Stony Brook University

MÚSICA CRIOLLA:
Cultural Practices and National Issues in Modern Peru
The case of Lima
(1920-1960)

A Dissertation Presented

by

Luis Gomez

to

The Graduate School

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

Stony Brook University

December 2010

Stony Brook University
The Graduate School

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Abstract of the Dissertation

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My thesis is a historical analysis of a group of musical forms called *música criolla* in twentieth-century Peru. I analyze the historical relocation of these musical forms as symbols of Peruvianness during the period 1920 to 1960. I argue that the idea of the existence of a national music called *música criolla* emerged as a product of the urban modernization that had been transforming the landscape of the city of Lima since the

second half of the nineteenth century. Faced with this transformation, early twentieth-century Limeño intellectuals asserted that Limeños displayed distinctive artistic attitudes in their daily lives. For them, the best example of these attitudes was the practice of *música criolla*, which they argued embodied the authentic mood of the city. In the 1950's, several Limeño writers began to stress that *música criolla* was the typical musical practice of the city, different not only from foreign musical practices but also from the musical practices of the Andean immigrants who began to arrive to Lima *en masse* in the 1940's.

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Acknowlegments

My dissertation is the end of a long process of obtaining the PhD in History at Stony Brook University. Several people made the writing of this dissertation possible. My family must be first mentioned because they supported me since I was only an undergraduate student in Lima in the 1980's. I also wish to thank the members of my dissertation committee who gave me much valuable advice to improve the content of this dissertation. For their advice, I wish to thank April Masten and Frederick Moehn. I need to specially thank Brooke Larson, my advisor, who supported and encouraged me during the process of writing this thesis.

I found very good professors in the History Department at Stony Brook University who gave me suggestions and advice during these years. I want to express special thanks to Gary Marker for all his advice and commentaries on my papers and academic projects. I also wish to thank Javier Auyero and my classmates Norberto Barreto, Martin Monsalve, Magally Alegre, and William Wharton for their specific advice during the process of elaborating the proposal for this dissertation. I also must thank Themis Chronopoulous for his academic and personal support in different moments during the process of elaborating and writing my doctoral proposal and my dissertation. I must also thank Joel and Naomi Rosenthal who gave me critical support during the first weeks at Stony Brook after having ended my overseas research in Lima. For their academic support, I also wish to thank the Librarians of the Main Library and the academic staff of the Africana Department at Stony Brook University.

I need to thank the TIAA-CREF Institute that granted me a "TIAA Ruth Simms Hamilton Research Fellowship" (2005). This fellowship permitted me to undertake my dissertation research in Lima (Perú) between 2006 and 2007. In Lima, I also received the support of some institutions. I must thank the Instituto Riva-Agüero (Lima) that permitted me to make copies of old documents that I have used in this dissertation. I wish to thank Eduardo Morón, Felipe Portocarrero and Jorge Wiesse, professors of the Universidad del Pacífico, who allowed me to access the academic facilities of the Centro de Investigaciones de la Universidad del Pacífico, the Departmento de Humanidades, and the Libraries of the university during my research time. They gave me the opportunity to be a visiting scholar at the Centro de Investigaciones de la Universidad del Pacífico (Lima).

I must thank Fred Rohner who shared with me in Lima between 2006 and 2008 important and unknown data about *música criolla*. He gave me his digitalized copies and his personal list of the Montes y Manrique duo's songs recorded in New York City in 1911 that has been useful for my own research. I must thank David Seubert from the University of California – Santa Barbara who gave me a provisional list of the 78 rpm Victor Talking Machine discs recorded in Lima in the end of the 1920's. This and other similar information is being processing to be part of the Internet web page called "Encyclopedyc Discography of Victor Recordings" (EDVR).

I also wish to thank all my classmates that helped me during this long academic journey that began in 2001. Sorry for not writing all their names, but I confess that I abandoned the idea after discovering what a long list it would be. However, without their support, it would have been difficult for me to survive academically and emotionally on

Long Island. In this way, I also wish to thank my relatives who have lived at New York City for a long time: Carmen ("Pichuza"), the late Margot, and Victor. With the advice of my aunts and uncle, my life in the New York area was easier than I expected.

Last but not least, I must thank the generous people who academically and personally supported me when I began the process of applying to the graduate program at Stony Brook University in the beginning of the first decade of the twenty-first century: José de la Puente Brunke, José Agustín de la Puente Candamo, the late José Antonio del Busto Duthurburu, and Carlos Aguirre Ramírez. Sincerely, thank you so much to everyone.

CHAPTER I

Música Criolla: an Academic Dilemma

This dissertation is a historical analysis of a group of musical forms in twentieth-century Peru. They were practiced mainly by Peruvians who lived in its coastal areas. They were generically called *música criolla* by the Peruvian press. In this dissertation, the historical process by which these musical forms became national Peruvian icons in the first half of the twentieth century will be analyzed, with special focus on this process in Lima, the capital of Peru, during an era of intense urban transformation (1920 – 1960). The analysis centers on the three different cultural arenas – theater, music festivals and mass media networks – in which these musical forms were usually performed, and through which performers of *música criolla* gained popularity in Lima.

I argue that the idea of the existence of a national music called *música criolla* (which combined mainly Spanish, African, and Andean musical influences) emerged in twentieth-century Lima due to an intense modernization process that transformed the urban landscape of the city (a process that began in the second half of the nineteenth century). Faced with this urban challenge, Limeño intellectuals asserted that the people of Lima could exhibit unique and time-honored artistic attitudes in their daily life. These intellectuals imagined these attitudes as being the authentic "soul" of the city. They used the term *criollismo* to refer to them. During the early twentieth century, several Limeño writers claimed that a good example of *criollismo* was playing *música criolla*. By the 1950's, *música criolla* was fully accepted as the typical musical form of Lima, different not only from foreign musical experiences but also from the musical practices of the Andean immigrants who had been coming to Lima *en masse* since the 1940's.

This dissertation contributes to the analysis of a little-known case, not only in the general academic field of the construction of modern cultural traditions, but also to the

historiography of twentieth-century urban Peru. At the end of the 1980's, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger proposed a historical analysis of the construction (or "invention") of cultural and political traditions.[1] This proposal is pertinent to my own work in that based on Hobsbawm and Ranger's insights, I analyze the transformation of *música criolla* into a symbol of Peruvianness that was moreover claimed by several Limeño writers to be a symbol of the authentic "character" of the city. This claim about urban authenticity was made at the same time that many of the old Limeño cultural practices were disappearing due to the process of modernization. In this way, the Hobsbawm/Ranger proposal complements Benedict Anderson's argument that the building of a national community is a cultural construction, similar to a brotherhood.[2] Thus, I also analyze how musical festivals, theatrical performances, print-capitalism (the growing number of newspapers, magazines and songbooks), radio-station music broadcasts, and musical films helped *música criolla* circulate extensively and penetrate into the daily life of Limeños. This circulation reinforced the rise of a national imagination in Lima among workers, artisans, the lower middle classes, and even the Limeño elite.

Borrowing Anderson's cultural concept of a national imagining, I have tried to document and nuance it in relation to the aforementioned cultural technologies and expressive art forms. Without contradicting the approaches proposed by Hobsbawm/Ranger and Anderson, I am also following Anthony Smith's suggestions. Smith asserts that in analyzing a process of nation building, it is also important to

[1] Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[2] Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991).

consider the content of national ideologies. He explains that these are not mere intellectual doctrines but also discourses that speak to the shared emotions of specific populations. According to Smith, this is the reason that nationalist intellectuals (or any writers influenced by their ideas such as the Limeño regionalist writers called *costumbristas*) seek to "rediscover" pre-existing collective symbols, myths, and (in the case of *costumbristas*) shared customs.[3]

I am not arguing that pre-existing ethnic groups predated the rise of a Peruvian national community, nor am I arguing that nationalism presents an accurate image of a whole country. Authors such as Eric Hobsbawm, Anthony Smith, Anthony Marx, and John Breuilly have already pointed out that nationalisms are not expressions of prior or current nation-state communities.[4] In fact, this thesis is neither an analysis of a particular Peruvian nationalism,[5] nor is it part of the well-known ideological discussion among Peruvian writers over the existence of the Peruvian nation.[6] Additionally, it is neither a musicological analysis of the rise of an "authentic" musical nationalism nor a stylistic/philological analysis of the hundreds of songs of *música criolla*. Rather, this thesis is a historical analysis of the link between the rise of *música criolla* in Lima and

[3] Smith, Anthony, "Images of Nation: Cinema, Art and National Identity," in *Cinema and Nation*, Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, eds. (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), 48.

[4] Hobsbawm, Eric, *Nation and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Marx, Anthony, *Faith in Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Smith, Anthony, *Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), Breuilly, John, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994).

[5] I define nationalism as an ideology that organized groups use to justify their pursuit or exercise of power in which they claim to be defending the true interests of a nation-state community.

[6] On this topic, cf. Brubaker, Rogers, "Beyond Identity," in *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 28 - 63

certain nationalist agendas.

This dissertation also contributes to an academic area mainly developed by musicologists and anthropologists. In the last decades, their main interest has been to analyze the relationships between race perceptions, musical practices, and the building of national identities in Spanish-speaking America. According to these scholars, some musical practices associated with one particular racialized, subaltern population have undergone an ambivalent process of nationalization that did not necessarily suppose the erasure of the country's cultural diversity. This is precisely the analysis done by anthropologist Peter Wade of the nationalization of *música tropical* in Colombia.[7] A similar analysis has been done by musician Paul Austerlitz in the case of merengue in the Dominican Republic.[8] In the same vein, musicologist Robin Moore has undertaken an analysis of Afro-Cuban music[9] that has been very useful for my research. He analyzes how "African-influenced musical forms and mass-mediated images of Afrocubans first entered the national mainstream" as well as "their relation to changing conceptions of *cubanidad*."[10] I have made a similar effort to contextualize *música criolla* in Lima within cultural arenas such as theater in a time period when these musical forms were considered part of a commercial trend and were referenced intensively by newspaper and magazine reporters as being cultural symbols of the Peruvian nation.

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[7] Wade, Peter, *Music, Race and Nation. Música Tropical in Colombia* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

[8] Austerlitz, Paul, *Merengue. Dominican Music and Dominican Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997).

[9] Moore, Robin, *Nationalizing Blackness. Afrocubanism and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1997).

[10] Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 5.

However, I also argue that *música criolla* is a musical phenomenon that, in contrast to the Cuban or Colombian cases, had intentions far beyond the reinforcement of racial notions in Lima. In fact, the majority of the performers of *música criolla* were not of African descent. People of African descent did enjoy and practice these musical forms, but they were numerically a minority among its performers simply because their numbers in Lima were few. In this way, the descendants of colonial indigenous and Spanish populations as well as the descendants of nineteenth-century European immigrants can be easily and simultaneously found as practitioners of *música criolla*. In fact, I argue that *música criolla* was a shared musical experience in Lima mainly practiced by artisans, industrial workers, and the lower middle classes. Without losing sight of racial issues, my main focus is on analyzing the emergence of a musical tradition in modern Lima.

This is a broad area of research that, in the Peruvian case, has usually focused on the analysis of the ethnomusicological aspects of so-called *música andina*. The list of these studies is extensive. Among the studies published in the late twentieth century, one can mention the analysis of the musical practices of Andean immigrants from the *Altiplano* plateau region in Lima done by musicologist Thomas Turino.[11] Musicologist Raúl Romero has also conducted ethnomusicological research focused on the Central Andean area.[12] Futhermore, anthropologist Zoila Mendoza has researched dance

[11] Turino, Thomas, *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993).

[12] Romero, Raúl, *Debating the Past: Music, Memory and Identity in the Andes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

performances in Cuzco.[13] References to *música criolla* in these works are rare because it has not constituted such scholars' primary research concern.

Indeed, few studies have examined *música criolla*. Those scholars who have broached the subject have mainly been musicologists and anthropologists. Musicologist William Tompkins analyzed some Limeño musical forms such as the *marinera* in the 1970's, but these were included as part of his exploration of the musical practices of African descendants in the coastal regions of Peru.[14] In 1977, César Santa Cruz (a Limeño musician) published a valuable study about the *vals criollo*. Using musical scores, historical data, and his own experiences, he analyzed the varied forms of *vals criollo* that emerged in twentieth-century Lima.[15] A novel musicological analysis of the *vals* was published in 1998 by Virginia Yep.[16] Additionally, the exploratory and groundbreaking ethnomusicological research conducted by William Tompkins for his doctoral dissertation on nineteenth century "black" musical experience has been a valuable reference for my own work.

In a similar vein to Tompkins' research, during the 1990's, musicologist Heidi Feldman researched the emergence of the commercial musical trend called *música negra*

[13] Mendoza-Walker, Zoila, *Shaping Society through Dance: Mestizo Ritual Performance in the Peruvian Andes*. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000).

[14] Tompkins, William, "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru" (Ph.D. diss. University of California – Los Angeles, 1981); Idem, "Afro-Peruvian Traditions," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, eds. Daniel Olsen and Daniel Sheeby (New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc, 1998), t. II, 491-502. See also Vásquez, Rosa, *La práctica musical de la población negra en el Perú* (La Habana: Casas de las Américas, 1982).

[15] Santa Cruz, César, *El waltz y el valse criollo* (Lima: INC, 1977).

[16] Yep, Virginia, *El valse peruano: análisis musicológico de una de las expresiones más representativas de la música criolla del Perú* (Lima: Juan Brito, 1998).

in Peru. Her book is not, therefore, an analysis of *música criolla*. Moreover, her analysis begins in the 1950's, the same time period in which my dissertation ends. Nevertheless, a basic idea related to *música criolla* can be gained from her book. Feldman follows a proposal made by musicologist Javier León, who considers *música criolla* to be a nostalgic evocation which permitted Limeños not only to be connected to the past, but also to keep that past alive.[17] This is an idea based on the observation of Limeño performers singing Isabel "*Chabuca*" Granda's nostalgic *valses criollos*. My thesis, however, shows that *música criolla* transcended expressions of nostalgic evocations to include references to love affairs, depictions of Peruvian heroes, and festive descriptions of daily life situations in Lima.

In reality, few historical academic works about *música criolla* really exist. In 1939, historian Fernando Romero wrote an article about the origins of the *marinera***.**[18] As in the case of Tompkins, this article was part of his main, broader concern about the life of African descendants in the Peruvian coastal regions. As an expert in colonial and republican Peruvian literature and history, José Durand Flores wrote insightful but brief articles about coastal musical forms such as the *marinera* and the *resbalosa*.[19] In a similar vein, in the late 1960's, historian Jorge Basadre wrote in his *Historia de la República del*

[17] León, Javier, "El Que no Tiene de Inga, tiene de Mandinga: Negotiating Tradition and Ethnicity in Peruvian Criollo Popular Music" (Ma diss. – Music. University of Texas at Austin, 1997), 25-26; Feldman, Heidi, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Middletown: University of Wesleyan Press, 2006), chapter 1.

[18] Romero, Fernando, "De la zamba de África a la marinera del Perú," in *Actas y trabajos del XXVII Congreso de Americanista, Lima 1939* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta 1940), t. II, 105-140. A similar article was written by José Gálvez. See "La marinera," *IPNA* 1 (1944), 20-31.

[19] Durand, José, "Del fandango a la marinera," *Fanal* 16/59 (1961), 10-15; "De la zamacueca a la marinera," *Mensajes* 15 (1971), 23-27; "La resbalosa limeña," *Mensajes* 19 (1973), 8-14.

Perú one of the first and longest historical essays about musical practices in Peru between 1895 and 1933.[20] General works would be written years later by Enrique Pinilla, Raúl Romero, and Juan Carlos Estenssoro.[21] One must evaluate Basadre's thesis carefully, however, because it has not only become popular among scholars but is also widely found in newspapers, magazine reports, and Internet web pages.

Basadre's thesis is really a replication of an article written by journalist Niko Cisneros as an introduction to a book written by the Limeño writer and composer Aurelio Collantes. Published in 1956 for the 20th anniversary of the death of a mythologized composer of *música criolla* called Felipe Pinglo Alva, Cisneros's article explained why *música criolla* was so popular in the late 1950's. He proposed that the history of *música criolla* was divided into three periods: the first period (1896-1925) – the old guard or *guardia vieja* – was characterized by the relative popularity of the *vals, polka* and *marinera*. According to him, it was the golden age of the *marinera*. The second period (1925-1935) was defined by the "invasion" of foreign music genres (above all, *tangos* and *valses* from Argentina). Cisneros asserted that the *vals, polka* and *marinera criollas* were only played at private parties (*jaranas*) of lower-class Limeños in these years. This is a situation that supposedly began to be reversed with the explosion onto the scene of

[20] Basadre, Jorge, *Historia de la República del Perú, 1822-1933* (Lima: Universitaria, 1968), t. XVI, chapter XIII.

[21] Pinilla, Enrique, "Informe de la música en el Perú," *Historia del Perú*, ed. Juan Mejía Baca (Lima: Juan Mejía Baca, 1980), t. IX, 316-677; Romero, Raúl, "La música tradicional y popular" in *La música en el Perú* (Lima: Patronato Popular y Porvenir Pro Música Clásica, 1985), 215-283; Ídem, "Peru," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, t. II, 466-490; Estenssoro, Juan Carlos, "Perú," in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, ed. Emilio Casares (Madrid: Sociedad General de Autores y Editores, 2001), t. VIII, 726-738.

Felipe Pinglo and his musical heirs.[22] Finally, Cisneros's third period (1935-1956) marked the consolidation of *música criolla* due to the support of an increasing number of radio stations and Peruvian record companies. According to Cisneros, a new and much improved artistic life supposedly began in 1956 owing to the support that these companies were then providing to composers and singers.[23]

Cisneros's work has influenced the work of several other scholars who have added nuance to his explanation. These scholars have mainly used it to explain the history of the *vals criollo*, the common musical form of Felipe Pinglo's compositions. Thus, in 1982, historian Steve Stein published an article in which he analyzed the lyrics of some Limeño *valses* as clear representations of the working sectors' social values in Lima.[24] Oriented by the same goal as Stein, the anthropologist José Antonio Lloréns published a useful, short book in 1983 about the transformation of *música criolla*. According to Lloréns, *música criolla* went from being the musical practice of industrial workers and artisans to becoming almost forgotten in the 1920's. Finally, it was positively revaluated in the 1940's due to the support of the mass media and the Peruvian state. As it was for Cisneros earlier, *música criolla* was for Lloréns synonymous with *vals*

[22] This kind of insistence about the role of Felipe Pinglo as an important composer (he mainly composed *valses* and *polkas*) has generated the emergence of several valuable studies about his life and artistic work, and the *vals criollo* in general. Cf. Collantes, Aurelio, *Pinglo inmortal* (Lima: Imp. La Cotera, 1977); Pinto, Willy, *Felipe Pinglo. El vals peruano, aproximaciones* (Lima: Cibeles, 1994); Leyva, Carlos, *De vuelta al barrio: historia de la vida de Felipe Pinglo Alva* (Lima: BNP, 1999); Zanutelli, Manuel, *Felipe Pinglo… a un siglo de distancia* (Lima: Editorial La Gaceta, 1999); Valverde, Eleazar and Raúl Serrano, *El libro de oro del vals peruano* (Lima: Tans Perú, 2000); Toledo, Ernesto, *Felipe de los pobres: vida y obra en tiempos de luchas y cambios sociales* (Lima: Editorial San Marcos, 2007).

[23] Cisneros, Niko, "Historia de la canción criolla," in Collantes, Aurelio, *Historia de la canción criolla* (Lima: 1956), 1-3.

[24] Stein, Steve, "El vals criollo y los valores de la clase trabajadora en la Lima de comienzos del siglo 20," *Socialismo y Participación* 17 (1982), 43 - 50.

criollo, *polka criolla* and, sometimes, the *marinera*.[25] Historian Manuel Zanutelli has also followed this academic saga, publishing in 1999 a short but erudite book about *música criolla* that, however, only replicated Cisneros's proposal.[26] A new book published in 2009 by José Antonio Lloréns and Rodrigo Chocano about the *vals criollo* has recently added more detail while also reinforcing the idea first proposed by Lloréns in 1983.[27]

Cisneros's thesis was essentialy unabashed propaganda for *música criolla*, written without any academic pretension. However, it should be analytically evaluated and, above all, carefully documented. My thesis is a renewed effort to historically evaluate and document this argument. Cisneros's thesis is that Pinglo was a musical hero who fought against the foreign musical "invasion" and reinforced the positive role of the Peruvian music industry in supporting the professional practitioners of *música criolla*. In his article, Cisneros openly praised the support of one of these Peruvian music companies, SONO-RADIO, for musicians and composers of *música criolla*.

I argue in my dissertation that *música criolla* was a cultural label already circulating in Lima by 1910. It was a term used by Limeño writers and reporters to refer to a broader coastal music experience which combined Spanish, African, and Andean musical influences. It symbolized emerging "national" musical genres which were the *vals*, *polka*, *tondero*, and *marinera*. The term "marinera" sometimes referred to a dance performance composed of the playing of a *marinera* that ended with an added coastal

[25] Lloréns, José Antonio, *Música popular en Lima: criollos y andinos* (Lima: IIA – IEP, 1983).

[26] Zanutelli, Manuel, *Canción criolla. Memoria de lo nuestro* (Lima: Editorial La Gaceta, 1999).

[27] Lloréns, José Antonio and Rodrigo Chocano, *Celajes, florestas y secretos: una historia del vals popular limeño* (Lima: INC, 2009).

musical form called *resbalosa*. However, *música criolla* also included two other musical forms called *triste* and *yaraví*, the last played intensively in several Andean areas. My study also shows that several Limeño writers considered the musical forms mainly practiced by African descendants to be part of *música criolla*.

My dissertation shows that the majority of the lyrics that accompanied the playing of *música criolla* were not nostalgic evocations. They were mainly linked with love affairs and other daily life situations in modern Lima, such as attending parties or talking about the new electric light in early twentieth-century Lima. Sometimes, nationalist topics such as the heroes of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) were depicted in these lyrics, and it is true that the Limeño elite often performed nostalgic theater pieces in the 1920's. In these performances, tunes such as the *marinera* usually helped spectators imagine situations supposedly and exclusively belonging to the colonial and nineteenth-century republican Limeño eras. However, in Limeño musical revues, comedies, and *sainetes* of the 1920's, nostalgia was not the dominant mood evoked. I argue that this colonialist nostalgia was part of a *costumbrista* literary trend that influenced some composers and scriptwriters at different times during the twentieth century in Lima.

Música criolla was played continually beginning in the early twentieth century in Lima. It was not only played at the parties of artisans and proletarians (these parties were called usually *jarana* by Limeño writers). Certainly, foreign music genres such as jazz, fox trot, camel trot, blues, and tangos were extremely popular in an era when the growth of the Limeño population, the cultural influence of the United States of America, and the

modernization of the city were growing more intense (1920-1960). However, the sources also show that some performers of *música criolla* positively incorporated this foreign music into their daily lives. A new and valuable work written by Gérard Borras published in 2009 stresses this point.[28]

Although a musicological analysis of the influence of foreign musical forms on the repertoire of Limeño composers is beyond the boundaries of this dissertation, it is useful to note at least that the influence of these new rhythms is clear in the compositions of young Limeño composers of *valses* and *polkas criollas* such as Felipe Pinglo and Carlos Saco.[29] That is, *música criolla* was more than the expression of certain social values or ideologies held by radical or conservative workers. Their lyrics and tunes were also part of musical fashions. In this way, as Pierre Bourdieu advised, I am not idealizing the cultural expressions of the "popular classes" in Lima.[30] This dissertation is neither a populist idealization nor an elitist condemnation of *música criolla*. It is an analysis of how a group of Limeño musical genres was transformed into a national icon.

My dissertation also shows how 78 rpm discs, musical revues, and *costumbrista* theatrical performances disseminated *música criolla* across the city during the first decades of the twentieth century. Politics, as well as technology, played a crucial role. For example, President Leguía financially supported the tournament of Peruvian dances

[28] Borras, Gérard, *Chansonniers de Lima* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009).

