Cuche, 1977, p.81).

Spanish dances, such as those of Moors and Christians, Inga, and *Son de los Diablos* (Song of the Devils), were danced during the religious processions, and were imposed by the Spanish to reinforce their 'superiority' (Cuche, 1977). The Moors and Christians dances relate the story of the fight between the two groups and the victory of Christians over Moors. The Inga dance displays an attempt by the Spanish to familiarize blacks with the Nativity by having them dance around a cradle. In *Son de los Diablos*, blacks were masked as devils, representing evil, and paraded during the Catholic Corpus Christi celebrations. Since then, blacks have reinterpreted these dances and claimed them as part of their cultural fabric, performing, teaching, and reconstructing them.

Atajo de Negritos

From a young age, Amador Ballumbrosio participated in the *Atajo* tradition of El Carmen. He was a member of Doña Margarita's *Atajo* from age five, along with Don Jose Lurita, who at that time was the only violinist of El Carmen, and would — in his later years — teach Amador to play the violin. Members of the *Atajos* (also known as *negritos*) often participate because they have made a promise or commitment to Baby Jesus. They ask Baby Jesus for something they need or want in their lives and in return the *negritos* promise to dance for him in the *Atajos* for a specified period of time or a lifetime (Lucia Ballumbrosio, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

When Amador was five or six years old, he almost drowned in a river. His parents took him to the church, which was the only existing structure in El Carmen at the time, and asked the Virgen del Carmen to save their child. In exchange, they promised that their child, Amador, would make a lifetime commitment to dance for Baby Jesus. Amador recovered and kept the promise, eventually teaching his children to dance and play the violin in order to continue the tradition. He also formed a family *Atajo* now called *Atajo de Negritos* Amador Ballumbrosio (Camilo Ballumbrosio, personal communication, December 29, 2012).

The word “atajo” in the Spanish online dictionary, *Word Reference*, is defined as “a shortcut;” and “hatajo” as “a group or herd.” Camilo Ballumbrosio's definition of *Atajo* is a congregation of people gathered to perform a specific act. As previously stated, the *Atajo de Negritos* is a group of dancers who dance and sing during Christmas time in the streets, neighborhood homes, in front of nativity scenes, and/or at church. They dance to the sound of a violin, inserting a percussive element of syncopated rhythms with their *zapateo* (footwork). They sing nativity songs or songs in reference to times of slavery and are directed by one or more *caporales* (foreman). Their repertoire consists of a series of twenty-four dances and songs.

The personnel structure of the *Atajos* consists of the violinist who is knowledgeable of both the dance and musical aspect of *Atajos* performance; the *caporales* who lead the singing and the dancing; and the dancers in the group known as *negritos*. According to Camilo, the *caporales* maintain order during the dances; they make sure everyone is in a line; that members are singing; that the dancing is in rhythm; and that the *negritos* are behaving properly. The *caporal* who is leading at the moment sings the first few lyrics — in this way alerting the rest of the group which song they are singing next — the rest of the *negritos* join in unison.

The spatial formation of the *Atajo* is two parallel lines that face each other, with the *caporales* and violinist either at the center (in the space between the two lines), or lined up perpendicular in front of the two lines. The *Atajo* stays in this formation for the most part, but in a few of the dances the two lines travel forward and around, each making an elongated oval-shape in space until returning to their starting positions.

The footwork pattern differs for each song but the movement of the feet switch from flat, to ball, to heel, similar to the movements of the hands when a drum is played. There are brushes in with the ball of the feet, strikes out with the heel, pauses, and stomps using the whole foot. The torso is either straight, slightly tilted forward, or moves from side to side depending on the weight shifts that occur due to the movement of the feet. Because of the cadence of the steps, there is a slight bounce that occurs through the body. While the *Atajo* sings, every beat is marked by the stomping of the feet, and by their hand bells. The more complex footwork is done between verses and is repeated in unison until the *caporal* shouts: "Uno! (One!)," which signals the end of the current section.