[29] Cf. Yep, Virginia, "El vals peruano," *Latin American Music Review* 14/2/ (1993), 268-280. Virginia Yep has even pointed out that several Pinglo's *valses* were influenced by the melody of *El Condor Pasa* – a musical composition that was part of a Peruvian *zarzuela*. Composed by Daniel Alomías Robles, it was a musical piece based, according to Yep, in a traditional huanuqueño (Andean) song - p. 273.

[30] Cf. Bourdieu, Pierre, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 90-106.

and music for the Day of Saint John the Baptist in Amancaes during the 1920's. His attitude not only helped promote the spread of *música criolla* but also aided the dissemination of musical ensembles from the highland Andean towns and cities to theaters and cinemas throughout Lima. Recordings from *El Día de San Juan* were even made by the Victor Talking Machine Company in 1930. Thus, in an era when the Peruvian government had its own *indigenista* rhetoric (1919-1930), the artistic festival of the San Juan Day helped to convert the so-called *música criolla* and *música andina* into a profitable business. Also, with the rise of more radio stations and musical films in Lima in the second half of the 1930's, the circulation of *música criolla* intensified. In fact, *música criolla* became an official institution with the creation of musical centers in Lima that promoted the spread of those national rhythms. The culmination of this process was an official decree made by the President of Perú, Manuel Prado, at the end of October 1944. This decree created an official day honoring *música criolla*, the Day of the *Criolla* Song. It was really an initiative promoted by several musical centers that, later, was endorsed by a Peruvian state that was also looking for popular support after the end of the politically unstable decade of the 1930's.

By the time the first Peruvian record companies emerged in the late 1940's, a well-established market for *música criolla* already existed in Lima. It is true that these Peruvian record companies and radio stations supported *música criolla*, but that did not mean they refrained from turning this music into a profitable commodity. The sources also show that complaints against radio station owners and record music companies were made by an appreciable number of performers of *música criolla*.

Sources and Method

The majoritiy of the primary sources linked with *música criolla* have been lost or have not been cataloged in public archives. There is no main archive for discography in Lima, and the majority of the old 78 rpm discs have been lost or destroyed. Likewise, there is no organized archive for mass media networks in Peru. The radio stations in Lima were expropriated in the 1970's by the Juan Velasco Government (1968-1975), becoming part of the state's main system of mass media. Their archives are supposedly located in the National Radio of Peru Archive. After months of requesting access to this Archive, I was allowed to enter in 2007. However, I did not find any documents or audio sources from these old radio stations. The scarce documentation that I have examined from the National Radio of Peru was not directly related to my topic.

The situation did not improve when I went to the National Library in Lima to review an important source for this dissertation. *El Cancionero de Lima* was a cheap magazine that published songs and sometimes commentaries on radio-station programs and cinema. It was published from the end of the nineteenth century until the 1940's. The National Library has a nearly complete collection of this magazine. However, because the Library was moving its resources to a new building when I arrived in 2007, I was not allowed to access it. For more than a year, I repeatedly asked the librarians for the magazine, but the answer was always negative. During the time I was researching this dissertation, these and other valuable colonial sources were in boxes waiting to be relocated to their respective shelves.

Despite all of these challenges, I was able to find documents with which I could reconstruct the chronology of *música criolla*. There are newspaper and magazine reports

about public performances, artistic routines, and daily life in Lima. I found interviews with performers of *música criolla* in Peruvian newspapers such as *El Comercio*, *La Prensa*, and *La Crónica*. I studied magazines such as *Mundial* and *Variedades*. Complete collections of all of these daily and weekly publications are located in the National Library (Lima) and, above all, the Instituto Riva-Agüero (Lima) and the Library of Congress (Lima). These and other valuable magazines are also located in the Pedro Benvenutto Collection at the Universidad del Pacífico (Lima). I have worked intensively with these publications, preferring to analyze direct testimonies and cross-checking them later with other indirect reports found in the aforementioned magazines and newspapers.

The 78 rpm disc catalogs have also been useful because they have allowed me to reconstruct an approximate image of the musical forms that were listened to in those days. I have also studied a group of articles written by practitioners or close spectators of *música criolla*, such as those of Mario Cavagnaro and Manuel Acosta, which are direct reports of public performances, artistic routines, and daily life in Lima. In the 1980's, the elderly singer Augusto Ascuez published articles about persons and musical forms linked with his public artistic life. Other similar writings were really replications of a nineteenth century literary trend called *costumbrismo.* Based on actual facts, *costumbristas* depicted human types, habits, and customs using a literary genre called *cuadro de costumbres*. This is the case of Eudocio Carrera's articles. Other articles are simply testimonies of intellectual curiosity, for example, the articles of Aurelio Collantes. All of these articles contain valuable references for my own purposes though many times they are fragmentary and anecdotal in nature. None of these authors (or the authors who helped them to organize their work) had any intention of producing an academic book about

música criolla. However, these writings are useful testimonies about private and public musical tastes and artistic routines in the Limeño cultural arena.

Photos, commercial advertisements, and some digitalized versions of this music from private collections provide extra evidence for the core of this dissertation. I obtained some issues of old song magazines such as *El Cancionero* from private collections. I found travel books at the New York Public Library and the Felix Denegri Collection at the Instituto Riva-Agüero Library. All of these resources have been useful for demonstrating that *música criolla* circulated intensively in Lima (e.g. at the end of the 1920's) before the emergence of a large Limeño radio station network. In the future, I hope to find other documentation to continue researching this topic.

In the second chapter of my dissertation, I explain how the old colonial uses of the word *criollo* supported the emergence of an idea of *criollismo* in the twentieth century. The idea of the existence of *música criolla* was really a twentieth century intellectual invention in an era of modernization. The third chapter provides an analytic description of the urban modernization of the city of Lima in the early twentieth century, but it also shows how older artistic forms and cultural practices were replicated in those days. These were recast as theatrical performances and later became part of a national cinema. In the fourth chapter, I explain how public festivals were not only important cultural arenas for the performance of Peruvian dance and music, but also sites through which the Peruvian state created a sense of national belonging. Using the celebration of the Day of San Juan in Amancaes as a case study, I explain how a Limeño ritual was converted into a national celebration in the 1920's. In the fifth chapter, I explain the relationships between *música criolla* and the mass media, and examine how the latter reinforced the transformation of

this musical tradition into a national cultural tradition. In the last chapter, I explain how a new commercial artistic trend generally called *música negra* in the 1970's emerged from the practice of *música criolla*. This last chapter is not an analysis of *música negra* (1960-2000) but instead traces the relationship between the rise of a commercial black music trend and *música criolla*. Finally, my dissertation ends with some concluding remarks.

Chapter 2

Criollo: The Roots of a Republican, National Narrative

Twentieth-century scholars researching Peruvian national identity have often discussed whether a nation-state community was or was not built during the republican era. In their academic debates, they have often considered the role that the descendants of the pre-Columbian population – the *indígenas* – played in this process. Indeed, this debate has not represented a new intellectual position. In the early twentieth century, a broad intellectual position shared by both conservative and socialist thinkers, *indigenismo*, emphasized the positive role *indígenas* played in the development of the Peruvian nation-state. This intellectual trend stimulated the (re)glorification of a supposed Inca cultural tradition, the analysis of the daily life of the rural Andean population, and the development of an artistic trend that pictured Andean landscapes and peoples.[1] *Indigenismo* also became part of the nationalist rhetoric of President Augusto B. Leguía in his *Oncenio* or *Patria Nueva* administration[2] (1919-1930) and part of the 1920's socialist project of journalist José Carlos Mariátegui.

[1] About *indigenismo* see Larson, Brooke, *Trial of Nation Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Vich, Cynthia, *Indigenismo de vanguardia en el Perú. Un estudio sobre el Boletín Titikaka* (Lima: PUC, 2000); Zevallos, Ulises, *Indigenismo y nación. Los retos a la representación de la subalternidad aymara y quechua en el Boletín Titikaka (1926-1930)* (Lima: IFEA-BCR del Perú, 2002); Lauer, Mirko, *Andes imaginarios. Discursos del indigenismo 2* (Cusco: CERA "Bartolomé de Las Casas", 1997); Escajadillo, Tomás, *La narrativa indigenista* (Lima: Amaru Editores, 1994); Kristal, Efraín, *Una visión urbana de los Andes. Génesis y desarrollo del indigenismo en el Perú, 1848-1930.* (Lima: IAA, 1989); Degregori, Carlos, *Indigenismo, clases sociales y problema nacional* (Lima: Celats, 1980); Tamayo, José, *El indigenismo limeño: 'La Sierra' y 'Amauta., Similitudes y Diferencias (1926-1930)* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1988); Ídem, *Historia social e indigenismo en el Altiplano* (Lima: Ediciones Treinta y Tres, 1982); Ídem, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglos XVI – XX* (Lima: INC, 1980); Deustua, José, and José Luis Rénique, *Intelectuales, indigenismo, y descentralismo en el Perú, 1897-1930* (Cusco: CERA "Bartolomé de Las Casas", 1984); Cornejo Polar, Antonio, *Literatura y sociedad en el Perú: la novela indigenista* (Lima: Lasontay, 1980); Tord, Luis Enrique, *El Indio en los ensayistas Peruanos. 1848-1948* (Lima, Editoriales Unidas, 1978).

[2] About *Oncenio*, see Karno, Howard, "Augusto B. Leguia: the Oligarchy and the modernization of Peru, 1919-1930" (Ph.d. diss; University of California – Los Angeles, 1970); Planas, Pedro, *La república autocrática* (Lima: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1994); Flores Galindo, Alberto, and Manuel Burga. *Apogeo y crisis de la República Aristocrática* (Lima: Ediciones Rikchay, 1984).

A less-analyzed intellectual position was also shared by a group of Limeño intellectuals such as José Gálvez and José Diez-Canseco in the twentieth century. They also pointed out the contribution made by the Spanish and African descendant populations to the building of that nation-state community, and stressed that these populations mainly lived in the coastal areas. Talking about their cultural contribution, Limeño writers referred to these coastal populations as displaying playful national attitudes in their daily life. These attitudes were imagined as expressions of graciousness, kindness, and trickery that they called *criollismo*. They argued that these attitudes were usually displayed at private parties called *jaranas* and in artistic spectacles. Indeed, these and other cultural practices were recognized by these writers as part of a coastal way of life that some of them called *cultura criolla*.[3]

Criollismo and *cultura criolla* were terms used commonly in twentieth-century Lima. They originated from the old colonial word *criollo*. This last term has been extensively used in Lima since the sixteenth century. Limeño writers used it several times after the 1850's to evocate customs and habits that they imagined as icons of Peruvianness. Consequently, an analysis of the uses of the term *criollo* during the republican period in Lima is crucial here. In this chapter, I argue that, faced with the new British and French cultural influences, nationalist Limeño writers recast the old colonial term *criollo* after the 1850's – its meaning during the colonial period was "to have been born in the Americas" – as synonymous with national cultural practices from Lima.

[3] Some U.S. scholars also used this concept as an analytical tool. See Simmons, Ozzie, "The Criollo Outlook in the Mestizo Culture of Coastal Peru," *American Anthropologist* 51/1 (1955): 107-117.

There is another but not less important justification for this exploration. The term *criollo* continues to be used as a common-sense category in twenty first-century Lima. However, it is being used extensively by English-speaking scholars to refer metaphorically to different kinds of phenomena. Inside the current transnational studies, for example, the term "creolization" is broadly used by several scholars to indicate any kind of human interaction referred to as a hybrid process that supposedly stimulates the recasting of ethnic or national identities.[4] Analyzing racial issues during the colonial era, historian David Cahill has alerted us to the anachronistic use of terms such as *criollo*.[5]

Deeply naturalized in Limeño daily life, *criollo* and *criollismo* are not part of our analytical tools but part of the issues to be analyzed. Thus, I will start this dissertation by briefly assessing the general uses of the term *criollo*. Later, I will provide a brief analytical description concerning the cultural transformations in Lima during the nineteenth century. Finally, I will analyze how *criollo* was recast by republican Limeño writers as synonymous with Peruvianness. In fact, terms such as *música criolla* or *comida*

[4] Objections about these uses in Palmié, Stephan, "Creolization and Its Discontents," *American Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006): 433-456; and his "Is there a Model in the Muddle? 'Creolization' in Africa, Americanist History and Anthropology," in *Creolization. History, Ethnography. Theory*, ed. Charles Stewart (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 178-200; Mintz, Sidney, "Enduring Substances, Trying Theories; the Caribbean as Oikoumene," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Insitute* 2/2 (1996): 301-302; Baron, Robert, "Amalgams and Mosaics, Syncretisms and Reinterpretations: Reading Herskovits and Contemporary Creolists of Metaphors of Creolization," *Journal of American Folklore* 116/459 (2003): 88-115; Price, Richard, "On the Miracle of Creolization," in *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues,* ed. Kevin Yelvington (Santa Fe & Oxford: School of American Research Press / James Curry, 2006): 115-147.

[5] Cahill says that late twentieth-century uses of terms such as *criollo* have "too often anachronistically projected back onto earlier centuries, thereby distorting social-scientific and historical analysis of questions of power, authority, stratification, culture, religion and political participation." See Cahill, David, "Colour by Numbers: Racial and Ethnic Categories in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1532-1824," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26 (1994): 341. For the case of the term "race," cf. a similar academic position in Wacquant, Loïc, "For an Analytic of Racial Domination," *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 (1997): 221-234.

criolla were never used during the colonial period in Lima. They were republican inventions.

The Early Republic and Late Colonial Cultural Heritage in Lima (1825-1840)

The Spanish colonial regime (an era that began in the early sixteenth century) ended in December of 1824 in Peru with the defeat of the royalist Spanish troops in the battle of Ayacucho. The last royalist troops surrendered in 1825. Four years of war had caused the destruction of the old viceroyalty of Peru. Immediately, political anarchy emerged in the new republic of Peru. In the middle of this chaos, late colonial institutions and notions continued being reproduced by Peruvians. For example, the colonial *Indio* tax was eliminated during the Independence period (1821-1824). However, due to the fiscal necessity of the already indebted Peruvian republican state, it was reintroduced in 1826.[6] Indeed, this tax was never eliminated during the War of Independence in the area controlled by the last viceroy of Peru, José de la Serna. African slavery would be completely abolished only in 1854.[7] As historian Carlos Contreras says, the colonial

[6] About peasant Andean population in the early republican period, see Hünefeldt, Christine, *Lucha por la tierra y protesta indígena* (Bonn, 1982); Thurner, Mark, *From Two Republics to One Divided* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Mendez, Cecilia, *The Plebeian Republic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005). See also Demélas, Marie-Danielle, *L'invention politique. Bolivie, Equateur, Pérou au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992).

[7] Cf. Aguirre, Carlos, *Agentes de su propia libertad: los esclavos de Lima y la desintegración de la esclavitud, 1821-1854* (Lima: PUC, 1993); Hünefeldt, Christine, *Lasmanuelos, Vida Cotidiana de una Familia Negra en la Lima de S. XIX* (Lima: IEP, 1992); and her *Paying the Price of Freedom. Family and Labor among Lima's Slaves, 1800-1854* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); see also Aguirre Carlos, and Charles Walker, eds. *Bandoleros, Abigeos y Montoneros. Criminalidad y Violencia en el Perú, siglos XVIII-XX* (Lima: IAA, 1990).

Indio tax system would continue framing social relations in the rural Andes for the next decades.[8]

In the same way, the uses of colonial terms such as *criollo* remained part of Limeño daily life. According to linguist Joan Corominas, this term has a Portuguese origin in *crioulo*.[9] The term seems to have primarily referred in the early sixteenth century to the African slaves that were bred (*criado*) in the house of the slave owner. In fact, faced with the rise of the Atlantic slave trade in the first half of the sixteenth century, the term *criollo* was used to refer to any African descendant who was not born in Africa. As historian James Lockhart has pointed out, any African descendant born either in the Iberian Peninsula or in the Iberian colonies before 1560 was referred to as a *criollo* in colonial documentation. For example, African descendants could be referred to in colonial documents as "criollos from Panama" or "criollos from Seville."[10]

While the term *criollo* initially referred to the African descendants in the Iberian territories, by the 1550's its primary use expanded. Therefore, *criollo* was already being

[8] This tax was renamed as *contribución de indígenas*. See Contreras, Carlos, "El impuesto de la contribución personal en el Perú del siglo XIX," in *De la etnohistoria a la historia en los Andes*, eds. John Fisher and David Cahill (Quito: Abya Yala, 1992), 199-232; Idem, *El aprendizaje del capitalismo* (Lima: IEP, 2004). See also Jacobsen, Nils, "Liberalism and Indian Communities in Peru, 1821-1920," in *Liberals, the Church and Indian Peasants*, ed. Robert Jackson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 130. For the case of Cuzco, see Peralta, Víctor, *En pos del tributo. Burocracia estatal, élite regional y comunidades indígenas en el Cusco rural, 1826-1854*. (Cusco: CERA "Bartolomé de Las Casas", 1991).

[9] Corominas, Joan, and José A. Pascual. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (Madrid: Gredos, 1989), s.v. "criollo."

[10] Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560,* 198. James Lockhart also found a case of an African born in São Tomé Island that was referred to as criollo (p.198). Thus, the African born in the sixteenth-century European establishments in West African coast could also be sometimes called criollos. Cf. Berlin, Ira, "From Creole to African. Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African American Society in Mainland North America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53/2 (1996): 251-288.

used to refer to the offspring of Spaniards born in the Americas, in other words Spanish Americans.[11] Some plants and animals cultivated and bred in the Americas were also referred to as *criollos*. Sometimes the descendants of the pre-Columbian population in Spanish America (referred to in colonial sources as *Indios* or *naturales*) were also referred to as *criollos*. In this last case, the colonial writers meant that they were born in a specific Andean area.[12] The unexpected offspring of a Spaniard and an *Indio*, usually called *mestizo*, was referred to as *criollo* if the child was legally recognized by both parents and, above all, if they belonged to the colonial elites.[13] Consequently, in the late sixteenth century, the term was already used to refer to various beings born in the Americas. These uses remained rooted in the daily life of Limeños for centuries.[14]

Nineteenth-century foreign travelers confirmed that such uses remained alive during the early republican period in Lima. In 1825, William Stevenson, who had lived in South America for some years, observed that the term *criollo* was still used in Lima to

[11] Arrom, José, "Criollo: definición y matices de un concepto," *Hispania*. 34/2 (1951): 172–176; *Diccionario crítico etimológico*, s.v. "criollo" and Lavallé, Bernard, "Situación colonial y marginalización léxica: la aparición de la palabra *criollo* y su contexto en el Perú," in *Las promesas ambiguas. Criollismo colonial en los Andes* (Lima: PUC - IRA, 1993), 16-21. Cf. the case of French Louisiana in Hall, Gwendolyn, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana. The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1992), 157.

[12] Ares Queija, Berta, "Las categorías del mestizaje: desafíos a los constreñimientos de un modelo social en el Perú colonial temprano," *Histórica*. XXVIII/1 (2004): 202; Lavallé, "Situación colonial y marginalización lexica." For eighteenth century, see Stavig, Ward, *The World of Túpac Amaru* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 190-191; 265.

[13] Cf. Schwartz, Stuart, "Colonial Identities and the *Sociedad de Castas*," *Colonial Latin American Review* 4/1 (1995), 192. Schwartz pointed out that several first "mix-blood" children of prominent conquerors and *India* women of noble lineages were recognized as *españoles* (p. 187-188).

[14] Cf. Paz-Soldán, Pedro, "Diccionario de peruanismos. Suplemento (inédito)," *El Chispazo* (October 8, 1892), 229. People in twentieth-century South America cities used the term *criollo* in expressions that referred to plants and animals born in their own countries (e.g. *papa criolla*, *caballo criollo*, *ganado criollo*) – expressions that can also be easily found in newspapers, magazines and Internet web pages.

include not only "whites" (that is, light-skinned Spanish descendants) but also *mestizos*.[15] As the Limeño intellectual Hipólito Unánue had done in 1806, foreign travelers began to categorize the Spanish descendants as "white criollos."[16] This phrase can be found only in the late colonial period. The same travelers sometimes referred to African descendants as "black criollos." This was a new manner of categorizing human beings that became a common intellectual practice during the nineteenth century. Supposedly, some imagined permanent, physical traits formed a human type. José de la Riva-Agüero y Sanchez Boquete (the first President of the Republic of Perú) had already used these new racial categories in 1818, saying that the Spanish Americans were similar to their Spanish parents in that both groups hated the *Indio* "race."[17] After 1824, other Spanish descendants often used the term "race" only as a metaphor for the old colonial term *nación*.[18] However, all these sources show that this new racial terminology did not mean

[15] Stevenson, W. B, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America, in Three Volumes; Containing the Travels in Arauco, Chile, Peru, and Colombia; with an Account of the Revolution, its Rise, Progress, and Results* (London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1825), vol 1, 285.

[16] Radiguet, Max, *Lima y la sociedad peruana* (Lima: BNP, 1971), 68. Radiguet referred to this population as the "Limeños de origen español" (p.67).

[17] Riva Agüero y Sánchez Boquete, José de la, *Manifestación histórica y política de la revolución de la América y mas especialmente de la parte que corresponde al Perú y Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de los Expósitos, 1818), 4. Riva Agüero complaint for the timeless use that *peninsulares* (the people born in the Iberian Peninsula) made of the term *criollo* saying that they used the term not only to refer to the Spanish Americans but also to refer to the *negros* born in the Americas (an use that he considered an insult) – see Idem, 3-4. However, as the ex-Jesuit Juan Pablo Vizcardo y Guzmán also did it years, he positively referred to the Spanish Americans using the phrase *Españoles criollos.*

[18] Cf. Jacobsen, "Liberalism and Indian Communities in Peru," *Liberals, the Church and Indian Peasants*, 133-134. *Nación* only meant to have been born (*nacido*) in a particular geographical area called *patria* and to share similar values and customs with your compatriots. Cf. Monguió, Luis, "Palabras e ideas: 'patria' y 'nación' en el virreinato del Perú," *Revista Iberoamericana* 104-105 (1978): 451-470; Clément, Jean-Pierre. *El Mercurio Peruano, 1790-1795*. (Frankfurt am Main & Madrid: Vervuert / Iberoamericana, 1997), chapter 9; Lomnitz, Claudio, "Nationalism as a Practical System. Benedict Anderson's Theory of Nationalism from the Vantage Point of Spanish America," in *The Other Mirror. Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America*, eds. Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2001), 329-359; Hobsbawm, Eric, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 2nd edition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1992), 14-15; Velázquez, Marcel, "Notas sobre los usos y

that the term *criollo* would have lost its old colonial connotations.

The unstable political and economic scenario of the young Peruvian republic would, however, have an impact on the uses of the old term *criollo*. In the future, it would also be used to refer to national beings, commodities and cultural practices from Lima. In fact, early republican-nationalist propaganda was already in use by the republican Limeño merchants after 1825 to attack the new foreign businessmen who arrived in their city. When the legal links with Spain finally broke in 1824, American but above all, British and French commodities inundated the Peruvian market traditionally controlled by Limeño merchants. Customs and habits from France and Great Britain were gradually being assumed by part of the Limeño population. Faced with this new scenario, Limeño merchants not only obtained the support of the Limeño artisans against these new foreign merchants but also pushed the weak republican Peruvian state (led by political bosses known as *caudillos*) to enact protectionist laws.[19]

Late-colonial period institutions and ideas continued to be reproduced after 1825, but new actors and ideas were already impacting the Limeño way of life. The reactions were strong. Besides the aforementioned early republican nationalist propaganda, one must remark that some Central Andean peasant communities also used similar discourse as a legal weapon when trying to protect their communitarian lands against the new

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sentidos de la *nación* en la ciudad de Lima," in *La republica de papel. Política e imaginación social en la prensa peruana del siglo XIX*, ed. Marcel Velázquez (Lima: UCH, 2009), 123-163.

[19] Gootenberg, Paul, *Between Silver and Guano. Commercial Policy and the State in Postindependence Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 23-24. See also Mazzeo, Cristina, "Un Proyecto Económico en el Siglo XIX. Un Estudio de Caso: Francisco Quirós (1840-1863)," in *La Experiencia Burguesa en el Perú (1840-1940)*, ed. Carmen McEvoy (Madrid & Frankfurt am Maim: Iberoamérica & Vervuert Verlag, 2004), 7-9.

liberal rules.[20] Finally, a political project called the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation facilitated the arrival of more British merchants in Peru. This political project joined the former colonial areas known as upper and lower Peru but lasted only few years (1836 – 1839). Later, however, British economic influence continued to develop, becoming even stronger during the Guano Era (1840-1880).

Foreign travelers and Limeño writers testified to the collateral cultural impact of this transformation in Lima. William Stevenson reported in 1825 that when he arrived in Lima in 1804, the "long Spanish cloak was worn by all classes of men, but in 1810 it was so little used as a dress… The English costume is now quite prevalent ..."[21] It is true that he also said that "the walking dress of the females of all descriptions is the saya y manto [females dressed in this way were called *tapadas*]."[22] However, he later said that "when the ladies appear on public occasions, at the theatre, bull circus, and paseos, promenades, they are dressed in the English or French clothes…"[23] Manuel A. Segura (1805-1871), a former royalist soldier who became a Limeño theater composer, also complained in 1841 about the abandonment by many Limeños of colonial habits and food such as drinking colonial chocolate at private gatherings or *tertulias*. They preferred to drink English tea

[20] About early republican period policies, see Basadre, Jorge. *La iniciación de la república*, 2nd ed. (Lima: UNMSM, 2002), 2 vol; Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano*. About peasant communities during early republican period, see Hünefeldt, Christine, "Indios y negros en la construccion del nuevo estado republicano. Perú en la primera mitad del siglo XIX," *Cahiers des Ameriques Latines* 10 (1990), 227-229; Thurner, Mark, *From Two Republics to One Divided*; About caudillos see Lynch, John, *Caudillos in Spanish America, 1800-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

[21] Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence…*, 300.

[22] Ibid, 301. These women dressed with a skirt called *saya*, and a two plain dark shawls called *mantos;* one of these manto covered almost all her face.

[23] Ibid, 302.

now.[24] French food was already served for special events among the Limeño elite, at least since the 1830's.[25] Segura also said that the old *tapada* could still be seen in Lima in 1841. However, he also suggested that not all the women dressed in this way.[26] The final result of this process was an appreciable cultural change in the daily life of many Limeños.

This cultural transformation became so intense during the Guano Era (1840-1880) that foreign travelers often commented on it. C. Skogman would say in 1852 that hats and French goods in general were gradually dislodging the clothes "that are typical of this place."[27] This alienation from the late colonial Hispanic cultural experience was intense among the Limeno elite.[28] Finally, in 1860, Manuel A. Fuentes, a Limeño writer who hated many of these colonial customs because he saw them as symbols of indecency, celebrated the fact that the *tapada* had finally disappeared from the streets of Lima.[29] Indeed, this transformation was so intense that a new use of the term *criollo* emerged

[24] Segura, Manuel, "El té y la mazamorra," in *Artículos, poesías y comedias* (Lima: Carlos Prince, 1885), 82.

[25] See also the testimony of Flora Tristan who visited Lima in the 1830s in *Peregrinaciones de una Paria* (Lima: Editorial Cultura Antártica S.A., 1946), 405. In 1893, E. W. Middendorf in the first volume of his book *Perú* said that all Limeños ate the same food (p. 177) but when the Limeños like something more sophisticated (he used the phrase *comida de etiqueta*) the food is prepared in a French manner (p. 179). Even in this kind of banquets, the Limeño food could be found on the tables (p. 180).

[26] Segura mockingly referred to tapadas in his article "Una conversación," in *Obras completas de Manuel Ascensio Segura*, ed. Alberto Varillas (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2005), t. II, 571-574.

[27] Skogman, C, "Perú en 1852," in *Viajeros en el Perú* republicano, ed. Alberto Tauro (Lima, UNMSM, 1967), 122. See also Markham, Clements *Cuzco and Lima* (Lima: Ediciones COPE / Markham College 2001), 340-341.

[28] Cf. Lastarria, Jose Victorino, "Lima en 1850," *Viajeros en el Perú republicano*, 71-110.

[29] Fuentes, Manuel, *Guía histórico-descriptiva, administrativa, judicial y de domicilio* (Lima: Librería Central, 1860), 245.

during the Guano era. Faced with these new European cultural influences, *criollo* would finally acquire an extra but nationalist use. Synonymous with Limeño cultural practices, *criollo* would be used by Limeños writers in the second half of the nineteenth century to differentiate these practices from the new European cultural fashions.

Lima during the Guano Era (1840-1880)

The Guano Era was the *belle époque* for those new European attitudes in Lima. In the beginning of this era, the colonial state was almost destroyed because of the Independence wars (1821-1824) and the regional conflicts that arose during the Caudillo Era (1825-1840). However, due to the attenuation of these conflicts, a liberal Peruvian state began to be built during the 1840's. The increase in a new exportable, valuable, monopolized commodity – a powerful fertilizer called Guano – gave Peruvian policymakers the financial resources to build that state.[30] The exhausted rural European fields in the industrial era needed fertilizers and Peru had the best of them, the waste of sea birds.

As in other countries in Middle and South America, a primary export economy was being organized in Peru mainly oriented to Great Britain, whose impact could be quickly observed by anyone. African slavery was abolished in 1854, and slave owners were indemnified with the money obtained from the sales of Guano. However, coastal

[30] See Gootenberg, Paul, "North-South: Trade Policy, Regionalism and *Caudillismo* in Post-Independence Peru," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23/2 (1991): 304, and *Between Silver and Guano*. Classic studies about the Guano Era are Levin, Jonathan, *The Export Economies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), and Bonilla, Heraclio, *Guano y burguesía en el Perú* (Lima: IEP, 1984). A critic of the idea of enclave used by Levin in Hunt, Shane, *Growth and Guano in Nineteenth Century Peru* (Princeton: Woodrow Wilson School, 1973). Parts of these revenues were used to pay internal debts. See Quiroz, Alfonso. *La deuda defraudada* (Lima: INC, 1987).

estates continued to be supplied with a similar work force referred to in documents as *culies* from China.[31] Many of these former African slaves remained and continued working in Lima as artisans, street vendors, or water carriers. The old *Indio* tax was abolished in 1854, but it also continued as a fiscal practice, albeit under other names, in some areas of the Peruvian Andes. The economic and social changes of the period also provoked protests. For example, public complaints made by Limeño artisans about luxury imports occurred in 1858. Later, the colonial guilds were abolished based on the principle of craft freedom, but an organized artisanry survived despite these changes.[32]

The urban landscape was changing in Lima.[33] One aspect of this change was the rebuiding of some old late colonial public spaces, for example, the promenade called *Alameda de los Descalzos* (1856). The old Limeño colonial walls were destroyed between 1868 and 1871 to allow an incomplete urban expansion.[34] As happened in other cities in the Americas, new amusements were adopted by the elite, such as the performing of new European dances such as the waltz and polka. This was the period when musicians such as the Italian Rebagliati brothers arrived in Perú (1863). Besides their

[31] See Rodríguez Pastor, Humberto, *Hijos del Celeste Imperio (1850-1900): migración, agricultura, mentalidad, y explotación* (Lima: SUR-Casa del Socialismo, 2001); also his *Herederos del dragón: historia de la comunidad china en el Perú* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú), 2000.

[32] See Basadre Jorge, *Historia de la república del Perú, 1822-1933* (Lima: Universitaria, 1968), t. IV, 358. See also García-Bryce, Iñigo, "Politics by Peaceful Means: Artisans and Societies in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lima," *The Americas* 59/3 (2003): 325-345.

[33] For this general Latin American urban process, see Bauer, Arnold, *Goods, Power, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), chapter 5; Águila, Alicia del, *Los Velos y Las Pieles.*

[34] See Ramón, *Las Murallas y los callejones,* and Majluf, Natalia *Escultura y Espacio Público. Lima, 1850-1879* (Lima: IEP, 1994).

labor as piano teachers and composers in Lima, one of them, Claudio (who harmonized the national Peruvian anthem) authored one of the first collections and stylizations of old traditional tunes such as *zamacuecas* and other South American songs.[35] It is known that at that time, lyrical musicians such as the Rebagliati brothers were looking to integrate popular musical genres into their operas and rhapsodies.[36]

The downside of this urban transformation was the rising concern among policymakers (e.g., the statistician and writer Manuel Fuentes) about controlling the increasing number of "plebeians" in urban Lima. Slavery was abolished in 1854, and simultaneously, the aim to criminalize former African slaves emerged in an effort to maintain their subordination. The death penalty was abolished in 1856, and Fuentes commented that to eliminate it meant to reduce public security and promote criminality.[37] In fact, it was not criminality but Lima's population that was growing, from 85,116 in 1850 to 269,738 in 1940.[38] The number of plebeian houses grew, above all, in areas such

[35] About the Rebagliatis and other Peruvian musicians, see Raygada, Carlos, "Panorama Musical del Perú," *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música* 2 (1936), 193-195. These referred *zamacuecas* were published in Claudio Rebagliati's *Album Sud Americano* (Milano: Stabilimento Edoardo Sonzogno, 1870) – a rare work that, unfortunately, we had not the opportunity to access.

[36] One of his Peruvian students - the Limeña concertist and pianist Rosa Mercedes Ayarza de Morales - continued with this kind of work in twentieth century (see chapter 2).

[37] Aguirre, Carlos, "Mapping Lima's Moral: The Cultural and Political Construction of the Criminal Classes in late 19th century Peru," <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/LASA98/CAguirre.pdf> (1 Nov. 2010) and his *The Criminals of Lima and their Worlds: the Prison Experience, 1850-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[38] See Gootenberg, Paul, "Population and Ethnicity in Early Republican Period. Some Revisions," *Latin American Research Review* 26/3 (1991), 112; *Censo Nacional de Población y Ocupación 1940* (Lima: Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio / Dirección Nacional de Estadística, 1944), 36. The 1940 data is referred to Lima considered in its colonial borders. Considering all these areas, the population of Lima in 1944 would be 520,528. Cf. Arca Parro, Alberto, "La ciudad capital de la república y el censo nacional de 1940," *Estadística Peruana* 1 (1945), 26.

as Rímac and El Cercado. Finally, in 1906, 44.7% of the Limeño population was living in alleys – *callejones* – and country houses – *casas de vencidad*.[39]

A crucial phenomenon to consider here is the rise of a new Limeño elite composed of members of the late colonial elite and the new import-export commercial businessmen. This elite avidly consumed European commodities. Some of them preferred to live in Paris or London where they could manage their transatlantic commercial businesses and achieve new social recognition. They enjoyed performing the previously mentioned new European music fashions and engaged their descendants through arranged marriages with members of the European aristocracy.[40] However, this transformation should not be exaggerated. Part of the elite continued practicing some colonial dances like the *zamacueca*. Moreover, as the arrival of the Chinese *culies* demonstrated, the old social hierarchies would be reproduced in Lima for decades. A bigger modern, industrial sector would emerge in Lima only after the 1890's. For this reason, this era of modernization has been referred to as traditionalist.[41] The final consequence of the rise of this elite and other *nouveau* Limeños was that *costumbrismo* was reinforced as a literary tool which embraced all the late colonial cultural practices into a Peruvian nationalist discourse.

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[39] See Ramón, Gabriel, *La Muralla y los callejones* (Lima: SIDEA-Prom Perú, 1999), 130-143. About Limeño and Peruvian population in the nineteenth century, see Gootenberg, "Population…," 109 – 157.

[40] See Rizo-Patrón, Paul, "Del aguardiente al champagne. La Aristocratización de la burguesía peruana en el siglo XIX," in *La experiencia burguesa en el Perú (1840-194*0), 27-55.

[41] Trazegnies, Fernando de, "La genealogía del derecho peruano. Los juegos de trueques y cambios," in *Pensamiento político peruano,* ed. Alberto Adrianzén (Lima: DESCO, 1987), 99-133; Idem, *La idea del derecho en el Perú republicano del siglo XIX* (Lima: PUC, 1979).

"*Costumbrismo" and the National Narrative during the Guano Era*

Costumbrismo was a plural, continental literary movement influenced by eighteenth-century European descriptions of "exotic" (that is, non European) places.[42] In the case of Lima, their followers (several of them belonging to the Limeño middle classes) generally wrote in present tense depicting and sometimes exoticizing everyday Limeño life since the 1830s. Almost all of them were born in Lima – e.g., Felipe Pardo y Aliaga (1806-1868), Manuel Ascensio Segura (1805-1871), Manuel Atanasio Fuentes (1820-1889), Ramón Rojas y Cañas (1827-1883) and Ricardo Palma (1833-1919). Abelardo Gamarra (1850-1924) was another famous *costumbrista* writer who, although not born in Lima, spent most of his life in the city. They wrote newspaper articles – *cuadros de costumbres* – or made theatrical pieces. They asked for the reform, preservation or elimination of cultural Limeño practices. Although they wrote festive pieces, many times their writings could be sarcastic criticism to the daily life of Limeños. They would have been considered *criollos* during the colonial period. Some of them such as Pardo y Aliaga (who descended from the old colonial aristocracy) and Fuentes became or were part of the Peruvian state bureaucracy.

One can clearly see this aim proposed in the introduction of Rojas' book *Museo de Limeñadas* (1853). Rojas said that "to be against certain ridiculous habits is not to hate the country… to want to banish some errors is neither apostatizes of the motherland, nor to jeer it, nor to mock it." He said that the reason that he and other writers ridiculed "the

[42] About *Costumbrismo* see Watson, María, *El cuadro de costumbres en el Perú decimonónico* (Lima: PUC, 1979); Loayza, Luis, *El sol de Lima*. Second edition (México: FCE, 1993), 63-71; Cornejo Polar, Jorge, "Nuevas ideas sobre Pardo y Aliaga," *Anales de Literatura Hispanoamericana* 28 (1999), 519-546; Idem, *El costumbrismo en el Perú: estudio y antología de cuadros de costumbres* (Lima: COPE, 2001).

thousands of vicious littlenesses that exist in our society" was because they loved the city of Lima, and wanted to see it exempt of blemishes.[43] Even so, Rojas publicly proclaimed that he was a *criollo* (that is, a Peruvian born in Lima). It was a self-perception asserted against the continual complaints that, according to him, many unscrupulous foreigners who lived comfortably in Lima were leveling against the Peruvian state and society. Thus, he clearly liked the term *criollo* with the Peruvian national state policies - e.g. the job market.[44]

In his *Museo de limeñadas*, Rojas also linked the word *criollo* with habits and customs from Lima. He wrote against Limeños that were Francophiles and prefered to dance the new European dances such as the mazurka and drinking champagne and grog. According to Rojas, these Francophiles would say that the old social gatherings known as *tertulias de vulgo* were good for a *Limeño criollo* – for a person who had never left the country. He later added that these Francophiles did not like to meet with persons who drank *aguardiente de Pisco* – a colonial liquor – and liked to play the guitar.[45] As a Limeño who had traveled out of Perú, Rojas said that these Francophiles would prefer the opera and not the *jarana* – that is, private parties where one could dance an old Limeño tap dance – *un guen zapateo.*[46] Other *costumbristas* such as Segura, Gamarra and Palma

[43] Rojas y Cañas, Ramón. *Museo de limeñadas*. 2nd edition (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, 2005), 81.

[44] Criticizing these foreigners, Rojas said that if he, as a Limeño, complained against the Peruvian government is something understandable. However, he said that he could not tolerate that "the bachiche" [the Italian], "the gringo" [the U.S. American], and the "long bearded chapetón" [the Spaniard] criticized "the country that feed them, bring clothes and give him a position that would never have acquired in their motherland" (Ibid, 117).

[45] Ibid, 121.

[46] Ibid, 122.

would have agreed with these ideas.[47]

Indeed, a similar proposal can be read in *La Moza Mala* – a comedy written by Segura (1845). In one of the scenes, a discussion emerges between two elder Limeños from the lower middle classes, León and Lucía, over who the husbands of their two young nieces should be. Lucia already accepted the proposal of two foreigners (Lucía loved one of them), and León argued with Lucía saying that he would prefer to see his nieces married with two *mestizos* ice cream vendors (*cholos heladeros*) rather that see them married with foreigners. As a consequence, he said, their offsprings would prefer to drink cognac and not *champus* (an old Limeño drink made with water, apple, soursop, and quince) and to eat a British beefsteak and not an *anticucho* (a colonial food made with small pieces of grilled skewered beef heart). Lucía replied saying she would not want to see her nieces getting married with Limeños because they were lazy.[48] Lucía also said that she would not like to see her nieces dancing the indecent *mozamala* – probably another name to refer to the *zamacueca*[49] – because it was a dance that could give of a bad impression to the "fine" foreigners.[50] Indeed, Pardo y Aliaga would also have agreed

[47] It seems that influenced by Rojas's article about *criollos* and *afrancesados*, Ricardo Palma also wrote a comedy precisely called *Criollos y afrancesados* whose debut was made in Lima (1857). See Holguín, Oswaldo, *Tiempos de infancia y bohemia. Ricardo Palma (1833-1866)* (Lima: PUC, 1994), 352-354.

[48] See Varillas, *Obras completas de Manuel Ascensio Segura*, t. I, 150.

[49] See Tompkins, William, "The Music Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru" (Ph.D diss. Los Angeles, University of California, 1981), 73. José Durand expressed his doubts about that topic. See his "Del fandango a la marinera," *Fanal* 16/59 (1961), 10-15; and his "De la zamacueca a la marinera," *Mensajes* 15 (1971), 23-27.

[50] Varillas, *Obras completas de Manuel Ascensio Segura*, t. I, 147.

on this point with Lucía.[51]

This is not a mere mockery. Years before, Segura had said that he also enjoyed the *tertulias*, drinking not the chocolate but tea with milk. However, he felt annoyed when he found in these gatherings some Europeans constantly complaining about the Peruvian government and society, or remembering the happy days of the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation. He did not hesitate, therefore, to say that if those foreigners did not like the country it was preferable that they go away.[52] A similar idea was made by a writer far away from Segura – Manuel A. Fuentes. As a state officer, he wrote and translated his books about Lima trying to portray an accurate image of the city.[53]

Clearly, when these writers wrote about Limeño cultural practices, they were also expressing nationalist feelings. Segura was much more positive than Rojas when he depicted Limeño daily life. However, both of them observed with surprise the transformation of Limeño cultural practices. Fuentes shared Pardo y Aliaga's ideas about the supposed indecency of Limeño cultural practices like the carnival.[54] In this way, he echoed similar ideas made seven decades before by Hesperióphilo in the *Mercurio*

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[51] See Pardo y Aliaga's comedy "Frutos de la Educación," in *Poesías y escritos en prosa de don Felipe Pardo* (Paris: Imprenta de los Caminos de Hierro, 1869), 189-191.

[52] Segura, "El té y la mazamorra," in *Artículos, poesías y comedias de Manuel Ascensio Segura*, 82-83.

[53] Fuentes, Manuel, *Lima. Sketches of the Capital of Peru. Historical, Statistical, Administrative, Commercial, and Mora*l. London: Trübner & Co., 1866, III-V.

[54] Fuentes, *Lima. Sketches of the Capital of Peru*, p. 156-159. About Fuentes see Poole, Deborah. *Vision, Race and Modernity. A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), chapter 6; Gootenberg, Paul, *Imagining Development. Economic Ideas in Perú's "Fictitious Prosperity" of Guano, 1840-1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 64-71; Denegri, Francesca, "Distopía poscolonial y racismo en la narrativa del XIX peruano," in *Familia y vida cotidiana en America Latina, siglos XVIII-XX*, eds. Scarlett O'Phelan et al (Lima: PUC-IFEA, 2003), 120-123.

Peruano (1791) about the participation of the *negros bozales* during the Limeño Corpus Christi's procession.[55] Truly one can also find mockeries in Segura's other works. One time he referred to the cries of a Limeña woman comparing them with the cries of an African descent woman or *negra criolla* – a proof that to categorize an African descendant as *criollo* was a standing practice in the republican period[56] – but in the end he reinforced in his comedies his predilection for the old Limeño cultural traditions.

Rojas and Segura's writings were neither a glorification of the colonial past nor a simple expression of xenophobia.[57] Unlike several twentieth-century nostalgic Limeño writers, Segura mockingly described the *tapadas* of the 1840's in present tense.[58] Truly, neither were their literary images a complete representation of the country, above all, of the majority of the population, who did not read or speak Spanish.[59] Certainly, Peruvian nationalism did not mean that an established linguistic, national community previously existed; as Eric Hobsbawm has demonstrated, in most of the nineteenth-century European

[55] Hesperióphylo, "Idea de las Congregaciones Públicas de los Negros Bozales," *Mercurio Peruano* II / 48 (1791), 116-117. Cf. Estenssoro, Juan Carlos, "Música y comportamiento festivo de la población negra en la Lima colonial," *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 451/452 (1988): 161-168.

[56] In the theater piece *The Three Widows* (1862), it can be read a dialogue between Micaela and Martina. The daugther (Micaela) was a widow recently and her mother (Martina) complaint, with cries, that she already thought to be married again. For that Micaela answered her saying: "you look like a *criolla* black woman!" See Varillas, *Obras completas de Manuel Ascensio Segura*, t. I, 458.

[57]Complaining about the replacement of the colonial saya and manto by a "sad parody" of European clothes, Rojas y Cañas said that if Limeñas wanted to imitate the customs of the "cult Europe," at least he wished that they imitate the "good" customs that represent the true progress, the true civilization, but not to abandon the only "good" custom "that you have" (Rojas, *Museo de Limeñadas*, 146).

[58] Cf. note 26.

[59] Cf. Dager, Joseph, *Historiografía y nación en el Perú del siglo XIX* (Lima: PUC, 2009), 85-94.

cases, this situation never existed.[60] However, it is clear that writers such as Segura were implicitly demanding that Limeños act united in all important national matters. Thus, although *costumbrismo* is not synonymous with Peruvian nationalism, it was used by *costumbristas* to reinforce their national feelings in opposition to European cultural influences.

These writers were writing in the present tense, depicting Limeño cultural practices and complaining against unscrupulous foreigners. It is true Rojas wrote one article about an official dancing at the Presidential House years before. However, the article finishes reinforcing Rojas' republican ideas.[61] Even the most important collection of stories, influenced by this *costumbrista* agenda – Ricardo Palma's *Tradiciones Peruanas* – cannot be simply analyzed as mere colonialist remembrances. Even so, Palma was attacked by the Catholic Church for having written anticlerical stories.[62]

Rojas took another unconscious, intellectual step towards establishing a new cultural category when he said that these late colonial customs needed to be labeled as *criollo* customs. Thus, in a city like Lima where, according to him, people liked to make their opinions about everything, an author like him could "publish a book that necessarily will have a title." Sooner or later, in the religious procession "all the *tapadas* will say to him [a propos of his book]: good bye *Ño costumbres criollas*." Rojas concluded that

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[60] Cf. Hobsbawm, Eric, *Nation and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chapter 1; Marx, Anthony, *Faith in Nation. Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), chapter 1; Smith, Anthony, *Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), chapter 1 and 2; Breuilly, John, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994).

[61] Ibid, 85-87.

[62] See Kristal, *Una visión urbana de los Andes*, 75-76. Truly, as Luis Loayza has stressed, Palma became more conformist. See Loayza, "Palma y el pasado," *El Sol de Lima*, 72-91.

"before publishing this *Museo* [*de Limeñadas*], I knew that, after publishing it, I would need to change my name to *Ño Museo*."[63] For the first time, one can read the phrase *costumbres criollas* used by a republican Limeño writer. Even so, he was proposing (in a very unconscious way) two topics that can be found in twentieth-century Limeño newspapers and magazine reports as well as in twentieth-century lyrics of *música criolla*.