The origin of the *Atajo de Negritos* dates back to times of colonization as part of the Spanish continued attempt to Christianize Africans. According to Moreno (1999), during the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Seville, Spain, blacks were dressed as devils and danced during Corpus Christi festivities representing "disorder and the sin that the sacraments were established to redeem" (p. 8). Some of the names given to those groups of dancers were: "Negros", "Reyes Negros", "Negros de Guinea". Perhaps this is the origin of the name *Atajo de Negritos*. The festivities were replicated in Peru in a similar fashion with blacks dressed as devils dancing behind the Corpus Christi procession (Cuche, 1977). These accounts also coincide with Camilo Ballumbrosio's recollection of the origins of the *Atajos*: "Viene de comparsas de bailarines esclavos (it comes from masquerades of enslaved dancers)", and Cuche's description of a dance whose original purpose was to familiarize blacks with Nativity folklore and have them dance around a cradle. "Progressively, these Christmas dances entered the exclusive domain of the blacks, to the extent that they were given the nickname 'paseo de negritos'" (Cuche, 1977: 82). Cuche goes on to mention what coincides with Vasquez's (1982) research regarding the suite of El Carmen's *Danza de negritos*; there are 20 dances. "The dance of the 'negritos' is, in effect, a series of twenty-four songs and dances, which have borrowed their steps and rhythms from African reminiscences" (Cuche, 1977: 82-83). Cuche also makes mention of the counterpoint (a type of Zapateo competition) that can be witnessed on the 27th of December or 6th of January during the *Atajo de Negritos* celebrations. "Their African character is equally witnessed in the 'dare' that is

launched from the various groups of dancers who compete with a facile and creative imagination" (Cuche, 1977: 83).

In order to be initiated into the *Atajos*, one must go through a process similar to a Catholic baptism. For the Ballumbrosios, the process of initiation occurs on the 22nd of December. In 2012, the 'priest' for the initiation ceremony was Cesar 'Pudy' Ballumbrosio, first violinist of the group (the title of priest is given to the leader of the *Atajo*, but he is not a Catholic priest). The baptism took place in the Ballumbrosio family home. Before it began, the *negritos* danced. Approximately thirty participants crowded the living room, lining up on the perimeter. The center space was occupied by the *caporales*, the violinist, and the younger members of the group. Hand bells and *zapateo* marked the beat, the room vibrated with excitement as the group began to sing "demos infinita gracias, a la dueña de la casa (let's give infinite thanks to the lady owner of the house)." After rehearsing for two months the group anticipated its first appearance of the season in two days.

During the baptism, the dancer attends the ceremony with his/her godmother. They bring two white handkerchiefs for the dancer to wear on his head with the ends making the form of a cross — one is placed vertical, the other horizontal. Prior to the ceremony, the godmother has purchased for the initiate — as Lucia described it — "el mejor perfume de olor a rosas (the best perfume with smell of roses)", which they spray on the initiate. The 'priest' asks the godmother for the dancer's original name and proceeds to ask what name she would like to give him or her, which for the *Atajos*, must be the name of a flower. The initiate is given a spoonful of salt as purification. The way Lucia explained the salt is that food has a natural flavoring, but salt gives it an essential flavor restoring all of one's interior, opening one up to a new beginning. The dancers then make a commitment to devote themselves: "*Yo te ofresco mis pies para que tu niño Jesus dispongas de ellos; y cuando tu dispongas de mi vida yo pueda rendirte homenaje con ellos, viniendote a zapatear cada fiesta de pascua.* [I offer you my feet for your use, Baby Jesus; and when you have finished arranging my life, I may be able to pay you homage with them by coming to tap dance for you every Christmas season]" (Lucia Ballumbrosio, personal communication, August 16, 2012). To close the baptism, the dancers are sprinkled with water (representing holy water) as the words "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit" are recited.

Continuing the tradition of the *Atajo* is very important for the people of El Carmen as evidenced by the 'priest' telling the youth "...so your kids will dance too". The ceremony not only initiates the *negritos* into the *Atajos*, but serves a purpose of reaffirming the spiritual function of the dance and infusing the dancers with these same beliefs. Camilo also suggests

this when he explained the enthusiasm and motivation that are transmitted through the baptism ceremony, stating that the ritual reminds initiates that Christmas is right around the corner, and that dancing to the Virgin and Baby Jesus fills the spirit (Camilo Ballumbrosio, personal communication, December 29, 2012).