First of all, *lo criollo* — as cultural practices from Lima — would nostalgically be seen by twentieth century neo-*costumbrista* writers, such as José Gálvez, as the core of a supposed authentic but increasingly lost Limeño cultural tradition[64] that should be preserved.[65] Rojas y Cañas playfully proposed that a museum was a good place to preserve the supposed out of dated Limeño cultural practices. Precisely, *costumbrista* writers were accomplishing this role. The extensively read and reedited *Tradiciones Peruanas* (published in his first version in 1872) was also aimed by this literary but nationalistic goal. Sometimes mockingly-nostalgic about Peruvian "human types" and events (above all, during the colonial period), Ricardo Palma's *Tradiciones Peruanas* progressively embraced the whole Peruvian past either through stories similar to *cuadros de costumbres* or writing short historical romances. He used an irreverent, critical tone.

[63] Ibid, 112.

[64] Faced with a renewed urban project in Lima, the young José Gálvez (a writer who known Palma) could collect several of his *costumbrista* articles in 1921 and talk (with a nostalgic but not retrograded aim) about the lost of old Limeño customs. See his *Una Lima que se va* (Lima: Euforion, 1921).

[65] This nostalgic trend that can be found in some of Palma stories can also be found in other writers years before the War of Pacific (1879-1883). Thus, an author expressed in 1872 that old Limeño customs such as a man singing to his beloved a *yaravi* (a colonial musical genre labeled as *andina*, *serrana* music in late twentieth-century but labeled as *criolla* in early twentieth century Lima) had completely gone from Lima because of the emergence of a new urban elements (e.g., the gas) but, above all, because of a new, modern monetary attitude. According to the author, this new attitude was guiding the daily life of Limeños. It is clear that he disliked the new Limeño, social urban environment. See El Chico Terencio, "Lima (lo que fue y lo que es)," *El Correo del Perú* (July 6, 1872), 203.

But in the end his stories ended either in anecdotes or in a conformist tone. Influenced also by romanticism, Palma never wrote a book about the Peruvian nation. However, his stories impacted the twentieth century Limeño cultural field. His stories would continually be used by performers and intellectuals in twentieth- century Lima as a "folk" archive for creating nationalistic performances.[66]

The second but unconscious proposition of Rojas was to delimit a topic that would be romanticized in the future by Peruvian social scientists and Limeño music composers. Rojas was noticing the spread of those Europeanized customs and the gradual extinction of some of the old Limeño ones. Faced with the puppet spectacles in the streets, he would say in an exaggerated tone "precisely, there are no puppets, and if you can find them, it will be a rare thing; it will be a spectacle that can be enjoyed only in the environs [such as] the *ultra*-Malambo." Even, Rojas sarcastically would say that "many of our little nephews prefer that mammy carry them to the opera."[67] Thus, Rojas was suggesting that the artisans, the workers, the lower middle classes – the plebeians who lived in streets such as Malambo (located in El Rímac neighborhood) – were the last cultural redoubt of *costumbres criollas*. Later, Abelardo Gamarra would echo this appreciation.[68] Radicalizing this idea, one should finally suppose that for authors such as

[66] Historians know that after the publishing of the first edition of *Tradiciones* (1872) Palma was adding several stories in the next editions. Thus, his work can not be analyzed as a mere block of stories written in a short-time period. The academic works about Palma is unnumbered. As useful studies, see Loayza, "Palma y el pasado;" Cornejo Polar, Antonio, "Historia de la literatura del Perú republicano," in *Historia del Perú*, ed. Juan Mejía Baca (Lima: Juan Mejía Baca, 1980), t. IX, 45-46; Oviedo, Miguel, *Genio y figura de Ricardo Palma* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1964), Tauzin Castellanos, Isabel, *Las tradiciones de Ricardo Palma. Claves de una coherencia* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1999).

[67] Ibid., 91 -92.

[68] Gamarra, Abelardo, "Rasgos de Pluma. Lima al vuelo," *Integridad* (August 11, 1894), 1.

Rojas, this population - generically called *el pueblo* - would be forever resisting foreign cultural influences.

This romanticized and ideological twentieth-century academic issue had already been clearly proposed by Rojas in 1853. It was also positively suggested by Segura in his comedies and articles, and it would also be expressed by authors such as Palma and Gamarra years later. Some twentieth century scholars would stress later that *el pueblo Limeño*[69] (composed by workers, artisans and the low middle classes) who lived in working class neighborhoods such as El Rimac or El Cercado were the main practitioners of cultural, "folk" practices called *cultura criolla*.[70] This is not only a classic point of departure for current academic discussions about popular culture[71] and national identity. Several twentieth-century Limeño music lyrics festively referred to these neighborhoods and streets such as Malambo, depicting their *callejones* and people, and exalting their parties or *jaranas*.

This last topic would also be thought in a negative way in the future. The term *criollo* would also become a referent of indecency. Clemente Palma and other Limeño

[69] In 1949, José Diez-Canseco in *Lima: Coplas y Guitarras* (Lima: Compañía de Impresiones y Publicidad, 1949, 18-19) criticized the idea gave by José Gálvez in 1921 about the extinction of the old Limeño customs due to the capitalist modernization. He said that the "Lima soul" would never disappear because it was in the heart of the people, that is, in the "playful soul of the zambos."

[70] Cf. Muñoz, Fanny, *Diversiones Públicas en Lima, 1890-1920. La experiencia de la modernidad* (Lima: Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales, 2001), 115-118; López, Sinesio, *Ciudadanos Reales e Imaginarios* (Lima: Instituto Diálogos y Propuestas, 1997), 137-146; Aguirre, Carlos et al. *Lo africano en la cultura criolla* (Lima: Congreso del Perú, 2000); Simmons, "The Criollo Outlook in the Mestizo Culture of Coastal Perú."

[71] The literature about this topic is large. Cf. Bourdieu, Pierre, "Los usos del *Pueblo*," in *Cosas dichas* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1987), 152-157; Traube, Elizabeth, "'The Popular' in American Culture," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (1996): 127-151; Martín-Barbero, Jesús, *De los medios a las mediaciones. Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía*. 5th edition. (Bogota: Convenio Andrés Bello, 1998).

writers did it in twentieth century labeling, for example, the Limeño carnival as indecent, that is, as *criollo* one.[72] Indeed, these notions were similar to Fuentes and Pardo y Aliaga's ideas. Thus, the word *criollo* would also be used in the future as synonymous with plebeian customs and as an antonym with "civilization." Supposedly, these plebeian attitudes were clearly personified by Limeños (some of them criminals and African descendants) living in streets such as Malambo.[73]

These notions about the plebeians were really two sides of the same coin. It was an intellectual, ironic, festive, and urban-view of the daily life of workers, artisans, and low middle classes living in the republican Lima. Actually, faced with these new European fashions, the plebeians gradually adapted them to their own everyday life. By the 1940's, one can thus observe that Limeño versions of nineteenth-century European waltzes and polkas (several of them composed by Limeño workers) were extremely popular in Lima. Referred to as being part of the *música criolla*, these *valses criollos* were so popular in the 1940's that for some scholars and Limeño writers they were the core of the musical experience labeled *música criolla*.[74] However, when Rojas published

[72] Cf. "Nuestro homenaje a los mantenedores del carnaval," *Mundial* (March 7, 1924), 2.

[73] About the relationships between criminals and *criollo* music genres, cf. Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and their Worlds*, 124-127. As happened with other music genres in the world, the Limeño gangsters and other unscrupulous people also enjoyed dancing, listening and playing music genres such as the marinera. Cf. the testimony of the Limeño composer Manuel Acosta in Martínez, Marino, ed, *Manuel Acosta, arte y sabiduría del criollismo* (Lima: ENSF "José María Arguedas, 2008), 34-35; 42-43.

[74] Cf. Lloréns, José Antonio, *Música popular en Lima: criollos y andinos* (Lima: IEP-IIA, 1983), 28; Lloréns, José Antonio and Rodrigo Chocano, *Celajes, florestas y secretos. Una historia del vals popular limeño* (Lima: INC, 2009) 82-83; Stein, Steve, "El vals criollo y los valores de la clase trabajadora de Lima de comienzos del siglo XX," *Socialismo y participación* 17 (1982), 43-50; Santa Cruz, César, *El waltz y el valse criollo* (Lima: INC, 1977). As a powerful common-sense idea, it does not stress too much that the Limeño population also enjoyed other music genres. About that, cf. Borras, Gérard, *Chansonniers de Lima. Le Vals et la chanson criolla (1900-1936)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009), chapter 1.

his book, this process was just in its beginnings.

Beyond of this issue, one must finally remark that two national discourses about old Limeño cultural practices were reinforced by *costumbrismo*. The first one had a strong conservatively negative tone (e.g., Fuentes and Pardo y Aliaga) and can be included as a part of an ideological trend that historian Cecilia Mendez calls "Creole Nationalism."[75] The second one had a much more positive – sometimes ambiguous – populist tone (e.g., Segura, Palma, and Gamarra). Rojas y Cañas was really in the middle of these two but not necessarily contradictory discursive poles. Later, in the twentieth century, several *costumbrista* writers would integrate these nineteenth century-writers into a nostalgic discourse about Lima that would impact some twentieth century music composers after the 1940's.

"Lo Criollo" and the Peruvian Nationalism after the War of 1879

After the 1860's, this local sensibility was already used to refer to both persons and commodities from Lima. Manuel A. Fuentes would refer in 1860 to the existence of *criollo* dishes in Lima that he distinguished from the foreign ones, for example, the Limeño *puchero*, *carapulcra* and *picantes* such as *seviche*.[76] In 1897, Camille Pradier-Fodéré (a French professor in San Marcos University in Lima) published a book in which

[75] Mendez, Cecilia, "Incas sí, indios no: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and its Contemporary Crisis," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28 / 1 (1996): 197-225.

[76] Fuentes, Manuel, *Guía histórico-descriptiva, administrativa, judicial y de domicilio*, 262-264.

he called this Limeño food *cuisine criolla*.[77] Years before Pradier-Fodéré published his book, the owners of Limeño restaurants (Italians owned the most part of them) were already distinguishing between their French and Italian dishes, and the *comida criolla*.[78] The term *criollo* meant in this context a national or traditional commodity from Lima.

This cultural process was reinforced by the War of Pacific (1879-1883). This war would overshadow any kind of discussion about what the Peruvian nation meant. An economic crisis that began in the 1870's provoked the bankruptcy of the Peruvian state. The Peruvian army was defeated by Chilean forces in the War of the Pacific and the crisis of the state worsened. Having destroyed the nearer south beach towns of Chorrillos and Barranco, the Chilean army finally occupied Lima (1881-1883). The National Library in Lima was pillaged. The Guano Era ended therefore in a chaos. A war veteran, the Limeño poet Manuel González-Prada (1844-1918) – who was a descendant of the old Limeño, colonial aristocracy – again began this discussion after 1883 as a reaction against the Limeño elite.

As a young liberal writer, he reacted against his orthodox Catholic background before 1879. Later, as a reservist, he fought in the War. He emerged a few years after the War as a severe critic seeking military revenge but also denouncing the problems that, according to him, could explain the Peruvian defeat. In a famous patriotic ceremony or

[77] See Pradier-Fodéré, Camille, *Lima et ses environs* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1897), 301-311. He also said that the wealthy families preferred French food and the families who liked the "national customs" preferred the old Limeño food. In other article about the San Juan Day in Amancaes published few years before (1888), the author already talked directly about these dishes as a delicious ones made "a la criolla". See Larriva de Llona, Lastenia, "Impresiones del Día de San Juan," *El Perú Ilustrado* 61 (July 7, 1888), 134.

[78] See "Restaurant 'La Patria'. Lima…," *El Perú Ilustrado* 108 (June 1, 1889), 111. About Italians in Lima, see Bonfiglio, Giovanni, "Los italianos en Lima," in *Mundos Interiores: Lima 1850-1950*, eds. Aldo Panfichi and Felipe Portocarrero (Lima: CIUP, 1995), 43-73.

velada organized for the national Peruvian day (July 28th) at Lima's Politeama Theater (1888), a schoolboy read one of his most quoted, famous, and vengeful articles.[79] It said said that as a country that was not organized as a national community, with many social burdens inherited from its colonial past and, above all, as a country lacking a nationalist elite, Peruvians could not defeat anyone. Moreover, he directly said that the "true" Peruvian nation was not composed of the *criollos* (the descendants of the Spanish population) or the European descendants living in the coastal area who never used the Guano's profits to develop the country. He identified the core of the Peruvian national community as being in the Andes, in the rural *Indio* population whose education should be promoted by the State to overcome their social "degeneration."[80] In the future, he would radicalize his proposals saying that the solution to the social subordination of the "Indio race" was in their same hands: they should buy a rifle and kill their oppressors – e.g., the landowners.[81]

Indeed, González-Prada's arguments are not so different to the ones made by *peninsulares* (people born in the Iberian Peninsula) during the colonial period about the suppose inability of the colonial Spanish American elites to rule the colonies. However, it was now a descendant of the same old, colonial Spanish American elite who made

[79] González-Prada, Manuel, "Discurso en el Politeama," in Manuel *González Prada. Obras*, Luis Alberto Sánchez, ed. (Lima: Ediciones COPE, 1985), t.1, vol. 1, 86-102.

[80] The bibliography about Gonzalez-Prada is large. For a biography, see Sánchez, Luis Alberto, *Nuestra vida son los ríos…: historia y leyenda de los González Prada* (Lima: UNMSM, 1977). For his philosophical and social thoughts, see Salvattecci, Hugo, *El pensamiento de González-Prada* (Lima: Editorial Arica, 1972).

[81] He asseverated this idea in 1904 (in an article called "Nuestros Indios") and 1906. See the first article in Gonzalez Prada, Manuel, *Horas de Lucha*, 2nd ed. (Callao: Tipografía Lux, 1924), 337-338; about the second reference, cf. *Obras Completas* II / 4 (Lima: Ediciones COPE, 1986), 327-329.

similar criticism, that is, criticism about the inability of the Peruvian elite to be a modern and patriotic elite.[82] An important issue to point out here is that this recast discourse would impact the intellectual work of twentieth-century historians and thinkers such as Jorge Basadre and José Carlos Mariátegui - intellectuals that would also impact in the work of future social scientists. Therefore, a general notion would emerge among a group of Peruvian and English-Speaking social scientists later stressing that the main problems of the modern Peruvian society were linked to the existence of a dominant yet inept elite who lost opportunities to develop the country and were unable to build a Peruvian national community.[83]

González-Prada notions about the rural, Andean population were not so different from the ones made by some Spanish American thinkers, for example, the prejudices of Riva-Agüero y Sánchez Boquete in 1808 about the *república de Indios* or *India* race.[84] The Simon Bolívar council of government had a similar notion. Through its agrarian legislation (1826), they paradoxically recast an "ethnically defined corporate group" – the *indígenas* – that required special protection.[85] A closer precursor to González-Prada ideas was the proposals launched by the Society of Friends of the Indios – *La Sociedad Amiga*

[82] Efraín Kristal has already pointed out that until the end of the decade of 1880 González-Prada was closer to the *Civilista* proposals. Cf. his *Una visión urbana de los Andes*, 104-111.

[83] Chocano, Magdalena, "Ucronía y frustración en la conciencia histórica peruana," *Márgenes* 2 (1987): 43-60; Flores Galindo, Alberto, "La imagen y el espejo: la historiografía peruana (1910-1940)," *Márgenes* 4, (1988): 55-83; Rochabrun, Guillermo, "La visión del Perú de Julio Cotler: un balance crítico," in *Batallas por la teoría* (Lima: IEP, 2005), 254-274.

[84] Pardo y Aliaga also had similar prejudices. See Kristal, *Una visión urbana de los Andes*, 43-45.

[85] Jacobsen, "Liberalism and Indian Communities in Peru," 130-132.

de los Indios – in late 1860s.[86] The difference with González-Prada's ideas was that, in the long run, he positively said the rural Andean population could overcome its social subordination through violence and revolts.

However, he was also (re) creating a notion that would be crucial in future analyses of the Peruvian society. Frustrated with the defeat of the Peruvian army in the War,[87] González-Prada established a socio-geographic dualism opposing the European and *criollo,* coastal population against the *Indio* population who supposedly only lived in the rural, Andean areas. In the future, several Peruvian and English-Speaking scholars would say an unresolved issue of the modern Peruvian society was that Peru is a dual, fractured society since the colonial period.[88] Several scholars would continue using this binary notion opposing an imagined *criollo* coastal society as set against the "deprived" *andino* one.[89] Nineteenth-century geographers and foreign travelers had similar notions.

[86] About *La Sociedad Amiga de los Indios*, see Monsalve Zanatti, Martín, "Opinión pública, sociedad civil, y la 'cuestión indígena': La Sociedad Amiga de los Indios (1867-1871)," *A Contra Corriente* 7/1 (2009) <http://www.ncsu.edu/acontracorriente/fall_09/articles/Monsalve.pdf > (1 nov. 2010); McEvoy, Carmen, "Indio y nación: una lectura política de la rebelión de Huancané (1866-1868)," in *Forjando la nación. Ensayos de historia republicana* (Lima / Sewanee: PUC-The University of the South, 1999), 61-118. Really, González-Prada's *indigenismo* was not a novelty: he was only following a long literary-political urban trend. See Kristal, Efraín, *Una visión urbana de los Andes.*

[87] Cf. Manrique, Nelson, *Las guerrillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile* (Lima: CIC, 1981).

[88] Cf. Mallon, Florencia, "Indian Communities, Political Cultures, and the State in Latin America, 1780-1990," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (1992), 36-38. There are many examples about the popularity of this unhistorical notion among twentieth century scholars. For example, inside the Latin American music studies area, musicologist Thomas Turino published a valuable article about the musical practices of the Andean immigrants in Lima since 1940s that, however, replicated the old binary, unhistorical perception of González-Prada. See "The Music of Andean Migrants in Lima, Peru: Demographics, Social Power, and Style," *Latin American Music Review* 9/2 (1988), 127-150.

[89] About the perception of a "deprived" Andean world among some U.S. American scholars, see Romero, Raúl, "Tragedies and Celebrations: Imagining Foreign and Local Scholarships, *Latin American Music Review* 22/1 (2001), 57-58.

They said *Indios*[90] only lived in the rural Andes.[91] Thus, the term *criollo* had finally acquired an extra socio-geographical use.

The Politeama speech was made when the former members of the peasant guerrillas who supported General Andrés Cáceres's army against the Chileans occupied some Andean estates. The War of the Pacific had showed the strength but also the limits of a national front against the Chileans based on the active participation of the peasant communities. In this context, a literature that positively depicted the *Indios* was (re) emerging.[92] Attacking several Central Andean landowners considered antipatriotic, the guerrillas who occupied these estates ended the War and, simultaneously, claimed parts of these lands because they said that they were really part of their own communitarian lands.[93] González-Prada's wife reported that nobody wanted to publish the speech, and only a newspaper from the political opposition published it later. The Cáceres administration began to attack González-Prada because they believed he wanted to

[90] Terms such as *Indio* or *Indígena* must be historically analyzed in the future. Surely, as in the case of the term *criollo*, they were used in a positive or negative way depending of the conflicts in which the people categorized in block as *Indios* were engaged. Cf. Mendez, Cecilia, "The Power of Naming, or the Construction of Ethnic and National Identities in Peru: Myth, History, and the Iquichanos," *Past and Present* 171 (2001), 127-160; Salomon, Frank, "Unethnic Ethnohistory: On Peruvian Peasant Historiography and Ideas of Autochthony," *Ethnohistory* 49 /3 (2002), 475-506.

[91] See Orlove, Benjamin, "Putting Race in Its Place: Order in Colonial and Postcolonial Peruvian Geography," *Social Research* 60/2 (1993), p. 234-326. Radiguet said that "since the conquest of Perú, the white race, has not almost moved away from the [coastal area]" - *Lima y la sociedad peruana*, 69. Checking the Limeño censuses, one can observe that a population categorized as *Indios* always either lived or work in Lima.

[92] See Holguín, Oswaldo, "El indio valeroso en la literatura de la Posguerra con Chile," in *La republica de papel*, 235-273.

[93] Manrique, *Las guerrillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile*; Ídem, *Yawar Mayu. Sociedades terratenientes serranas, 1879-1910* (Lima: IFEA–DESCO), 1988; Mallon, Florencia, *Peasant and Nation. The Making of Postcolonial México and Perú* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

actively participate in politics.[94] He finally became the leader of the National Union, a party (1890) in which Abelardo Gamarra also participated, that would disappear years later. González-Prada became finally an anarchist thinker, exerting a large political influence on twentieth-century Perú.

"*Criollismo" as an Artistic Expression* (1895-1910)

In the context of this post-War period, the intellectual generation known as *Novecentistas* would continue using the term *criollo* to evocate persons and artistic attitudes from Lima. Some young students from San Marcos University (Lima) that were linked with the Limeño elite assumed some González-Prada ideas (e.g., critics of the colonial period, anticlerical postures) but refused his radical political proposals in the early twentieth century. Influenced by positivist notions, they were really living in a stable post-civil war era (1895-1919) that permitted the Limeño elite to directly control the Peruvian state through the Civil Party. The country had entered into a renewed but much more diversified export economy that was more politically stable. Fearing the rise of revolutions, revolts and civil wars, *Novecentistas* asked the Peruvian political leaders to strengthen the country by promoting the rise of an enlightened elite.[95] They finally recognized Ricardo Palma, the (re)builder of the burned National Library and his director until 1912,[96] as their intellectual icon.[97]

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[94] See González-Prada, Adriana de, *Mi Manuel* (Lima: Editorial Antártica, 1947), 145-146.

[95] See Riva-Agüero y Osma, José, *Carácter de la Literatura del Perú Independiente* (Lima: Librería Científica Galland / E. Rosay Editor), 1905; García-Calderón, Francisco, *El Perú contemporáneo* [1905] (Lima: BIP, 1981).

[96] The episode in which Ricardo Palma was abruptly replaced as Director of the Nacional Library by Gonzalez-Prada shows the solidarity and the prestige that Palma had among the *Novecentistas* and, also, an

In fact, they were only rethinking the dual notion proposed by González-Prada. Thus, the historian José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma (1885-1944) and his classmates José Gálvez (1885-1957) and Ventura García-Calderón (1886-1959) initially followed the radical rhetoric of González-Prada.[98] The young Riva-Agüero, who recognized himself as a *criollo*,[99] also talked (as González-Prada and Clemente Palma did) about the existence of *criolla*, *negra* and *India* races in Perú.[100] Riva-Agüero used the term *cultura criolla* in 1905 to recast old colonial environmental notions about the "degeneration" of the Spanish Americans or *raza criolla* who had lived in the coastal area since the colonial period. According to him, attitudes called *criolllismo* such as graciousness, kindness, tolerance, and a certain attitude toward work could emerge in Lima, the geographic

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animosity again the A. B. Leguía administration (1908-1912). See Basadre, *Historia de la república del Perú*, t. XV, 200-201.

[97] In 1928, José Carlos Mariátegui in his *7 Ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (3rd ed., Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2007, 206) said that the Limeño elite preferred the pricks of Palma that the lashes of González-Prada. The mentioned indulgence of Palma stories made easier this election.

[98] See Riva-Agüero, *Carácter de la Literatura del Perú Independiente*, chapter 1. See also Palma, Clemente, *El Porvenir de las Razas en el Perú* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1897). About Riva-Agüero and his intelectual world, Loayza, Luis, *Sobre el novecientos* (Lima: Hueso Humero Ediciones, 1990); Planas, Pedro, *El 900: balance y recuperación* (Lima: CITDEC, 1994); Gonzales, Osmar, *Sanchos fracasados: los arielistas y el pensamiento politico peruano* (Lima: Ediciones PREAL, 1996). A general survey about this topic in Latin America in Miller, Nicola, *In the Shadow of the State: Intellectuals and the quest for National Identity in Twentieth Century Spanish America* (New York: Verso, 1999).

[99] See Riva-Agüero, *Carácter de la Literatura del Perú Independiente*, 9. As his great-grandfather and Pardo y Aliaga, he also reproduced prejudice against the former colonial *Indio* estate (p. 143-144).

[100] Riva-Agüero, *Carácter de la Literatura del Perú Independiente*, chapter 1. About race notions in Latin American countries, see Graham, Richard, ed, *The Idea of Race in Latin America*, 1870-1940 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Appelbaum, Nancy et al, *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Larson, Brooke, "La invención del indio iletrado: la pedagogía de la raza en los Andes Bolivianos," in *Formaciones de indianidad.*, 121-152; Schwarcz, Lilia, *The spectacle of Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race Question in Brazil, 1870-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999); Davila, Jerry, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945* (Durham: Duke Uversity Press, 2003); Portocarrero, Gonzalo, *Racismo y mestizaje y otros ensayos* (Lima: Congreso del Perú, 2007).

center of this *cultura criolla*, due to its warm weather.[101] For him, the best literary example of *criollismo* was Ricardo Palma.[102] Riva-Agüero y Osma was really using the term *criollo* in the same way as his great-grandfather, Riva-Agüero y Sánchez-Boquete.

Definitely, as has already been pointed out, "racial degeneration" was the most popular metaphor used by early twentieth-century scholars to analyze social dilemmas such as how to integrate "deprived" human groups (and their increasing social demands) into a nation-state.[103] Lima and Peru recovered economically after 1895. Lima expanded out of its former colonial boundaries, boasting new avenues, electric public lights, tramways, and automobiles. Despite these changes, old social problems remained, for example, the location of the rural Andean populations in this renewed modernizing process. That exact notion of "degeneration" was used by intellectuals during a long period of rural Andean protests (the 1860's – 1920's). Faced with such social issues, *Novecentistas* asked for social reforms. In this context, neither the young Riva-Agüero nor his classmates were nostalgic thinkers. In fact, they were following González-Prada's positivist ideas: if Perú were to be politically strengthened, all vestiges of the colonial era should be banished. Even Gálvez's nostalgic accent expressed in a book in 1921 was really about old customs linked with the magnificence of the Guano Era; he never said modernization was bad or unnecessary.[104]

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[101] Riva-Agüero, *Carácter de la Literatura del Perú Independiente*, 8; 11.

[102] Riva-Agüero, *Carácter de la Literatura del Perú Independiente*, 129.

[103] See Stepan, Nancy, "*The Hour of Eugenics.*" *Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 24.

[104] He expressed clearly these feelings in 1921. See Gálvez, *Una Lima que se va*, 85. See Elmore, Peter, "La ciudad enferma: 'Lima la horrible' de Sebastián Salazar Bondy," in *Mundos Interiores: Lima 1850-1950*, eds. Aldo Panfichi and Felipe Portocarrero (Lima: CIUP, 1995), 293-294.

Novecentistas were not the only intellectuals or writers who were influenced by González-Prada's proposals. Anarchists, radical workers, and writers between 1900 and 1930 were also. The working sectors who constantly complained about their living conditions during these years[105] became politically stronger than ever during the economic and social crisis that emerged at the end of World War I (1918). Additionally, the rise of the Bolshevik Revolution (1917) seemed to confirm the *Novecentistas*' fears: social protest, strikes, and radicals emerged in Lima. In fact, the Augusto B. Leguía Administration (1919-1930) was so impacted by this radicalism that it elaborated its own *indigenista* rhetoric. In this political and social scenario, the first socialist thinkers emerged, such as José Carlos Mariátegui (1885-1930), a former journalist who became the organizer of the first socialist party in Peru.

His *7 Ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (1928) was the first Marxist interpretation of Peruvian history. He replicated in his book the dichotomy of González-Prada (*criollo* vs. *andino* world). When he referred to Abelardo Gamarra, the supposedly clear and analytical dichotomy was momentarily diluted. As a writer and politician born in the Andes who died in 1924, Gamarra lived most of his life in Lima and was closer to González-Prada's *indigenismo*. He deeply enjoyed the Limeña *zamacueca* and even changed its name to *marinera*, thus honoring Peruvian marine officers and

[105] Cf. Drinot, Paul, "Fighting for a Closed Shop: The 1931 Lima Bakery Workers' Strike," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35/2 (2003), 249-278; Tejada, Luis, *La cuestión del pan: el anarcosindicalismo en el Peru, 1880-1919* (Lima: INC-BIP, 1988); Blanchard, Peter, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement: 1883-1919* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1982); Kapsoli, Wilfredo, *Las luchas obreras en el Peru: 1900-1919* (Lima: Delva, 1978); Pareja, Piedad, *Anarquismo y sindicalismo en el Peru (1904-1929)* (Lima: Ediciones Rikchay Perú, 1978); Sulmont, Denis, *El movimiento obrero en el Peru: 1900-1977* (Lima: Tarea, 1977).

corps who died in the War of the Pacific. He composed *valses* and *marineras* and wrote *sainetes* similar to Segura's. In this manner, he followed the radical *indigenista* agenda of his time and enjoyed *música criolla*. Mariátegui (who also liked the *Tradiciones Peruanas*) resolved this puzzle passing over his own dichotomy and saying that Gamarra was a *criollo* from the Andes: "Ricardo Palma is a criollo of Lima; El Tunante [Gamarra] is a criollo of the sierra. The Indian root is alive in his jaranero art."[106] One must admit that Gamarra would have agreed with Mariátegui because descendants of the Spanish population also lived in the Andes.

In fact, Gamarra was one of the first writers to refer literally to the existence of *musica criolla* as a national music in 1910, in the same way that one could find in Cuba or Argentina. According to him, it was a popular music that some people could consider trivial that, however, possessed a "playful" spirit. A similar idea was proposed by Riva-Agüero y Osma referring to Ricardo Palma's literary "character." Gamarra said that Perú had "dances of the land" (*bailes de tierra*) such as the *tondero*, the *marinera* and the *resbalosa*[107] that were performed in the Peruvian coastal and Andean areas. In another article (1910), Gamarra again referred to this topic, saying that *criollismo* was the "peculiars of a country" felt and expressed in an artistic manner.[108] For him, examples of these Peruvian attitudes were evident in the work of Manuel A. Segura, the Arequipeño poet Mariano Melgar (a composer of *yaravíes*), and the nineteenth-century Limeño

[106] See Mariátegui, *7 Ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*, 223. This edition included a useful, basic bibliography dedicated to analyzing Mariategui's intellectual work.

[107] Gamarra, Abelardo. "Rasgos de pluma. Música de revolutis," *Integridad* (November 19, 1910), 2.

[108] Gamarra, Abelardo, "Entrada de pueblo," *Integridad* (March 12, 1910), 2.

painter Francisco *Pancho* Fierro. According to Gamarra, the previously mentioned Limeño food and, *par excellence*, the work of Ricardo Palma were expressions of *criollismo*. Finally, one can observe that *criollo* was, for different writers during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, synonymous with any artistic work that supposedly showed national and playful attitudes.

Conclusion

Criollo was originally a term used in the early sixteenth century referring to African descendants born either in the Iberian Peninsula or in the Americas. Additionally, it also referred later to different creatures and things from the Americas such as Spanish Americans, plants, animals and, sometimes, to some pre-Columbian native descendants. During the early republican period, the new scientific racist agenda influenced the uses of the word *criollo*. However, the term did not lose its colonial uses. Later, reacting against French and British customs around the 1850's, Limeño intellectuals began to redefine the term, linking it to the affairs of the Peruvian state (e.g., the job market) and to cultural practices in Lima, above all, those practiced by the "plebeian" population. After 1879, the word *criollo* would also be used to construct a rigid geo-racial division that divided Peruvian society between an *indígena* population and a coastal, *criollo* population. Finally, in the early twentieth century, the word was also used to refer to supposedly national attitudes which, artistically expressed, were components of a general attitude called *criollismo*.

When someone asked the practitioners of *música criolla* in Lima about why they considered themselves *criollos*, they referred to their musical repertory (e.g., *vals*, *polka*,

marinera, *tondero*, *festejo*) which they considered the national music and an expression of *criollismo*. The next step of this thesis is, therefore, to analyze the cultural arenas in which these musical forms were played. In the following chapters, I will analyze two main, nationalist artistic expressions in Lima in which *música criolla* is one of the basic components. The next chapter is an analytic description of the Limeño theatrical experience in twentieth-century Lima.

Chapter 3

Limeño Imagination: Performing Arts and National Issues in the Republican Era (1920-1940)

As in other countries in the Americas, theater was an important amusement in Lima before the emergence of modern mass-media networks. Just as late twentieth-century Limeños spent their leisure time going to watch movies, nineteenth-century Limeños attended theater performances.[1] Opera was popular among the nineteenth-century Limeño elite, and Spanish *zarzuelas* were also enjoyed by Limeños in general. *Costumbrista* performances that depicted people, habits, and customs, such as the ones written by Segura and Pardo y Aliaga, also were popular in modern Lima. Inside this cultural tradition, Ricardo Palma's stories published as *Tradiciones Peruanas* were often used as a primary source for making nationalistic, nostalgic scripts in the twentieth century. However, the North American theater also influenced the Limeño cultural landscape. Consequently, musical revues and *varieté* shows also became popular in twentieth-century Lima. Peruvian scriptwriters additionally composed musical revues using local topics.

In its varied facets, theater was one of the main artistic venues for spreading Peruvian music and *costumbrista* topics in Lima during the first decades of the twentieth century. These *costumbrista* performances also served as models to create musical films in the late 1930's. This is an artistic phenomenon that has not received much attention in the historiography of twentieth-century Lima. I will explore it by examining performers of *música criolla* who became professional artists in that broad theatrical arena and by studying the nostalgic performances based on Palma's stories, which were mainly

[1] As travelers would say in the nineteenth century, the botanist Tadeo Haenke asserted in the late eighteenth century that Limeños enjoyed public amusements such as bullfights, theatrical comedies and, above all, cockfights. See his *Descripción del Perú* [1799] (Lima: Imprenta El Lucero, 1901), 29-30. See also Leonard, Irving, "El teatro en Lima, 1790-1793", *Hispanic Review* 8/2 (1940), 93-112.

performed by members of the Limeño elite. In this way, I will argue in this chapter that urban modernization did not result in Limeños forgetting part of their old cultural practices. Several of the episodes portrayed in those theatrical performances were still part of the lower classes' daily life. On the other hand, the nostalgic performances mainly created by the ever-growing U.S. indoctrinated elite reinforced their sense of being heirs to a supposedly glorious past that was compatible with the urban modernization that they supported and promoted.

This artistic arena was not necessarily characterized by job stability. It often included performers with less formal professional training. The elite and part of the middle classes had access to a regular, professional training, but the rest of the performers were mainly amateurs who belonged to the middle, artisan, and industrial working classes of Lima.[2] In some cases, lower-class performers could acquire professional training, but the salaries were often lowered to permit them to work as full-time performers. Consequently, many of them continued being industrial workers, artisans, lower state bureaucrats or small businessmen.[3] Some of them such as the composer Carlos Saco composed and played U.S. dance music such as fox trots as a way of obtaining extra money. In the case of the musicians, they played not only in Limeño theaters but also in

[2] Almost 100% of the Limeño population whose jobs were located in economic sectors such as the new twentieth-century factories, the artisan sector (e.g., shoemakers, blacksmiths), small retail stores, or working as part of the low bureaucracy of the Peruvian state grew up between 1876 and 1920. See Ruiz Zevallos, Augusto, *La Multitud, las subsistencias y el trabajo. Lima, 1890-1920* (Lima: PUC, 2001), 62-63.

[3] The composer Felipe Pinglo who died in 1936 was a lower-level bureaucrat. The singers Augusto and Elias Ascuez were bricklayers. The composer Laureano Martinez Smart run a musical store and had his own band.

restaurants, private parties, circuses, and hotels.[4] This is the main reason that these performers usually organized theatrical shows "honoring" musicians and singers (*función de gala y beneficio*). The real goal of these spectacles was to collect money and, thus, to help some of these performers, for example, to pay for their living expenses.[5] Indeed, these spectacles reveal that a network of performers existed in Lima supporting their artistic activities.[6]

A final remark must be made about this largely unexplored topic. One of the reasons that this area has not merited careful attention is that almost all the primary sources for these kind of studies are lost (e.g., theatrical scripts, musical films and, above all, consistent numerical data about these performances). Another reason is that scholars have usually felt these performances are too melodramatic to merit serious attention. Nevertheless, many Limeños assiduously attended those performances for decades. For that reason, I will introduce this topic with a description of the cultural landscape of Lima since the 1890's. Later, I will analyze some samples of those Peruvianistic shows (using photos and reports) during their *belle époque*, the *Patria Nueva* (1919-1930). Finally, I

[4] This was the case of the pianist Filomeno Ormeño. Before working in radio programs in the 1930's, he was the director of a Jazz Orchestra called The Record Jazz Band. See "The Record Jazz Band," *El Comercio* (May 13, 1928), 10.

[5] This was the case of a show at the Lima Theater (Barrios Altos) produced in May 1926 honoring a future well-known radio station bandurist called Nicolás Wetzell in which artists, musicians, and singers participated, including Montes y Manrique duo, Felipe Pinglo, Carlos Saco, and two guitarists who would work in Chile for several months, the brothers Gerónimo and Francisco Vilela. "Teatro Lima. Hoy sábado 8 de mayo," *La Crónica* (May 9, 1926), p. 9. Francisco Vilela asseverated in 1932 that he was working in the Razzore Circus. See "Francisco Vilela, 'folklorista peruano'," *La Crónica* (July 21, 1932), 14.

[6] The sources show that the same performers who were honored in these *funciones de gala y beneficio* participated in similar spectacles later. Cf. similar spectacles and performers honoring Carlos Saco and Elias Ascuez, respectively in "De Teatros," *La Crónica* (May 15, 1926), 8; and "De Teatros," *La Crónica* (October 14, 1926), 13.

will analyze how this artistic trend was recast as a radio/cinema shows in the 1930's.

Lima and its Nineteenth-Century Cultural Heritage in the Late Nineteenth Century

Theater was a common amusement during colonial and republican Lima. During the nineteenth century, *costumbrista* plays written by authors such as Segura and Pardo y Aliaga were performed in Limeño theaters. Operas and dramas were also performed in the same period in Lima.[7] Spanish and Peruvian *zarzuelas* could be seen in Limeño theaters in those years; music performances were also presented. Thus, the famous U.S. American pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk who played in many theaters in the Americas also played in Lima in the 1860's.[8] Therefore, nineteenth-century Limeños enjoyed the music played in all these spectacles such as European waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, Aragonian *jotas* and Cuban *habaneras*.

For some Limeños, however, those *costumbrista* performances were not only a mere paid spectacle but also part of their private social gatherings. This is the case of a small theatrical piece published by Abelardo Gamarra in 1895 called *Episodio del Carnaval* – Carnival Episode. As a *sainete* that according to Gamarra had a *criollo* (national) taste, it was first performed at the Principal Theater, later the M. A. Segura Theater, in a gala show organized in the 1890's honoring Limeño typographers. In the

[7] Basadre, *Historia de la república del Perú*, t. VI, 324-336; Glickman, Enrica, "Italian Dramatic Companies and the Peruvian Stage in the 1870s. Part 1," *Latin American Theater Review* 6/2 (1973), 41-54; and "Part 2," *Latin American Theater Review* 7/2 (1974), 69-80.

[8] Concertist Louis Moreau Gottschalk played in Lima between November 1865 and January 1866, with the musical support of Rebagliati's brothers. See Basadre, *Historia de la república del Perú*, t. VI, 332; Barbacci, Rodolfo, "Actividades de L. M. Gottschalk en el Perú (1865-1866)," *Revista de Estudios Musicales* 5/6 (1950-51), 343-450.

piece one could observe an old man, Mateo, prohibiting the performance of the carnival at his house because of the disorganization and scandal that emerged as a result every year. His wife complained, saying that everyone else enjoyed it. In the end, the people decided to celebrate the carnival at Mateo's house and festively forced him to join in. He finally agreed, throwing water during the typical "water war," drinking *pisco*, and dancing the old *marinera*. [9]

This theatrical piece showed Limeños celebrating carnival in the manner criticized by Pardo y Aliaga and Manuel A. Fuentes.[10] Gamarra said that his piece was performed several times after its debut and people liked it a lot, and that it was also performed in some private houses. Gamarra remembered one of these private performances at Doctor José María Macedo's house. On the last day of the carnival (he never said in which specific year), Dr. Macedo prepared his house for the performance. He spent money decorating and buying carnival devices such as squirters, flowers, and small bottles of essence waters. The actors were his friends, and musicians were also hired. At two specific moments, not only the performers but also the spectators (friends and relatives invited by Macedo for the event) participated. Because this small theatrical piece ended with a *marinera*, it suddenly transformed into a party. This performance was in fact the beginning of the carnival party at Macedo's house. As an echo of old customs

[9] See not only this information but also the theatrical piece in Gamarra, Abelardo, "Para el carnaval," *Integridad* (December 14, 1895), 1-2.

[10] See Fuentes, *Lima. Sketches of the Capital of Peru*, p. 156-159. About the republican Limeño carnival until 1922, see Rojas, Rolando, *Tiempos de carnaval: el ascenso de lo popular a la cultura nacional. Lima, 1822-1922* (Lima: IFEA - IEP, 2005).

explained by Mikhail Bakhtin, it seems that for the spectators of this theatrical piece, carnival time was not considered a mere performance with just spectators and performers but represented their way of life itself.[11]

To summarize, an 1890's Limeño professional organized a carnival party in his house that began by performing a *sainete*. Gamarra would point out years later the utility of publishing any *costumbrista* writing to create an archive that Peruvian artists could use later to build performances and to promote a broader sense of national belonging.[12] The article about the carnival indeed had this aim. Gamarra also said in 1895 that a good place to perform his piece during the carnival was the closer Limeño rural estates.[13] In fact, bullfights, cockfights, old Limeño music and food were enjoyed in these rural areas during the first decades of the twentieth century.[14]

Those early nineteenth-century cultural practices that were negatively depicted by modern writers such as Fuentes as belonging to the plebeian classes continued to be practiced in the late nineteenth century. They also continued to be a general topic for *costumbrista* performances which even impacted the private life of Limeños. This is a cultural world that would, however, be transformed in the early twentieth century by U.S.

[11] Bakhtin, Mikhail, *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1968), 7.

[12] See Gamarra, Abelardo, "Puntadas sin nudo. Usos y costumbres de nuestra tierra," *Integridad* (July 28, 1904), 1.

[13] Gamarra, "Para el carnaval."

[14] One can find cockfights and bullfights at twentieth-century private parties on the estates close to Lima. See "Dos Fiestas criollas," *Mundial* (December 22, 1922), 18-19. These parties were on the Márquez and La Molina estates (*fundos*). See "Toros y toreros. Encerrona en "San Borja" en honor de Felipe Sassone," *La Prensa* (April 23, 1935), 13. Felipe Sassone was a theater composer and a group of his friends honored him with a party at the San Borja estate. The news mentioned that *criollo* food and music were present. These rural Limeño estates disappeared years later when they became part of the Limeño megalopolis.

cultural influences. As in the 1850's, faced with an urban modernization process, early twentieth-century Limeño policymakers simultaneously discredited these old cultural practices as "uncivilized."[15]

The Growth of a Modern Lima and its Theatrical Spectacles (1895-1930)

The influence of the U.S was already manifesting in the late nineteenth century. A much more diversified export economy began in Peru, oriented not only to the British market but also to the U.S. one, a process that intensified after the end of World War I (1918).[16] The economic debacle of the post-War of the Pacific era seemed to be part of the past. After a short civil war (1895), the Democratic Party, led by Nicolás de Piérola, governed the country from 1895 to 1899 in alliance with the Civil Party. A few years previous, the signing of the Grace contract (1890) had cancelled the Peruvian external debt with the British Bondholders, permitting the arrival of new capital into Peru.[17] In fact, by the end of World War I, important economic sectors were already controlled by U.S. companies. The Piérola administration helped exporters belonging to the old Limeño elite to recover economically. Represented by the Civil Party, the elite would finally administer the Peruvian state from 1899 to 1919. This whole period was a stable but

[15] See Muñoz, *Diversiones públicas en Lima*, 195 and passim; Commentaries acknowledging the reform of the plebeian, *criollo* Limeño carnival in the 1920's were common in newspapers that supported the Leguía Administration. See "Nuestro homenaje a los mantenedores del carnaval."

[16] Cf. Thorp, Rosemary and Geoffrey Bertram, *Perú 1890-1977* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

[17] About Grace Contract, see Basadre, *Historia de la república del Perú*, t. IX, chapter CXII; Miller, Rory, "The Making of the Grace Contract: British Bondholders and the Peruvian Government, 1885-1890," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 8/1 (1976), 73-100.

restricted democratic system called by historian Jorge Basadre "the aristocratic republic."[18]

Renewed modernization emerged in these years and dramatically developed in Lima. Bigger industrial factories emerged, and for the first time in its history, long avenues were built, displacing colonial streets and houses (e.g., La Colmena Avenue in the early twentieth century). Some of them became the axis of new urban and suburban areas located beyond the former colonial walls (e.g., *Paseo Colón*, Brazil and Arica Avenues starting in the 1900's; Woodrow Wilson and Augusto B. Leguía Avenues in the 1920's). These projects were an echo of old nineteenth-century hygienic projects of Haussmannian urban reform that proposed to modernize Latin American cities (clearly delimiting the wealthy areas from the rest of the population) in order to reform the attitudes of the popular classes and, therefore, to supposedly place these cities at the same high social level as European cities.[19]

These urban projects reappeared in a time period when the Limeño demographic landscape was again changing. In fact, the Limeño population almost doubled its size

[18] See Flores Galindo, Alberto and Manuel Burga, *Apogeo y Crisis de la República Aristocrática* (Lima: Rikchay, 1984); Ruiz, *La Multitud, las subsistencias y el trabajo*; According to Alfonso Quiroz, although the Peruvian economic elite was capable of obtaining some degree of financial autonomy for its main economic activities at the beginning of the Pierola administration, they were not capable of competing with the huge transnational capital in the post-World War I economic contraction. See Quiroz, Alfonso, "Financial Leadership and the Formation of Peruvian Elite Groups, 1884-1930," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 20/1 (1988), 73. This article has been refunded in Quiroz, Alfonso, *Banqueros en Conflicto. Estructura Financiera y Economía Peruana, 1884-1930*. 2nd ed (Lima: CIUP, 1990).

[19] Cf. Ludeña, Wiley, *Ideas y arquitectura en el Perú del siglo XX: teoría, historia, crítica* (Lima: SEMSA, 1997), 128-130; Idem, *Lima. Historia y urbanismo en cifras, 1824-1870* (Kiel /Lima: Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel – Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, 2004); Parker, David, "Civilizando la Ciudad de los Reyes; higiene y vivienda en Lima, 1890-1920," in *Entre médicos y curanderos. Cultura, historia y enfermedad en la América Latina moderna*, ed. Diego Armus (Buenos Aires: Norma, 2002), 105-150; Ramón, Gabriel, "The Script of Urban Surgery: Lima, 1850-1940," *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities, 1850-1950*, ed. Arturo Almandoz (London / New York: Routledge, 2002), 170-192.

between the 1920's and 1940's.[20] Nearly 40% of the Limeño population in 1931 originated from other coastal and Andean areas within Peru.[21] This demographic growth resulted not only in the rise of new neighborhoods but also in the rise of claims made by reporters in magazines and newspapers about the necessity of building lower class-neighborhoods to replace the alleys.[22] Indeed, a new working-class neighborhood was created in the early twentieth century called La Victoria.[23] The consequence of this process was the exodus of the Limeño elite from the former colonial city and their resettlement in new neighborhoods in direct proportion to the overpopulation and deterioration of the old city. One of these new elite neighborhoods was a suburban area created in the 1920's called San Isidro. Clearly, Lima gradually spread toward the southwest coastal area (the Pacific Ocean) in such as way that by the 1940's, nineteenth-century towns as far south as Chorrillos and Miraflores, as well as the new suburban areas, were already part of the Limeño urban area. The final result of this urban transformation was the rise of a poor and sprawling megalopolis in the 1970's.[24]

[20] Cf. Bromley, Juan and José Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de la ciudad de Lima* (Lima: Consejo Provincial de Lima, 1945).

[21] Stein, *Populism in Peru,* 56. Approximately 60% of the people who migrated to Lima since the 1920's were from the central and southern Andes and 30% from coastal areas such as La Libertad and Ica (p. 66).