On the 24th of December in the Ballumbrosio house, as the nativity scene was set up, the *negritos* started to arrive. They were first contained in one area of the living room, but as more gathered they took up the whole space. By 7 o'clock, they were prepared to make their first appearance of the year.

The dancers wore lime green shirts with the image of Amador Ballumbrosio, in the front, and with "Atajo de Negritos Amador Ballumbrosio" written on the back. They wore bandas or sashes of various colors — red, turquoise, lime green, yellow, pink, purple — across their chests (**Photograph 1**). They were decorated with sequins, star-shaped mirrors, bells, fake dollar bills, small hats, and dolls. The *negritos* also carried small bells and decorated whips both of which, they held in their hands and shook while dancing to mark the beat of the song. The members of the *Atajo de Negritos* Amador Ballumbrosio ranged in age from very young ones, around two years of age, to grown adults with the majority being of adolescent age. Out of thirty members in the group, three were girls. Only recently have girls begun to dance in the *Atajos*. According to Camilo Ballumbrosio (*Caporal* of the *Atajo*), his father, Amador, began to dance at age five in 1938. During Amador's adolescence in the 40's and 50's, there were girls that danced in the *Atajos* during the *fiestas patronales*. There were not many, but there were a few, and then the girls' presence disappeared. Camilo remembers that in 2000, there were no girls dancing in the *Atajos*, but by 2004 or 2005, girls were reintroduced to the practice because of Lucia's initiative. Lucia wanted to dance in the *Atajos* and not in the *pallitas* or *Zapateo* groups that were reserved for women only.⁸ After the brothers had a meeting to discuss the issue that year, around five women entered the group (Camilo Ballumbrosio, personal communication, December 29, 2012).



Photograph 1: Up close view of a *banda* from the *Atajo de Negritos*
Amador Ballumbrosio - Photograph by author.

Back at the house, the dancers were waiting for the violinist to arrive. When he arrived, they all assembled outside the house in two parallel lines, the spatial formation the *Atajos* use for dance and for travel. When all were aligned, the violin began to play, hand bells marked the beat, and the singing began: "*Vamos a ver al verdadero que en el portal a nacido...* (Let's go see the genuine one that has been born in the portal...)." We were off (walking for now), the *Atajos*, me, and the community participants.

As the *Atajo* turned the corner, a luminous Virgin waited for them at the end of the street. It was the 'peoncita' (a small image of La Virgen del Carmen, she is the patroness of farm laborers) who had returned from her year-long journey and was received at the edge of the town. The *Atajos* took their places at her feet and began serenading her — *Zapateo*, bells, violin, and song. Other groups also came to welcome the 'peoncita' back into town: such as the *pallitas*, another *Atajo*, a church group, and a band of musicians. After each group had rendered their welcome, we walked to church alongside the 'peoncita'; Christmas Eve Mass was to take place

at nine o'clock. Outside the church, the different *Atajo* groups danced and sang before Mass began.

Once midnight arrived, marking the 25th of December, the *Atajos* demonstrated the most exuberance within the duration of the fiestas *patronales*. After greeting each other with a 'Merry Christmas' in front of the church, they lined up within their usual formation and joyfully began to sing in powerful voices. The community members that had accompanied them at the start of their route and I followed them. Not sure where we were going, I was struck by their joy. As we got closer to their house, their walk turned into a run. They were rushing home to sing in front of the altar to the King that had just been born.

On December 25th in the evening, the *Atajos* sang inside the church. On the 26th the youth of the *Atajo de Negritos Amador Ballumbrosio* visited a neighbouring hamlet, Torre Molino. There they danced in the town's chapel and in neighbourhood homes. The focus was on the youth that day. Children around seven to ten years old replicated an adult procession carrying an image of a young Jesus mounted on a palanquin around town (photograph 2). Once they were finished at Torre Molino, the young members of *Atajo de Negritos Amador Ballumbrosio* visited homes in their own town, El Carmen.