[22] See "Habitaciones para el pueblo,".*Mundial* (June 18, 1920), 32; "Como se vive en Lima," *Mundial* (October 15, 1920), 101-11; "Casas obreras," *Mundial* (October 17, 1924), 36; "Es conveniente apoyar y estimular la construcción moderna de casas para empleados y obreros," *La Prensa* (August 6, 1935), 8.

[23] In the 1920's, the highest population growth inside Lima was precisely in working-class neighborhoods such as La Victoria and El Rimac (Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 71).

[24] See Deler, Paul, *Lima 1940-1970. Aspects de la croissance d'une capitale sud-américaine* (Talence: IFEA-CEGET-CNRS, 1970); Bromley and Barbagelata, *Evolución urbana de la ciudad de Lima.*

This urban transformation meant that in this growing city, new social actors, who would become the economic and demographic core of the country in the 1970's, were emerging.[25] Since the early 1900's, the renewed urban projects had required more construction workers (one of the biggest working-class groups in Lima during the 1920's). The Leguía administration – the *Oncenio* or *Patria Nueva*, 1919-1930 – encouraged the growth of more white-collar workers to meet the demands of an ever-expanding state infrastructure.[26] However, non-industrial workers such as gardeners and manual laborers remained the largest working group in Lima during the 1920's.[27] With the rise of bigger factories beginning in the 1890's (e.g., cotton and food factories), industrial workers became a novelty in the city. However, they were only a small portion of the Limeño work force from 1900 through 1930.[28] This growing job market would absorb part of the new wave of immigrants.[29]

Inside this urban landscape, although theater spectacles were a widespread Limeño amusement, the U.S. entertainment industry was already transforming the old Limeño cultural scene. Movies, combined movie-*varieté* shows, and musical revues

[25] In 1961, 59.1% of the entire industrial production of Peru was concentrated in Lima, and 64.4% of its industrial factories were concentrated in the urban area of Lima. The city the Lima also concentrated 49% of the service jobs in Peru, 53% of its commercial jobs, 55% of its bureaucratic jobs, and 61% of its white-collar employees (*empleos de oficina*). Additionally, Lima was beginning the most populated city of the country (Deler, *Lima 1940-1970*, 29).

[26] Cf. Parker, David, *The Idea of the Middle Class* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

[27] Stein, Steve, *Populism in Peru. The Emergence of the Masses of the Politics of Social Control* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 69-82.

[28] Sanborn, Cynthia, "Los obreros textiles de Lima: redes sociales y organización laboral, 1900-1930," in *Mundos Interiores*, 189.

[29] Cf. Deler, *Lima 1940-1970.*

became very popular in the city. Silent movies were watched by Limeños until 1929 when talking movies replaced them.[30] Even so, Peruvian musical revues and *varieté* shows emerged, recasting parts of old theatrical performances. In the 1930's, radio-station programs would replicate these Peruvian revues and *varieté* shows in their live broadcasts. The final result was that the only theaters mentioned in a 1956 Limeño guide were the old Manuel Ascensio Segura and Municipal Theaters (the former Principal, or Municipal, and Forero theaters, respectively). As part of a bigger phenomenon of the emergence of more cultural institutions in Lima than ever before,[31] the number of cinemas increased more than 5 times between 1900 and 1960.[32] The evidence shows that the Limeño artistic arena expanded during the *Patria Nueva* (1919-1930).[33] The scarce numerical data suggest that this process did not stop after 1930. That is, movies and combined movie-*varieté* spectacles became a basic amusement for Limeños and, above

[30] Besides some Peruvian and European movies, most of them shown at Limeño theaters until 1930 were U.S. movies. Later, in the 1930's, music films from Argentina and Mexico were increasingly popular. See Bedoya, Ricardo, *Un cine reencontrado. Diccionario ilustrado de las películas peruanas* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1997), 76. About Mexican movies in Lima, see Idem, 102-103.

[31] See Rénique, José Luis, and Jorge Deustua, *Intelectuales, indigenismo y descentralismo en el Perú, 1897-1931* (Cusco: CERA "Bartolomé de Las Casas", 1984), chapter 1.

[32] Muñoz, *Diversiones públicas en Lima*, 277-278; *Guía Lascano* (1936), t. II, 1132-1134; 1339; Ídem, (1956-57), t. II, 1075; 1400; Núñez, Violeta. *Pitas y alambres. La época de oro del cine peruano, 1936-1950* (Lima: Colmillo Blanco, 1990), 28. Even so, silent movies were sometimes projected in Limeño theaters during the 1920s. See "El teatro en Lima," *Mundial* (October 2, 1925), 29.

[33] In this context, growth meant exploitation. A Peruvian Actor Society (*Sociedad de Actores Peruanos*) that sought to defend the rights of performers was organized in 1924 - see "Sociedad de Actores Peruanos (1924)," *La Crónica* (January 9, 1924), 5. In 1925, new regulations prohibited the theater companies from having three performances a day using the same actors and actresses - "La Inspección de Espectáculos dicta una disposición reglamentando las horas de las funciones teatrales," *La Crónica* (August 2, 1925), 5. About the living conditions of the theater performers, cf. Ego-Aguirre, Luis, "Teatros. Una verdad que no puede cristalizarse todavía: el teatro nacional," *La Crónica* (January 9, 1928), 8; 10.

all, a profitable business.[34]

Elite Performances, Criollismo, and "Patria Nueva" (1919-1930)

The Leguía Administration or *Patria Nueva* was the era when this process of urban modernization became intense in Lima. In this way, "the aristocratic republic" ended with a political and economic crisis that developed after the end of World War I. Consequently, riots and strikes became more common in Lima.[35] At the beginning of this crisis (1919-1922), a *coup d'état* permitted Augusto B. Leguía – a former member of the Civil Party – to take power and rule the country for eleven years, an era also called *El Oncenio* by historians. Like other past and future authoritarian leaders in the Americas, Augusto B. Leguía publicly promised to fix all these problems by reforming and controlling the state.

The Leguía Administration reformed the Army, approved a new Constitution (1920), modernized the Police, and repressed any urban and rural protests. Leguía also used a nationalist rhetoric to obtain public support. Thus, he not only tried to gain the peasant Andean communities' support by legally recognizing them in the new constitution, but he was also a frequent guest at elite parties, public festivals, and theatrical and religious events. He acted as godfather at the inaugurations of cinemas and

[34] See Appendix I.

[35] Rioters and strikers asked for improve working conditions (e.g., asking for an 8-hour work day). Finally, a general strike demanding better working conditions occurred in Lima (1918). Cf. Blanchard, Peter, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement*, chapter 9.

theaters, and he helped renew the religious images of Catholic brotherhoods in Lima.[36] Statues and avenues in Lima were often created in his honor. For example, in 1929 a theater located on Leguía Avenue was named for him.[37] Indeed, *El Oncenio* lasted eleven years because of a slight economic export boom (1922-1930) and foreign loans that buttressed the regime. With this financial support, new rural and urban projects (re) emerged, such as the creation of new cinemas in Lima.[38]

Leguía was really a pro-United States businessman, fluent in English, who permitted the strengthening of U.S. commercial interests in Peru. This process not only enabled the Limeño elite to continue prospering, but in this way, a middle class could also grow during these years. This occurred not only because a specific law effectively sanctioned and protected its existence but also because the Peruvian bureaucracy grew during *El Oncenio*.[39] Most modern Peruvian highways were built at this time, which resulted in an increase of jobs for workers in Lima, either as bus drivers or chauffeurs for the Limeño elite. It was also a time when the U.S. fox trot, jazz, and one-step became the main music for entertainment at private and public parties in hotels, restaurants, and

[36] About Leguía as the godfather of new cinemas and theaters, see an example in "De teatros. Inauguración del teatro Princesa," *La Crónica* (September 9, 1929), 9.

[37] The Leguía family was a special guest when the first operetta company made its debut in this theater. See "De teatros. Hoy tendrá lugar la bendición del teatro Leguía," *La Crónica* (May 14, 1929), 12, and "De teatros," *La Crónica* (May 17, 1929), p. 15. When the Leguía regime abruptly ended in 1930, the avenue was renamed Arequipa Avenue, and the theater would also be called Arequipa Theater.

[38] About Leguía era, see Flores Galindo and Manuel Burga, *Apogeo y crisis de la República Aristocrática*; Karno, Howard, "Augusto B. Leguía: the Oligarchy and the Modernization of Peru, 1870-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1970); Planas, Pedro. *La República autocrática*. (Lima: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1994). Basadre, *Historia de la república del Perú*, t. XIII.

[39] About Limeño middle classes see Parker, David, *The Idea of Middle Class: White Collar Workers and Peruvian Society, 1900-1950* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

ballrooms. The large amount of publicity referring to this U.S. music in Limeño newspapers such as *El Comercio* and *La Prensa* provides proof of their increasing popularity. The adoption of these fashions was possible to observe even in Malambo, where people liked to dance to this new music.[40] Lima in the 1920's was definitely no longer the late colonial city observed in the 1850's by Rojas y Cañas.

This is the main reason that the ironic and sometimes rude complaints made by nineteenth-century *costumbristas* had, by the 1920's, transformed into softer nostalgic complaints about the loss of an imagined Limeño cultural tradition. This trend was deeply influenced by José Gálvez's "evocative chronicles." *Una Lima que se va* (1921) was probably his most quoted book. It was published a few years after the death of Ricardo Palma in the year of the fatuous celebration of the Centennial of Peruvian Independence (1821-1921). In his book, Gálvez evoked nostalgically and with resignation customs and places that had been swept away by the War of the Pacific and the modernization process. Many of these were related either to his childhood or to remembrances he had heard from his older relatives.[41] In the end, his *cuadros de costumbres* were also used to write

[40] See Muñoz, *Diversiones públicas en Lima*; Basadre, *Historia de la república del Perú*, t. XVI, 198-224; 229-243; Llorens, *Música popular en Lima: criollos y andinos*, 41-44. During the 1920's and 1930's, some *costumbrista* writers romanticized the *criollo* musical life of the alleys because it was clear that their inhabitants also enjoyed U.S. music genres, the Argentine tango, and the Cuban rumba. Cf. Falconí, Heraldo, "Un poco de alma recatada y fiestera del Chirimoyo," *Cahuide* 31 (November 1939), 20-22.

[41] Cf. Gálvez, *Una Lima que se va*. See similar complaints about how the new dances were displacing the older music in "Bailes de moda," *La Crónica* (June, 8, 1920), 12. The journalist said that the mazurkas, waltzes, polkas and habaneras had been displaced by the new U.S.American musical genres. See also "Esas viejas plazuelas," *Mundial* (July 28, 1920), 52. See an article that mocked the new musical genres in Maruja, "Crónicas sociales," *Mundial* (July 13, 1923), 9-10. See also Nogal, Juan del, "La marinera criolla," *Mundial* (December 9, 1924), 37; Juviali, "Industria musiquera," *La Crónica* (December 28, 1924), p. 8; "Lima después de media Noche," *Variedades* (October 28, 1931). A new police force emerged during these years. Reference to the old policemen (as part of a lost Limeño tradition) in Don Máximo, "La desaparición del cachaco," *La Crónica* (April 15, 1924), 10.

nostalgic performances that Limeño reporters considered being the best examples of traditional Limeño attitudes.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the elite would perform these stylized nationalist representations for several reasons (e.g. philanthropic goals; the celebration of national Peruvian dates such as *El Día de la Raza* or National Peruvian Day).[42] Replicating the cultural scenario of the Limeño elite salons in the nineteenth century, performers and musicians from the working and lower middle classes sometimes participated in those elite social gatherings, usually as part of the musical entertainment.[43] These performances enabled the Limeño elite to emphasize that they were the republican heirs of an imagined glorious past, but it did not mean in the long run the abolition of the existing social hierarchies.

This was the case of eight scenes based on the same number of short stories from Ricardo Palma's *Tradiciones*. The same José Gálvez and Palma's son (the writer, journalist, and member of the Leguía political party, Clemente Palma) actively participated in the theatrical production of these *cuadros* or *estampas*. The scenes were performed at a party that Roberto Levillier -- a historian and special plenipotentiary of the Argentine government in Lima – held honoring the "Limeño society" and Ricardo Palma

[42] See "La Hermosa velada del Forero – Bellísima evocación de la Lima colonial," *Mundial* (October 14, 1921), p.18-19; "Ecos de la fiesta de la raza," *Mundial* (October 21, 1921), 5-6. *El Dia de la Raza* was celebrated on October 12, the day that Christopher Columbus arrived for the first time on the American continent.

[43] As an example, Augusto Ascuez asserted that during the 1920's he performed several times at this kind of social gathering. See Ascuez, Augusto, "Augusto Ascuez. Así es la marinera," *VSD* 25 (July 2, 1982), 6-7. He even said that with his brother Elías and other performers sometimes performed for President Leguía. See Pimentel, Jorge, "Augusto Ascuez: Rey y señor de la Jarana," *VSD* 19 (May 5, 1982), 12.

in the Argentine Embassy on April 5, 1923.[44] The descendants of Ricardo Palma, President Leguía, and diplomats from the foreign delegations in Lima attended the performance. Among the performers, one can also find Clemente Palma's daughter, Edith. It was really the first time in the twentieth century that the Limeño elite honored a writer in such a way.

José Gálvez began the event with a poetic recitation that ended with the phrase "all past time was better." Later, the scenes were displayed like a historical, impressionistic rug in which, according to the news reports, a Lima that did not exist anymore was evoked. The actors and actresses dressed in late colonial and early republican clothes. One could also observe *pregoneros* (an artistic and lyric representation of street vendors announcing their merchandise), the famous and mythologized colonial Limeño actress nicknamed *La Perricholi*, children dancing and singing an Aragonian *jota*, a *marinera* performance, and a dance scene in which rural Andean people danced a traditional dance form called the *huayno*.[45]

It is symptomatic that the last scene to be presented in the Argentine embassy referred to the creation of the National Peruvian anthem. This musical piece was created when the Argentine General José de San Martin and his expeditionary army was in Lima trying to "liberate" the viceroyalty of Peru from Spanish rule in the 1820's. All the scenes

[44] "La gran fiesta en la Legación Argentina. Espléndida interpretación de ocho tradiciones del insigne maestro Don Ricardo Palma," *La Crónica*. (April 6, 1923), 4-5; "La gran fiesta de las tradiciones," *Mundial* (April, 13, 1923), 47; "Episodios singulares de las Tradiciones Peruanas representadas en la casa de la República Argentina en Lima en homenaje a la memoria insigne de don Ricardo Palma," *Mundial* (April 13, 1923), 18-23; "Una gran fiesta evocadora, *Variedades* (April 7, 1923), 839-844. See also Basadre, *Historia de la república del Perú*, t. XV, 204-205.

[45] "La gran fiesta en la Legación Argentina;" "La gran fiesta de las Tradiciones;" "Evocando a Palma," *Mundial* (April 13, 1923), 24.

were a clear exaltation of the Peruvian republic as well as a reminder that Peruvians should not forget their Spanish heritage. For that reason, it had to be not only artistically represented by actors and actresses that González-Prada would categorize as *criollos*, but also preserved through photos or newspaper chronicles and replicated many times in the future. A similar social phenomenon can be observed in Cuzco, a Southern Andean city, during the 1910's. As a way of reinforcing their own social status, a patriotic, dramatic theatrical experience based on Inca themes (and performed in Quechua) was put on by members of the Cuzqueño elite and received broad support from the local press.[46]

These artistic performances based on Ricardo Palma's stories were continually performed until the 1960's, and not only by performers from the Limeño elite. Sometimes they were part of broader spectacles. This was the case of a play promoted by the *Entre Nous Nous* Library (an elite association that promoted conferences and musical and theatrical performances) called *Una Lima que se va*. The piece honored writers such as Pardo y Aliaga, Segura, and Ricardo Palma and was performed at the Forero Theater on November 24, 1927; President Leguía was again invited as a special guest.[47] Poetry recitations of nineteenth-century writers were made and a "Greek" dance was performed. Scenes that again depicted human types such as street vendors called *tamaleras* and *pregonero*s, the nineteenth-century *tapada*s, and people dancing a stylized *marinera* were

[46] Cf. Itier, César, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco* (Lima-Cuzco: IFEA-CERA "Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1995-2000), 2 vols.

[47] "La hermosa fiesta de 'Entre Nous' en el Forero," *Mundial* (November 25, 1927), 18-20; "La fiesta de Entre Nous," Ibid, 36. A commentary about this spectacle in Nena, 'Cartas a Marisabidilla," *Mundial* (December 2, 1927), 47-48.

also featured in this gala show. That is, according to a magazine report, one could watch "all the *criollo* fauna that Pancho Fierro has us inherited in his pictures."[48]

It was not strange that these spectacles were retrospectively and immediately linked with the watercolors made by the nineteenth-century Limeño painter Francisco Fierro.[49] Several times, the artwork of Fierro was explained as a typical product of the "warm" cultural environment of Lima. Consequently, Fierro was re-imagined by these writers in the same way as Palma. In both cases, they were unique examples of Limeño attitudes.[50] Fierro and Palma were being judged through a discourse that was replicating colonial notions that overemphasized the capacity of Spanish Americans to rule the colonies and develop intellectual attitudes as strong as Spaniards once had. Thus, because their artwork supposedly reflected an imagined Limeño soul, Fierro's watercolors and Palma's *Tradiciones* were used several times as sources by twentieth-century Limeño writers and theater scriptwriters in order to learn more about traditional Limeño dances, human types, and customs.[51]

There is no doubt among historians about the historical value of the artwork made by Fierro. However, historians also know that Fierro produced watercolors similar to

[48] According to the magazine report, the *marinera* was played without the Peruvian music wooden-box called *cajón*. Nena, "Cartas a Marisabidilla," *Mundial*, (December 2, 1927), 47.

[49] Cf. *Acuarelas de Pancho Fierro y seguidores. Colección Ricardo Palma* (Lima: Municipalidad de Lima Metropolitana, 2007).

[50] See for example Lavalle, Juan B. de, "Pancho Fierro. pintor de tipos populares," *Prisma* (January 16, 1907): 25; "Pancho Fierro," *Turismo* 129 (July 1938). Cf. Majluf, Natalia, "Convención y descripción: Francisco – Pancho – Fierro (1807- 1879) y la formación del costumbrismo peruano," *Hueso Humero* 39 (2001): 3-44.

[51] One of these theatrical performances that used Francisco Fierro's watercolors was the beginning of a commercial and cultural trend called in Lima *música negra*. It was organized by Professor José Durand Flores and was generically called the "Pancho Fierro Company" – see chapter 5.

modern postcards or illustrations for travel books.[52] Beyond this issue, one can observe in those performances the influence of a discourse about Limeño society that was being (re) created by reporters, writers, and artists in the 1920's. This discussion exalted the idea that an old and unique Limeño tradition had existed since the colonial period. Enrique Carrillo expressed this idea in his speech during the spectacle *Una Lima que se va*. He claimed that although Segura and Pardo y Aliaga were aesthetically different, they were good examples of *criollismo*. Talking about Palma, he finally concluded his speech by saying that it was not possible to conceive of Lima without its Palma, and Palma without his Lima.[53] One can add that he would also have believed that it was not possible to conceive of Lima without Francisco Fierro, and vice versa. Carrillo's speech and the colonial decoration of the theater scenes (with colonial balconies) emphasized that a bucolic past world needed to be expressed artistically and preserved for the future.[54]

Persons and events that in the nineteenth century were not necessarily connected were being mythologized into a common idealized past now. It is worth noting that although Abelardo Gamarra, who admired and knew Palma, wrote about *criollismo*, he was a close friend of the anarchist writer Manuel González-Prada and supported his *indigenista* agenda. After the Politeama speech, González-Prada attacked Ricardo Palma

[52] Cf. Majluf, Natalia, "Convención y Descripción," and her "'Ce n'est pas le Perou,' or, the Failure of Authenticity: Marginal Cosmopolitans at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855," *Critical Inquiry* 23/4 (1997): 879. About this issue, Majluf says that *costumbristas's* pictures were based in historical references, but they "did not aspire to seriousness and rejected any historical reference; it claimed only to fix on paper a fleeting image of the present" (p. 879).

[53] "La hermosa fiesta de "Entre Nous" en el Forero," *Mundial*, 18-20.

[54] See other similar performances in "La limeñísima actuación de Entre Nous," *La Crónica* (November 24, 1926), 4; Claro, "Cuadros limeños de antaño," *La Prensa* (December 9, 1934), 8.

because he said Palma was part of a backward literary tradition that Peruvians should forget. In addition, Rojas y Cañas harshly criticized Manuel A. Fuentes. Segura and Pardo y Aliaga had not only different aesthetic sensibilities but also different political ideas. However, the situation was viewed differently after the centennial celebration of Peruvian independence. These authors were now being seen by nostalgic writers as part of a unified Limeño cultural tradition.

This cultural trend could be observed even in Limeño urban architecture. The Bishop's Palace with its colonial balconies in the main downtown square, the *Plaza de Armas*, was really a neo-colonial building. The Leguía Administration gave it to the Catholic Church as a gift for the centennial celebration of Peruvian independence in the 1920's. The *Plaza de Armas*, which appeared to be a colonial area at the end of the 1990's, was mainly a neo-colonial area that had been rebuilt several times since the 1920's. One must add that a similar elitist and traditionalist feeling referred to as "decency" but linked to an imagined glorious Inca heritage also emerged among the Cuzqueño elite in the early twentieth century.[55] Really, this Limeño cultural trend had its underpinnings in what Fernando de Trazegnies called traditionalist modernization.[56] Thus, the imagined national traditions could be artistically and patriotically preserved and performed for special events without any conflict with the modernizing present.

These traditionalist efforts that elevated an imagined Spanish cultural heritage as a national icon were denounced by the socialist writer José Carlos Mariátegui in 1924 as

[55] See Itier, Cesar, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*; Cadena, Marisol de la, *Indigenous Mestizos. The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), chapter 1.

[56] Cf. Chapter 1.

an anachronism and as a spectacle of bad taste.[57] He instead stressed that it was more important to discuss the role of the descendants of the pre-Columbian native population in the building of the Peruvian nation.[58] Indeed, this last issue had already influenced the same Leguía Administration. Consequently, this administration created its own *indigenista* rhetoric.[59] Even so, performing "Incan" theatrical pieces that imagined a primitive, exotic but glorious pre-Columbian past was a fashion during this era characterized by rapid technological changes.[60] Such theatrical pieces were also presented by the same *Entre Nous* association. However, one must admit that these *incaica* performances were also reproducing a *longue durée* colonial rhetoric that exalted the Inca past yet dismissed the life of the common inhabitant of the rural Andes. In the case of the twentieth-century cuzqueño *indigenista* cultural trend, it seems that this rethoric was organized against Limeño *criollismo*.[61]

[57] See his "Pasadismo y Futurismo," *Mundial* (October 1924), p. 6-7. With this opinion, Mariátegui was also reacting against his so-called "stone age". In the past, before becoming a socialist, he had also composed a similar theatrical piece. See Toledo, Ernesto, *Mariátegui y la música de su tiempo* (Lima: Editorial San Marcos, 2008), 30.

[58] In February 1926, in the same *Mundial* magazine, the future founder of the socialist party in Perú, José Carlos Mariátegui, began to write articles about this and other related topics in his column *Peruanicemos al Perú*. The young Luis Alberto Sánchez (a famous professor and politician years later) replied to Mariátegui, thus beginning a long discussion that lasted until 1927. This is proof of the political importance of this topic. Finally, in 1928, Mariátegui published the first Marxist interpretation of Peruvian society, *7 Ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*. Cf. Aquézolo Castro, Manuel, ed. *La polémica del indigenismo*. (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1976).

[59] Concerning this and other *indigenista* agendas, see Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, chapter 2.

[60] Cf. Garland, Iris, "Early Modern Dance in Spain: Tórtola Valencia, Dancer of the Historical Intuition," *Dance Research Journal* 29 /2 (1997), 1-22.

[61] Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizo*, 78.