On the 27th the plaza was a sight to see – I had not seen it this full since I arrived (photograph 3). There were local people, out-of-towners, and umbrellas to block the sun that hovered above the crowd. *Atajos* had come from various parts of Chinchá; there was: *Atajo Familia Huaman*, *Atajo de Negritos Familia Torres Napa*, *Atajo Familia Fajardo*, *Atajo de Negritos de Julia Huaman*, and *Atajo de Negritos Amador Ballumbrosio*. After the noon Mass in honour of La Virgen del Carmen, the *Atajos* danced in the plaza and displayed their abilities, some engaging in the counterpoint of competitive *Zapateo* that Cucho (1977) described. The *Atajos* then rested until January 6th, Three Kings Day, when they went as usual to Grocio Prado in Chinchá to celebrate the town's patroness saint, Melchorita. According to Moreno (1999), blacks in Spain and Spanish America have held their main festival of the year on this day for centuries (p. 8). As I related earlier, the tradition is derived from the identification and promotion of blacks into the Catholic faith through the image of Melchior, Gaspar, or Balthazar — the Black Magi.



Photograph 2: Children in Torre Molino taking the image of a young Jesus in a procession around town. Photograph by author.



Photograph 3: Atajo de Negritos Amador Ballumbrosio on the 27th of December. Photograph by author.

On this day, *Atajos* from Chinchá, Ica, and Pisco (also located in the Department of Ica) gather to dance. The celebrations go on all day, from nine in the morning until one in the morning the following day when, for the *Atajo de Negritos Amador Ballumbrosio*, they return to El Carmen and proceed to burn their sashes and the altar.

Conclusion

Although African descendants in Peru were not able to duplicate an African religious system as descendants in other parts of the diaspora, due to factors such as the fewer number of enslaved Africans in Peru as compared with Haiti, Cuba, or Brazil; the fewer number of *bozales* who could potentially add to the remembrances of African religions in comparison to the number of enslaved coming from colonized Spanish America; and the overwhelming pressure by the dominant culture to integrate blacks into the Catholic religion, as Cuche (1977) relates in his study “La Mort des dieux africains et les religions noires au Pérou/ Death of African Gods and Black Religions in Peru,” African descendants in Peru did not simply accept the Christian form they were given. They reevaluated Christian practices and transformed the religion according to their own values. As Cuche states also, “It is rather a question of a syncretism of black beliefs and European rites rather than a syncretism of two religious and coherent belief systems” (Cuche, 1977: 89).

By examining the traditions derived from reinterpretation and acculturation, such as the dance *Atajo de Negritos*, we can see how the dances that enslaved Africans were coerced to perform during religious processions, were transformed by them and made part of the cultural fabric of Afro-Peruvians. These practices have persisted and developed over centuries as a form of resistance against Christianization during the colonial period. Just as Africans across the diaspora relied heavily on danced spirituality, so did Afro-Peruvians who used and still use the music and dance expressed in *Atajo de Negritos* as offerings to La Virgen del Carmen and El Niño Jesús.

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Notes

- ¹ The term 'black' is a social construct, not reality. In Peru during colonial times, the term was used in a hierarchal categorization of ethnic groups. In this paper, I use the term to refer to Africans in the Americas and their descendants. Most of my informants and the authors I reference use the term 'negro' in Spanish, which translates to 'black'. I sometimes use the term 'white' to refer to Europeans in the Americas and their descendants.
- ² All interviews, quotes, or texts in Spanish unless otherwise noted, have been translated by the author. Tompkins dissertation was originally written in English, the text I was able to obtain and translate was in Spanish.
- ³ "Mestizo" infers a mixture of indigenous and European peoples, while "blacks" infers a mixture of African and European peoples.
- ⁴ Daniel reports on African Catholic belief (instead of traditional African religions) and African Catholic dance practices that resemble *Atajo* performance in the Dominican Republic especially, but also in Puerto Rico, Martinique and Guadeloupe.

- ⁵ Also see Carey for a chronology of slavery, abolition, and emancipation which points to African slavery appearing in Europe before the discovery of the New World in 1492; and 1441 as the year Portuguese took the first enslaved Africans to Portugal and 1454 when they took enslaved Africans to Spain.
- ⁶ Departments in Peru are the equivalent of states in the U.S.
- ⁷ Patriarch and informant; he played a major role in preserving and disseminating Afro-Peruvian culture. He is discussed more fully later in the paper. He died in 2009.
- ⁸ *Pallitas* is the female version of the *Atajos*; their *Zapateo* is gentler and softer and their singing has a melancholic feel and an indigenous intonation. They are accompanied by a guitar as opposed to a violin (in the case of the *Atajos*).