The Leguía Administration would disappear after the 1929 Wall Street crash, but its *indigenista* rhetoric, main institutions, and cultural life continued to be replicated until the 1960's. Therefore, this nostalgic discourse not only continued through theatrical performances but also impacted other arenas beyond elite social circles. As was the case in the 1921 Centennial Celebration, the celebration of the IV Centenary of the Foundation of Lima (1935) was a pretext to again exalt Limeño cultural traditions. Thus, books about Limeño customs such as José Gálvez's new evocative chronicles, and a book about Francisco Fierro written by Palma's daughter, Angelica, were published.[62] Public statues and plaques were also made or began to be made honoring Limeños such as Ricardo Palma and Manuel A. Segura.[63] José Gálvez also produced nostalgic radio-station broadcasts during the 1930's.[64] Certainly, this backward-looking trend was being incorporated into a broader cultural landscape.

This context permits us to explain the popularity acquired by one of these *costumbrista* performances in these years. It was a series of lyric scenes organized by musicologist and concertist Rosa Mercedes Ayarza for the silver jubilee of the *Entre Nous* Library on November 30, 1937. It was generally called *Pregones Limeños*. Ayarza was a former student of Claudio Rebagliati who continued his music saga by creating a

[62] See Gálvez, José. *Estampas limeñas. Segunda serie de Una Lima que se va* (Lima: 1935); Palma, Angélica. *Pancho Fierro. Acuarelista limeño* (Lima: Sanmarti, 1935). The last book was published with the financial support of the Lima Borough Hall. Angelica Palma inherited from his father a big collection of Fierro's pictures that the Lima Borough Hall acquired years later. Raúl Porras Barrenechea, historian, also published his *Pequeña antología de Lima, 1535-1935: lisonja y vejamen de la Ciudad de los Reyes. Cronistas, viajeros y poetas* (Madrid: 1935) with the financial support of the Peruvian government.

[63] "En la mañana de ayer se inauguró una placa en homenaje a Manuel Ascensio Segura," *La Prensa* – (January 24, 1935), 10-11; "Ayer fue colocada la primera piedra del monumento a don Ricardo Palma," *La Prensa* (January 26, 1935), 1; "Homenaje a Ricardo Palma," *La Prensa* (January 21), 1935, 3-4.

[64] See one example of Gálvez's radio speeches in "Radio," *La Prensa* (March 25, 1935), 11.

stylized, lyrical spectacle based on a Limeño human type observed in the theatrical arena since the 1920's: the street vendors (*pregoneros*) that loudly advertised their merchandise[65]. As a performance that depicted a human character that was gone from the streets of Lima, this spectacle was also introduced to more Limeños in a special broadcast by the National Radio (founded as O.A.X. during *El Oncenio*) on January 7, 1938. One of the most important representations of this spectacle was made in the Municipal Theater during Independence Day, on July 28, 1938. It was a gala show in which the President of Perú, General Oscar Benavides, was a special guest. This kind of spectacle received wide press coverage.[66]

Ayarza organized her concert around the testimonies of coastal "folk" performers such as the brothers Elías and Augusto Ascuez, who were *criollo* guitarists and singers from Malambo.[67] As a performance that stylized the old coastal tunes, it was a palatable spectacle for several members of the Limeño elite as well as being part of a broader continental phenomenon. In the days after the debut of Ayarza's *Pregones*, Ernesto

[65] Cf. photos in "El festival de música criolla," *El Comercio* (August 7, 1938), p. V. In these photos, one can see the *pregoneros* "crying" their wares. Some of them have darkened their faces parodying African-descendant street vendors.

[66] "Con el desfile de los Pregones en 'Entre Nous' revivió el criollismo," *La Prensa* (December 1, 1937), 7. The speech that opened the first Ayarza concert was published days later. See Gálvez, José, "Rosa Mercedes Ayarza de Morales Solar y la estilización de los pregones limeños," *La Prensa* (December 5, 1937), 13. For additional information on the presentation of this spectacle on the National Radio (January 7, 1938), see the advertisement for "Pregones Limeños," in *El Comercio* – morning edition (January 7, 1938), 2. See also "El homenaje de ayer a la Sociedad 'Entre Nous'," *El Comercio* – morning edition (January 26, 1938), 3; "Notas gráficas de actualidad local," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (January 26, 1938), 6.

[67] The same Rosa Mercedes Ayarza said in 1942 that performers of *música criolla* such as her brother Alejandro Ayarza, César Andrade, and Augusto and Elías Ascuez supplied the information about old Limeño tunes that she used for her lyric spectacle. See "Rosa Mercedes Ayarza [interview]," in Ramos, Angela, *Una vida sin truega* (Lima: CONCYTEC, 1990), t.II, 105.

Lecuona (a Cuban musician) presented a larger but similar spectacle in Lima based on Afro-Cuban" folklore.[68] In the case of Cuba, Robin Moore has suggested that this kind of stylization was a process of "whitening" and nationalizing part of the Cuban music tradition while other Afro-Cuban artistic expressions were being suppressed.[69] In the case of Lima, radical workers were increasingly becoming the victims of political oppression during the unstable decade of the 1930's, but there is insufficient evidence concerning a legal or informal repression of their cultural expressions.[70] What remains true is that traditional Peruvian music was excluded from the ballrooms of exclusive restaurants such as La Cabaña and the Palm Beach Casino at La Herradura Beach at least until the 1940's because the owners viewed this music as plebeian and indecent.[71] In this way, they were only replicating similar ideas proposed by M. A. Fuentes and Pardo y Aliaga.

This nostalgic aim that anyone could observe in Ayarza's *Pregones* could even be observed as a fashionable decoration that framed elite parties and carnival crews.[72]

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[68] See "Mañana a las 6.45 en el Teatro Municipal Lecuona con la Embajada Musical de Cuba. El último concierto de música cubana de la serie folklórica de sus célebres espectáculos líricos," *La Prensa* (December 7, 1937), 9; "De música," *La Prensa* (December 8, 1937), 4.

[69] Moore, Robin, "The Commercial Rumba: Afrocuban Arts as Internacional Popular Culture," *Latin American Music Review* 16/2 (1995), 171 and passim. Cf. Idem, *Nationalizing Blackness. Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).

[70] The Limeño composer Manuel Acosta Ojeda asserted that songs composed by Pinglo and other authors were prohibited from being propagated through the radio stations in 1939. Similar information can be found in Collantes, Aurelio, *Pinglo immortal* (Lima: Imp. La Cotera, 1977), 56. We have not found other information that confirms this assertion. Cf. Martínez, Marino, *Manuel Acosta Ojeda*, 26.

[71] See "Como enfoca Jorge Huirse los problemas de nuestra música popular,"*Cascabel* (August 10, 1940), 7.

[72] See "Leon's La Cabaña. Noches de Antaño," *La Prensa* (July 24, 1935), 6; "Sábado 27 / Country Club de Lima / Gran Festival Colonial / Comida de Gala 1821 / Representación de cuadros y bailes de esa época (…)," *La Prensa* (July 22, 1935), 6. The newspapers and magazines of this period (the 1930's) show that some carnival crews depicted old colonial balconies and *tapadas*.

Finally, in the 1940's, the first lyrics of *música criolla* referring to a glorious colonial Lima emerged. [73] It is within this cultural trend that one must locate the nostalgic *valses criollos* of Isabel "*Chabuca*" Granda, a former singer of Mexican (*ranchera*) songs. Linked to the Limeño elite, she would become famous internationally in the 1960's. Her *vals* called *La Flor de la Canela* was already famous in Lima in the 1950's. However, it is less widely known that she wrote and performed a musical revue called *Limeñisima* (1961). It was organized through scenes that depicted late colonial Lima during a 24-hour period. The music played by the orchestra included her increasingly successful songs.[74]

This nostalgic artistic trend was reinforced during an era of increasing influx of rural Andean immigrants to the city. They have been exotically depicted by Limeño reporters in the 1930's.[75] However, in the 1950's, thousands of immigrants were forming bigger slums in Lma. As a reaction against these immigrants, Limeño writers reinforced the old idea of Lima as a city that was losing its "soul." This discourse, however, would

[73] See Martínez, Laureano, "Lima de Antaño. Vals criollo de…," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1216, 3; Collantes, Aurelio, "Abajo El Puente. Vals criollo de…," *El Cancionero de Lima*, 1311, [p.3]. It must be remarked that, however, most of the valses published in this magazine have as their main topic issues related to love affairs. See also Chumbes, Luis, "Mujer Criolla. Polka criolla," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1300, 2; Alva, Estela, and Luis Pardo, "La Perricholi," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1521, 5. One can find some nostalgic lyrics before that year, but it seems that they were not linked with this notion of a glorious colonial past. See an example in Durand, José, "La resbalosa limeña," *Mensajes* 19 (1973), 10.

[74] The debut was at the Segura Theater on August 12, 1961. See "Intensifican los ensayos de 'Limeñisima' de Ch. Granda," *El Comercio* – morning edition (August 9, 1961), 11; "Comedia musical de Chabuca Granda hoy estrenan en el Segura," *El Comercio* – morning edition (August 12, 1961), 12; "El Teatro Hoy en Lima," *El Comercio* (August 13, 1961), 12; "'Limeñisima' en el Teatro Segura," *El Comercio* – morning edition (August 14, 1961), 10 and *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (August 14, 1961), 4; "Renuevan temporada de 'Limeñisima' hoy," *El Comercio* – morning edition (August 24, 1961), 10. A general commentary about Isabel Granda and her play, see "Retablo de Maese Calvero," *El Comercio* – morning edition (August 24, 1961), 13.

[75] See "Ayer llegó tren de la sierra," *La Prensa* – morning edition (July 12, 1938), 1.

acquire during the 1950's a clear anti-indigenous tone.[76] Yet, this nostalgic trend was only one side of the coin. Another theatrical experience was also practiced in Lima. In fact, this theatrical experience was not necessarily a cultural experience that was practiced in contradiction to and isolated from the elite performances.

Musical Revues and People from Below in the Limeño Theatrical Spectacle

From the early twentieth century, Limeños also had the opportunity to enjoy musical revues, *zarzuelas*, comedies, and *sainetes* from Mexico, Argentina, and Spain.[77] Simultaneously, they attended similar performances based on Peruvian topics. Some of these Peruvian musical revues became extremely successful events. This was the case of *Lima en Kodak*. The debut was in one of the most important theaters, the Colon Theater, on January 19, 1923.[78] Unlike the elite performances, the nostalgic mood was not continually present in this play. Written by Ricardo Chirre Danós and performed by the *Compañía Nacional de Zarzuelas y Comedias,* one could listen to and observe parodies or simple allusions to specific situations and people that were present at that time in Lima. *Lima en Kodak* was in fact a revue performed mainly in the present tense that

[76] See "Costumbres indígenas imponen su barbarie en Lima," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (September 26, 1958), 1; Altuna del Valle, Enrique, "Una concentración sub-urbana peligrosa," in Paz Soldán, Carlos Enrique (ed), *Lima y sus suburbios* (Lima: UNMSM, 1957), 61; Fuentes, Moisés, "Lima, ciudad sitiada," *El Comercio* – morning edition (October 3, 1958), 2.

[77] One example is a Mexican company that performed revues and *zarzuelas* at the Colon Theater in 1925. Besides other pieces that the Mexican Company performed, and with the collaboration of Peruvian actors and actresses, this company put on a revue called *Mexico en Lima*. See "De teatros," *La Crónica* (April 9, 1925), p. 7; "De teatros," *La Crónica* (April 11, 1925), 14; "De teatros," *La Crónica* (April 12, 1925), p. 6; "De teatros," *La Crónica* (April 13, 1925), 8.

[78] "De teatros. Legítimo triunfo de la Compañía del Colón," *La Crónica* (January 20, 1923), 5; "De teatros," *La Crónica* (January 31, 1923), 5.

showed the everyday life of Limeños. Its success was so immense that it was performed for more than a year[79] and a replication of it, *Lima en Kodak No. 2*, was also made.[80] A special play honoring the Queen of the modernized carnival was produced in February 1923 with President Leguía again as a special guest.[81]

One of the scenes was called *criollo puro* in which one could observe festive depictions of people selling commodities such as soap in a popular Limeño market located in Rimac. One could also observe a "black" woman (it seems that the actress was not an African descendant), peddlers, a lotto vendor, and people singing, according to the news report, a nearly extinct potpourri of "criollo songs."[82] Other scenes depicted the urban area of Lima from the sky, making it possible to see La Colmena Avenue and the Mundial Cinema. According to the newspaper, even an opium den was represented in a very elegant way.[83] A depiction of the new Limeño policeman was also included.[84] A funny allusion to Peruvian financial problems was also included in a scene in which four *rumba* dancers performed dressed in skirts on which specific Peruvian currencies

[79] On October 10, 1924, this revue had been performed 199 times. See "De teatros," *La Crónica* (October 10, 1924), 5. An allusion to this music revue in Balta, Aída, *Historia general del teatro en el Perú* (Lima: USMP, 2003), 117-118.

[80] The debut of *Lima en Kodak No. 2* was produced by the same company on July 10, 1923 to open its new theatrical season, with a "poutpourris of national songs." See "De teatros," *La Crónica* (July 11, 1923), 5; "De teatros," *La Crónica* (July 12, 1923), 4; "Teatros," *Mundial* (July 20, 1923), 34. A version referring to the Limeño harbor called *Callao en Kodak* was being performed in 1926. See "De teatros," *La Crónica* (February 20, 1926), 9.

[81] "De teatros," *La Crónica* (February 16, 1923), 5.

[82] Ibíd., 5.

[83] The composer Felipe Pinglo also wrote a *vals* referring to some imagined effects caused by the smoking of opium. Cf. "Sueños de Opio," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1544, 5.

[84] The old police force was renovated during *El Oncenio*.

(*billetes*) were drawn. As in other similar musical revues that referred to current events in Lima, many of these scenes were constantly reinvented.[85]

There are no clear references concerning the *criollo* songs played by the orchestra in *Lima en Kodak*. However, we can infer that they were basically the same as those mentioned by writers such as Gamarra and performed by singers such as the Ascuez brothers. For example, on one particular day of the *Lima en Kodak* performances, a performance of one of Gamarra's small *zarzuelas* called *Una Corrida de Gala* – A Gala Bullfight – was also announced. It was a piece which included people singing a *tondero* and a *pregonero* to announce the bullfight.[86] In the same Colon Theater in May of 1923, a similar musical revue was performed in which the references to the music played during the performance are much clearer.

Lima de mis Abuelos – Lima of my Grandparents – was thus a musical revue created by a Rebagliati descendant, the lawyer Edgardo Rebagliati. He dedicated his play to the Limeño writer José Gálvez.[87] It was an evocative but elegant musical revue about Lima in the first years of the republican period. According to the newspaper, the performers dressed in the style of the clothes that the pictures of Francisco Fierro "saved from forgetfulness." The music belonged to Claudio Rebagliati's repertory. One must remember that he composed a rhapsody called *Un 28 de Julio en Lima* and stylized *zamacuecas*, Andean *cachuas*, and *yaravíes*. According to the newspaper advertisement,

[85] See "De Teatros," *La Crónica* (January 28, 1923), p.17. In October 26, 1923, a new debut of the play was made with new satiric scenes. See "De teatros," *La Crónica* (October 27 1923), 5.

[86] "De teatros," *La Crónica* (January 31, 1923), 5; see also Gamarra. Abelardo, "Una Corrida de Gala," *Integridad* (February 1, 1896), p. 1-2; *Integridad* (February 29, 1896), 1-2.

[87] "De Teatros," *La Crónica* (May 14, 1923), 4.

the musical revue even contained a street carnival performance called *El Son de los Diablos* performed by "authentic black malambinos."[88]

The reference to *El Son de los Diablo*s performed by "authentic black" people in *Lima de mis Abuelos* was not just a racist reference to the African descendants that lived on Malambo Street. Neither was it another confirmation that Malambo continued to be considered by several writers and scriptwriters as one of the last redoubts of old Limeño customs.[89] Really, this newspaper advertisement referred to a generalized theatrical phenomenon that Rebagliati's musical revue did not want to replicate. As happened in Cuba, elements of the blackface minstrel theater can be found in Peruvian musical revues, *varieté* shows, and *sainetes* in those years. When they performed as an African descendant, "non-black" Limeño performers darkened their faces. Faced with the use and, probably, the abuse of these elements belonging to the North American blackface theater, the 1923 musical revue was trying to create what Pierre Bourdieu described as an impression of conforming to reality.[90] The minstrel show performed by both European and African American descendants after the antebellum era satirically defined what African Americans were for "white" U.S. American audiences.[91] In the case of Lima,

[88] Ibid, 4.

[89] Cf. chapter 1. A *sainete* called *Una Jarana en Malambo* debuted on October 30, 1923. In this piece, it was possible to see the *tondero* of Abelardo Gamarra *La Costa Abajo* danced. See "De teatros," *La Crónica* (October 30, 1923), 5.

[90] Cf. Bourdieu, Pierre, *Homo Academicus* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1988), 29. African descendants also participated in Isabel Granda's musical revue *Limeñisima*.

[91] About U.S. blackface minstrels, see Lemons, J, "Black Stereotypes as reflected in Popular Culture, 1880-1920," *American Quarterly* 29/1 (1977), 102-116; Lott, Eric, " 'The Seeming Counterfeit': Racial Politics and Early Blackface Minstrelsy," *American Quarterly* 43/2 (1991), 223-254; Herring, Scott, "Du Bois and the Minstrels," *MELUS* 22 /2 (1997), 3-17. For Cuba, see Lane, Jill, "Blackface Nationalism, Cuba 1840-1880," *Theater Journal* 50 /1 (1998), 21-38.

these darkened performers were part of an artistic fashion that, however, reinforced a current stereotype about what *negros* were.

Thus, African descendants were depicted in these performances as people living in alleys or dancing the *Agua de Nieve*.[92] In Rosa Mercedes Ayarza's spectacle, the *negros* lyrically announced their commodities in the Limeño streets.[93] The depiction of a playful African- descent character was clearly shown in the Limeño theater. It was not a notion distant from the stereotyped image evoked by Fuentes about the supposedly disagreeable participation of the plebeian population in nineteenth century carnivals and other public activities. Some of the above-mentioned dialogues performed in *Lima en Kodak* and other spectacles were between an African descendant and a rural Andean person.[94] As a satiric, comic allusion that could be seen in *Lima en Kodak No. 2*, four people dressed like pre-Columbian ceramics or *Huacos* danced a *huayno* in a scene called "Ideal Museum."[95] Similar dialogues that parodied the Spanish speech of the rural Andean and Chinese populations were also recorded by Limeño singers such as the

[92] See "Teatros," *Mundial* (October 12, 1923), 31-33. See photo of the *Agua de Nieve* in "En el teatro Mazzi. Éxito de Mundial, Revista Ilustrada," *Mundial* (October 12, 1923), 20-21; "La funcion de esta tarde en el Municipal," *La Crónica* (December 29, 1924), 4.

[93] See "Las Bodas de Plata de la Sociedad Entre Nous," *Turismo* 122 (December 1937).

[94] See a reference to these dialogues in the revue *Mexico en Lima* in "De teatros," *La Crónica* (April 12, 1925), 26.

[95] About the *huayno* danced in *Lima en Kodak No. 2*, see "De teatros," *La Crónica* (Julio 12, 1923), 4. A special gala show was organized by Peruvian playwright Angela Ramos de Rotalde for the assistants to the Second Pan-American Women's Conference, and the Third Pan-American Scientific Congress. It stressed that this spectacle had a national, *criollo* taste. See "La gran función de mañana en el Municipal," *La Crónica* (December 28, 1924), p. 5. Thus, a Ramos comedy "Por un Marido" was performed; later, a variety spectacle was performed. This broad spectacle also contained small dialogues such as the one between a bullfighter and the old Limeño policeman called *cachaco* (from *Lima en Kodak*). One could also listen to a *yaraví* (from *Lima en Kodak*) and observe a so-called "black" dance performance, the *Agua de Nieve* (from Alejandro Ayarza's revue *Música Peruana*). See "La función de esta tarde en el Municipal," *La Crónica* (December 29, 1923), 4.

Montes y Manrique duo in 1911.[96] Similar mockeries of the same linguistic phenomenon but referring to African descendants can be found in some old *resbalosas*.[97]

Part of the artistic repertory of well-known Limeño performers such as Teresa Arce and Carlos Rebolledo were composed of these comic dialogues and monologues. Their performances had been extensively performed in Limeño theaters since the 1920's and, later, in radio programs. Arce – a *varieté*-show actress, a *cuplé* who usually danced *marineras* in her performances in the 1920's – was well-known from the 1930's for her parody of an Andean-immigrant woman called *Chola Purificación*. In a 1938 interview, Arce said her parody was inspired by a real situation. She said that one time she accidentally met an Andean-immigrant woman on a Limeño street. Arce said that she quickly discovered that this immigrant woman was disoriented and lost in the city.[98] Rebolledo was known since the 1920's to parody a character called *cachaco*, the old policeman from indigenous origins that worked in the Limeño police department.[99] These performances were really parodying some cultural features that an anthropologist might describe as ethnic traits (e.g, way of speaking Spanish, musical genres, and clothing). TV shows replicated these kinds of performances years later. Thus, Tulio Loza, a well-known comic T.V. actor in the 1970's, became famous for his sketch that depicted an Andean

[96] The Victor Talking Machine Company recorded similar dialogues in 1930. See chapters 3 and 4.

[97] Durand, "La resbalosa limeña", 14

[98] "45 minutos de charla con Teresita Arce la simpática estilista criolla," *La Prensa* – morning edition (July 12, 1938), 49.

[99] See "De teatro," *La Crónica* (February 11, 1925,) 5

immigrant called Nemesio Chupaca who quickly adapted to Lima.[100]

Clearly, there had been an artistic job market in Lima since the 1920's that was now growing, as is evidenced by the increasing number of cinemas and, later, radio stations. This artistic arena was composed of nostalgic performances, comedies, *sainetes*, *zarzuelas*, musical revues, and *varieté* shows. Following Abelardo Gamarra's ideas, we can say that there were several ways of incorporating *criollismo* into the Limeño theatrical scene. Even so, due to the rise of modern mass media networks, several of these theatrical performances also became radio theater performances and musical films. In fact, most of the artistic directors, producers, and performers in these musical films and radio broadcasts belonged to Limeño theater companies. Let us finish this chapter by introducing this issue, that is, the emergence of radio-theater programs and musical films in Lima.

Cinemas, Radio Theater Performances, and "Música Criolla" in the 1930's

Movies helped spread opera and U.S. North American music in Lima. Since the early twentieth century, silent films had been shown in the city. These productions included a musical accompaniment played by a permanent orchestra that could play waltzes, small parts of operas, jazz, schottisches, foxtrots, and tangos during the film projections.[101] Few Peruvian silent movies were made in the 1920's. Therefore, these

[100] See "Nemesio Chupaca," *Bienvenidos a www.tulioloza.com. La web oficial del primer actor cómico del Perú*, <http://www.tulioloza.com/nemesio-chupaca.html> (29 October 2010). See also Bedoya, Un cine reencontrado, 193-194.

[101] It was the case of the *Blanco* Orchestra which played at the Mundial Theater in 1922. See "Cine Teatro Mundial," *La Crónica* (January 12, 1922), 5. The Manco Capac Cinema was inaugurated on November 20, 1925. A jazz band played in this cinema in December 1925 – "Cinematográficas," *La Crónica* (December 12, 1925), 7. The Mundial Theater projected films, and showed *varieté* shows and *zarzuelas*.

orchestras rarely played Peruvian music in the cinemas. Indeed, the U.S music genres were the most played not only in the 1920's cinemas but also in exclusive hotels such as the Bolivar and even in worker or artisan association parties.[102] An exception was a Peruvian film about the late colonial Limeña performer called *La Perricholi*, shown at the Colon Theater in 1928. An advertisement said that an orchestra would play during this movie, and the audience would thus listen to singers with guitar, piano, and *cajón* during the scene when the *marinera* was danced at Amancaes.[103]

When talking films emerged in 1929, the orchestras disappeared from the cinemas. The first talking film was paradoxically projected in Lima at one of the more important theaters, the Colon Theater.[104] Due to the economic crisis that emerged in Peru because of the 1929 Wall Street crisis, the working conditions of these musicians worsened in the 1930's. According to a letter that the Musical Association of Peru sent to Peruvian Congressmen in 1936, there were 655 musicians without jobs, and 87% of the musicians working in restaurants were foreigners.[105] However, the spread of the cinemas and radio stations did not completely eliminate musicians from the cinemas in the 1930's. Thus, *costumbrista* plays began to be recast in the cinemas by the radio station

[102] See Lévano, Edmundo. *Un cancionero desconocido. Historia y música del Centro Musical Obrero de Lima: 1922-1924* (Lima: BNP-PUC, 1998). See "Víctor – Discos –Victor," *El Comercio* - morning edition (May 24, 1928), 1. Most of the records featured foxtrots and tangos, but it was also possible to find other advertisements about opera music records.

[103] See "Hoy es el último día de exhibiciones (…)," *El Comercio* – morning edition (September 19, 1928), 13. About this silent Peruvian film, see Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 52-57.

[104] "¿A qué cinema quiere ud. ir hoy?," *La Crónica* (November 29, 1929), 11.

[105] See "Es posible que mientras cuatro o cinco conjuntos de músicos extranjeros actúan en Lima, mas de seiscientos músicos nacionales estén desocupados," *Cascabel* 80 (April 18, 1936), 17.

performing staff in a musical format generally called by the press a "*criollo* spectacle."

As happened in the 1920's, several of these spectacles in the 1930's were combined with U.S, Argentine, or Mexican movies. Thus, an artistic adventure that had begun in the theaters in the early twentieth century finally arrived in the radio stations, only to re-circulate in the same theaters and cinemas as a production composed mainly of *música criolla*. These musical revues and *varieté* spectacles did not have only music and scenes based on Peruvian topics. However, many of their performers were recognized as performers of *música criolla* by the press. This was the case of a spectacle called *Gran Jarana Criolla* that was really a *varieté* show (1937). The advertisement in the newspaper said that movies would be projected when the *varieté* show finished.[106]

This spectacle was really replicating in the theater an audio version that could also be listened to on a radio station in Lima – DUSA radio – but it is not clear in this case if this radio station was officially supporting its performers.[107] In any case, they were only reproducing comedies and short theatrical pieces about people living in alleys and *solares* that participated in a *jarana*, a kind of theatrical piece that was also recorded on 78 rpm discs by the Montes y Manrique duo in 1911. The above-mentioned Gamarra piece performed at Dr. Macedo's house during the Limeño carnival in the late 1890's ended

[106] See "Gran Jarana Criolla," *La Prensa* (February19, 1937), p. 11; "De teatros," *La Prensa* (February 27, 1937), 11; "Gran Jarana Criolla en el Astor [cinema]," *La Prensa* (March 1, 1937), 5.

[107] See "Continental [cinema]. Gran Jarana Criolla (Estilo Dusa)," *La Prensa* (March 3, 1937), 9. On this same day, radio-theater shows at the Lux cinema were announced. See other advertisements about this *Gran Jarana* show in "Espectáculos cinematográficos para hoy," *La Prensa* (March 8, 1937), 11. DUSA was a radio station, and it appeared that a program that tried to reproduce a *jarana* was programmed every Thursday. See "Apostillas a la radio. La Jarana," *La Prensa* (March 20, 1937), 11.

with a party that could easily be featured as a *jarana*. A cultural experience from nineteenth-century Lima was thus being recast by radio stations now.[108]

In the case of a 1939 performance, parts of the artistic staff of both the National Radio of Peru and the Lima Radio stations officially performed a revue called *Cine Dial*. It consisted of a prologue and 3 scenes and was performed at the Metropolitan Theater. Each scene was organized around Cuban, Argentine, and Peruvian music. According to the press, any kind of Peruvian music, from the *yaraví* to the *marinera*, could be heard in this revue.[109] The term Peruvian music here was used above all to refer to *música criolla*.[110] It seems that these performances were a success and a good business, above all during carnival time, when Lima Radio staff officially performed other revues at the Metropolitan Theater.[111] Indeed, as was the case of the Lima Radio owner at the end of the 1930's, the owner of a radio station sometimes was also owned cinemas. This reveals the obvious intention to control every aspect of the Limeño entertainment business.

[108] Segura and Gamarra's plays continued to be occasionally performed during the twentieth century. This is the case of *Ña Catita*, a comedy that was performed at the Segura Theater on February 20, 1938, with an added musical spectacle. See "Teatro Segura. Ña Catita con Ernestina Zamorano. Fin de fiesta. Conjunto Criollo Filomeno Ormeño," *El Comercio* (February 19, 1938), 12.

[109] See "Gran Cine Teatro Metropolitan. Cine Dial," *El Comercio* – morning edition (January 31, 1939), 4.

[110] In another revue called *El Rey del Oro* - The King of Gold - there is a distinction between a party in an announced "Cuzqueño scene," located in a rural Andean town, and another scene called *Cuartero Peruano* – a Peruvian Music Quartet. It was announced that in the first scene, music such as *yaravíes* and *huaynos* would be played. In the other scene, a *criollo* music quarter would play pieces composed by the duo "Las Criollitas" and the performers Alfredo Catter and Luis Romero. In yet another scene located in a Mexican cabaret, the program said that Peruvian tourists would form an informal *criollo* music quartet. According to the program, this would contrast with the Mexican one. See "Gran Teatro Metropolitan. El Rey del Oro," *El Comercio* – morning edition (May 30, 1939), 12.

[111] See other performances promoted by the Lima Radio station in "Gran Teatro Metropolitan (…)," *El Comercio* – morning edition (March 28, 1939), 10; "Teatro Metropolitan," *El Comercio* – morning edition (April 1939, 1939), 12. See "Cine Teatro Mundial," *La Crónica* (January12, 1922), 5.

Certainly, the Limeño cinemas were supporting these kinds of radio station spectacles in an era when a similar genre, Mexican musical films, was becoming popular. The projection of a Mexican musical film in Lima called *Alla en el Rancho Grande* was such a success in 1937 that the next year, the Calero Company could distribute thirty-eight Mexican movies in a Limeño market that was almost completely dominated by U.S. American movies.[112] In that context, Amauta Films (a Peruvian film company) decided not only to distribute these films but also to produce Peruvian movies to impose "our language and customs on the screen."[113] For Amauta Films, this meant producing movies (some of them musical films) that recast melodramatic situations observed in the Limeño theaters with a staff mainly composed of people from that theatrical arena. There were few differences between these Peruvian movies and those made in Mexico or Argentina. The only difference was their cultural and geographical contextualization.[114] That did not mean, however, that only Peruvian music could be heard in these movies.[115] Silent movies such as *La Perricholi* and *Luis Pardo*[116] predated Amauta's musical films.

[112] Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 102-103.

[113] Ibid, 97.

[114] Ibid, 105-106.

[115] The film *De Doble Filo* (whose debut was in December 30, 1937) was a comedy that depicted cabaret and restaurant scenes when music genres such as tangos, maxixes, jarabes, and marineras could be listened. See the advertisement of this movie, "De Doble Filo," *La Prensa* (December 30, 1937), 5; see Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 103-104.

[116] Precisely, one of these 1930s movies was a remaked of the story of the bandit Luis Pardo projected in 1927. *Su Ultimo Adios* (debuted in January 20, 1938) made by Heraldo Cinematographic Company was a movie in which the bandit sang. One does not know which specific songs were but according to the newspapers in the movie could be listened "criollo songs and music" - Ib., 107. See also the advertisement in *El Comercio* – morning edition (January 20, 1938), Cf. other advertisement in *El Comercio* – morning edition (January 21, 1938), 11. See also Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 49-58.

Probably the most famous of these Amauta films was *El Gallo de Mi Galpón*. Debuting on June 16, 1938, it was announced as the first "criollo musical production." Narrated in the present tense, the story was set on a coastal estate where cotton was cultivated and traditional customs were practiced, such as to making Peruvian barbecue or *Pachamanca*. In this environment, two men (Andrés and Miguel, the administrator and the *capataz* of the estate, respectively) competed for the love of a young peasant, a typical situation that could also be seen in Mexican musical films. Andrés tried to force the peasant girl to accept him (a common situation on some rural estates in South America called right of *pernada – derecho de pernada*). Miguel stopped him and a fight ensued. Then, Miguel won, but Andrés remained furious. He tried to eliminate his rival by stealing the money that the owner of the estate (one *Don Francisco*) had given Miguel to guard. Thus, Miguel was accused of being a thief, but later the plot was revealed, and Miguel ended up happy with the young peasant woman.[117] As the case of theater revues, the film was full of such melodramatic musical scenes that the story became subordinated several times to the musical performances.[118]

This movie was such a success that Amauta Films produced a similar one called *El Guapo del Pueblo* months later.[119] Again, *valses*, *polkas*, *marineras* (some of them compositions of Felipe Pinglo Alva) and scenes of *jaranas* depicted melodramatic situations and attitudes easily recognizable to Limeño spectators. Both of these films

[117] See Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 115-119. About the advertisement that referred to this movie as a criollo music production, see *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 15, 1938), 13.

[118] See Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 118.

[119] About *El Guapo del Pueblo*, see Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado*, 121-123, and *El Comercio* – morning edition (September 1, 1938), 17.

were so successful that an artistic festival was promoted featuring the main performers of these two movies at the Metropolitan Theater.[120] A movie with a nostalgic tone was even made by Amauta Films called *Palomillas del Rímac,* which debuted on December 1, 1938. Here, two guys from the Rímac neighborhood win the lotto and become wealthy. Obviously, they abandon their neighborhood and live in a wealthy and more comfortable urban area. However, they never forget their old neighborhood and its people, especially their girlfriends. This is the reason they usually come back to visit.[121]

As one of the most successful movies in the history of Peruvian cinema, *Palomillas del Rímac* was part of that discourse that glorified Rímac and other worker neighborhoods in Lima as the last redoubt of *criollismo*. This movie was, moreover, similar to a Pinglo *vals criollo* called *De Vuelta al Barrio* (To Come Back to the Neighborhood) when a guy nostalgically remembers his old neighborhood in which he is not living anymore. Whether or not this *vals* inspired the movie, one can observe that these movies were now stimulating the popularity of these musical compositions and contributing to the future mythologizing of Pinglo as an icon of *música criolla*. In *El Guapo del Pueblo,* for example, the young woman singer Jesús Vásquez sang Pinglo's *vals* called *El Plebeyo* (The Plebeian), one of his well-known *valses*.[122]

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[120] "Gran Cine Teatro 'Metropolitan' – El teatro de los grandes éxitos. Jueves 15 – Gran Festival Criollo," *El Comercio* - morning edition (September 14, 1938), 18.

[121] Bedoya, *Un cine reencontrado,* 125.-127.

[122] The performance of Jesús Vásquez can be found in "Jesus Vasquez canta en la Película El guapo del Pueblo," *You Tube,* <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghsUPvJkcnY&feature=related> (2 Dec. 2010).

These melodramatic movies were made when Mexican, Brazilian, and Argentine film industries were growing despite encountering some economic problems and internal fights.[123] Initially, they were copying Hollywood's melodramatic musical format, but later, these film industries developed their own national versions of Hollywood movies in the 1930's. A larger industrial sector and some legal rules stimulated these film industries, whose golden age really occurred after 1940. Because of the Second World War, the U.S. film industry could not fully supply their films to Central and South American markets, which were dominated at that time by Hollywood movies although one could also watch Mexican and Argentine films.[124] In the end, the gap was filled by these aforementioned films. A cinematographic Bank even existed in Mexico (created in 1942) to support the production of their movies.[125]

As occurred in Mexico, Peruvian movies emerged in an era when mass media networks were re-envisioning Peruvian types commonly depicted in *costumbrista* performances. Consequently, one would think that this process should have strengthened

[123] Although accepted as a commonsensical idea, historians know several producers and directors of these films did not want, at first, to produce *costumbrista* movies because they were thought to be "uncivilized," "plebeian" images of the country that could disgust potential high-middle class consumers that deeply adired U.S. American movies. It was thus considered a spectacle of bad taste and bad business. Cf. for the case of Argentina Karush, Matthew, "The Melodramatic Nation: Integration and Polarization in the Argentine Cinema in the 1930's," Hispanic *American Historical Review* 87/2 (2006), 293-326.

[124] Probably exaggerating, a journalist positively valued the musical work of Felipe Pinglo Alva, saying that it was a heroic task in a cultural environment dominated by Argentine movies, tangos, and jargon. See Falconí, Heraldo, "Ignorado de los institutos y academias musicales, Felipe Pinglo, autor inagotable de canciones criollas, lo sacrificó todo en aras de la música popular," *Cascabel* 83 (1936), 19.

[125] See Michel, Manuel and Neal Oxenhandler, "Mexican Cinema: a Panoramic View," *Film Quarterly* 18 /4 (1965), 46-55; Mosiváis, Carlos, "Notas sobre cultura popular en Mexico," *Latin American Perspectives* 5 /1 (1978), 98-118; Nájera-Ramírez, Olga, "Engendering Nationalism: Identity, Discourse, and the Mexican Charro," *Anthropological Quarterly* 67 /1 (1994), 1-14; Mora, Carl, *Mexican Cinema. Reflections of a Society, 1896-2004.* 3rd edition (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., Publishers, 2005), chapter 2 and 3.

a Peruvian cinema mainly based on coastal themes in the same way that *comedia ranchera* had in Mexico and carnivalistic parodies called *chanchadas* had in Brazil in the 1950's.[126] However, the process ended in another outcome. Peruvian movies were no longer made after *Tierra Linda* – Beautiful Land – a 1939 movie that was not completely successful. After the projection in 1949 of *Barco sin Rumbo* -- A Ship without Destination -- Amauta films had similar economic problems suffered by Mexican producers in the 1930's. However, it lacked state or private financial aid. Consequently, Amauta Films only dedicated itself to distributing foreign movies.

Conclusion

The cinema and the theater were complementary cultural arenas that, with live radio-station performances, partially contributed to the strengthening of a national nostalgic narrative in modern Lima as well as in spreading *música criolla* there. In its Diverse facets, the twentieth-century Limeño theatrical experience and, later, musical films were only recasting an old *costumbrista* theater that, for some Limeños, was not only a profitable, popularized spectacle but also a parody of their daily life. Due to economic reasons, the musical films based on these Peruvian topics stopped in the late 1930's. However, *música criolla* continued to be consumed at festivals, restaurants, cabarets, theaters, and cinemas by Limeños. To be precise, the most important of these festivals was the day of San Juan El Bautista in Amancaes. Organized in an open field

[126] Cf. Shaw, Lisa, "The Brazilian Chanchada of the 1950's and Notions of Popular Identity," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 38/1 (2001), 17-30; and Idem, "Vargas on Film: From the Newsreel to *Chanchada*," in *Vargas and Brazil. New Perspectives*, Jens Hentschke, ed (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 207-225.

close to downtown Lima, it was usually presided over by the President of Perú. This festival disappeared in the 1960's. The next chapter will explain the origin and transformation of this musical festival and its link with the building of a national narrative in modern Peru.

Chapter 4

A National Day:

El Día de San Juan en Amancaes.

Everyday Life, Public Festivals, and Peruvian Nationalism in Lima (1920-1930)

Movies were part of the new amusements linked with the modernization process in Lima. They were part of the new entertainment industry that had been transforming daily life since the beginning of the industrial era. Other inventions such as the electric light and the automobile also impacted the daily life of Limeños.[1] In the late twentieth century, new venues of entertainment through the Internet would again transform the daily life of many Limeños. Therefore, old amusements such as theatrical performances were progressively displaced by new ones such as movies. However, due to specific nationalist agendas, during the first half of the twentieth century, some public rituals belonging to the colonial period not only did not disappear but were redefined with the support of the Peruvian state.

Some of these rituals were reinvented (as Eric Hosbawm and Terence Ranger would say) during the Leguía Administration (1919-1930), becoming part of its nationalist rhetoric. After 1930, they continued to be considered by Limeños as important cultural and national icons. This is an important issue that has not yet been analyzed by scholars in the case of Lima. The present chapter is an analysis of one of these public rituals that became a national symbol during *Patria Nueva*: *El Día de San Juan El Bautista* (the Day of Saint John the Baptist, observed on June 24). As a Catholic celebration that became a symbol of Peruvianness in Lima, it was celebrated in an open field (a *pampa*) surrounded by small hills called Amancaes. Although the Day of San Juan El Bautista was a celebration whose origins were in the colonial period, it was only converted into a national artistic festival in the 1920's. That is, it became a national horse

[1] There is a *resbalosa* that refers precisely to the impact of these technologies on the Limeño population – cf. Santa Cruz, *El Waltz y el valse criollo*, 10.

contest but, above all, an immense contest of music and dances from different regions of Peru.

The Peruvian state gave financial support to these competitions. Even so, the Peruvian state officers publicly stressed that this festival was proof positive of the existence of a harmonious cultural diversity in Peru. It was not a mere coincidence that this ritual was recreated as a national icon when the "national question" was being publicly debated in Peru. Within this ideological debate, the social location of the rural Andean population within the Peruvian nation - the *Indio* problem - was a central topic of discussion. In fact, *indigenismo* was not only a cultural trend but also a musical fashion and a political issue. I argue that the day of San Juan was part of this *indigenista* rhetoric that, in the long run, reinforced the idea of the existence of an imagined coastal, *criollo* music world completely different from an imagined *andino* musical world. The final result was that the officialization of the Day of San Juan in Lima made it part of a new celebration called *El Día del Indio* (the Day of the *Indio)*, on June 24, 1930. In this chapter, I will first explain briefly how the Day of San Juan was celebrated before the 1920's. Later, I will explain how this Catholic ritual was converted into an icon of Peruvianness.

The Day of San Juan in Amancaes before 1923: an Old Colonial "Paseo"

During the republican period, Peruvians celebrated *El Día de San Juan El Bautista* each June 24 as part of the old but still alive colonial, Catholic calendar. Similar to other Catholic celebrations, Limeños celebrated it by participating in the Catholic mass. However, it was also a day in which excursions were made to an open field or

pampa located in the Limeño neighborhood of Rímac. A small colonial church was located in this field where people usually visited on a pilgrimage every June 24. However, one of the most visible activities of the day was when Limeños collected yellow flowers in the surrounding hills. This flower blossomed during the end of June and was called Amancaes by Limeños. Incidentally, the field was normally called the pampa de los Amancaes by the locals.[2]

Limeños of every social class went each June 24 to Amancaes not only to make pilgrimage and collect the yellow flowers, but also to have picnics and ride horses through the field. In the middle of all these activities, the people also danced and listened to music. It seems that on certain years, the number of families that camped in the field was so appreciable that several vendors could likewise be found in the field that day selling a variety of food, liquors, and other beverages. The sources say that these vendors could even be found there the weekends following June 24. Definitely, as Felipe Pardo y Aliaga jokingly said, Amancaes was a place of recreation.[3] The field was actually an open area used any time for excursions or simply to take a walk serving a similar function to that of big parks in twentieth-century cities.[4]

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[2] The origins of the colonial Day of San Juan as a popular festival in Lima are obviously found in a similar ritual of the Iberian Peninsula. Cf. Baroja, *Julio Caro, La estación de amor (fiestas populares de mayo a San Juan)* (Madrid: Taurus, 1983), section II.

[3] Pardo y Aliaga, Felipe, "El paseo de Amancaes," In *Poesías y escritos en prosa de don Felipe Pardo*. Paris: A. Chaix et Cie, 1869, 332. See also Fuentes, Manuel. *Lima. Sketches of the Capital of Peru. Historical, Statistical, Administrative, Commercial and Moral.* London: Trubner & Co, 1866, 447-453.

[4] Córdova y Urrutia, Jose Maria, *Estadística histórica, geográfica, industrial y comercial de los pueblos que componen las provincias del departamento de Lima* [1839]. (Lima: COPIGRAF S.A., 1992), t. I., 32; Paz Soldán, Mateo, *Geografía del Perú* (Lima: Librería de Fermín Didot Hermanos, Hijos y Ca, 1862), t. I., 314.

The music and food were important elements of this nineteenth-century picnic or *paseo*. Similarly, it was common, during the twentieth century, for Limeños to go to a smaller, quieter, and drier town at the entrance of the Central Andes named Chosica. In this social context, the radio, the record player (or CD player), and the traditional Peruvian barbecue called *Pachamanca* were important elements of the parties and outings held in Chosica. In the case of the nineteenth-century gatherings in the field of Amancaes, these musical devices did not exist yet. Consequently, the musicians played a similar role. After the 1850's, Manuel A. Fuentes pointed out that in the tents where the vendors sold food and drinksm, the people met and improvised parties or *jaranas* with harpists and guitarists in which the *zamacueca* (played with the Peruvian music wooden-box called *cajón*) was the preferred musical genre. Other fashionable music such as the European polka and mazurka were excluded from such meetings.[5]

The Day of San Juan had declined in importance as a Limeño ritual by the beginning of the 1920's, or at least, that is what eyewitnesses claimed. They reported that fewer people than ever went to Amancaes. For example, in 1920, a newspaper chronicler asserted in a very nostalgic tone that the Day of San Juan was slowly dying and becoming an old, decrepit ritual.[6] It is interesting to read this reporter's depiction of the San Juan Day as an organic, degenerating entity. Actually, it was not only Amancaes but the larger urban body in which this ritual was located (Lima) that was dying in this *costumbrista*

[5] Fuentes, Manuel. *Lima…,* 447-448; 451-452; Smith, Archibald, *Peru as it is* (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), vol. I, p. 150-152; Prince, Carlos, *Lima Antigua. Fiestas religiosas y profanas con numerosas viñetas* (Lima: Imprenta del Universo, 1890), 34-35; Middendorf, Ernest, *Perú*, t. I., 446.

[6] Rumimaqui, "La tradicional fiesta de San Juan Bautista," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1920), 4; "La fiesta de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1921), 6.

report. As we now know, Lima was undergoing significant urban changes in those years. Collaterally, some of its old customs and private habits were becoming outdated. Another chronicler said in 1922 that few people went to Amancaes on horseback because the car had replaced the horse; he indeed admitted that he was not among the older eyewitnesses who had seen people riding horses to outings and picnics at Amancaes. He also said that vendors in tents still fought to preserve the "old criollo customs."[7]

One must remember that similar complaints can be read in other Limeño magazines and newspapers during these years about the loss of supposedly authentic Limeño cultural practices. These complaints were only echoing a former nineteenth-century ironic discourse (cf. Rojas y Cañas) that had acquired a less strident but clearly nostalgic tone in the 1920's. Clearly, during an era of intense urban modernization in Lima, writing about the Day of San Juan emerged among some Limeño writers as a way to preserve it, at least in the literary imagination. Amancaes became consequently another topic to write about in an *artículo de costumbres*.

Faced with the real or unreal threat that the day of San Juan might disappear, the new Municipality of Rímac (in whose territory the field was located) decided in June 1923 to recast the festival. The news reported that people came to Amancaes in larger numbers than in previous years. The ritual was thus reborn, but it was not only due to the intervention of the borough hall. The Day of San Juan celebrated in 1923 was alsosuccessful because of a public campaign in the press (*Variedades* and *La Crónica*)

[7] Ega, Juan de, "Temas de Junio," *Mundial* (June 30, 1922), 26. See also Larriva, Lastenia, "El paseo a Amancaes," Variedades (June 30, 1922), 34-45; "Una fiesta tradicional. El paseo de Amancaes," *Variedades* (July 22, 1922), 1538-1539.

which asked Limeños to go to the field to celebrate the day.[8] Dancing, bands playing "popular" songs, people riding horses, making excursions, collecting yellow flowers, having Peruvian *pachamancas*, and even a boxing tournament were some of the events of the day that the photographers captured. The most important event, however, occurred when the Rímac mayor, Juan Ríos, and President Augusto B. Leguía appeared in the field.[9] The press also pointed out that the President promised to support equestrian and dance contests in that location the following year.[10] This promise was partially fulfilled in June 1926 when the Municipality of Rímac announced a contest of "Caballos Criollos de Paso y de Trote" with the support of the Central government.[11]

This development comes as no surprise to anyone familiar with *Patria Nueva*. Faced with the collapse of the most important Peruvian political party of the last twenty years (the Civil party), the Leguía Administration was looking for popular consensus in a period characterized by urban and rural protests. In this context, the cultural activities promoted by the borough halls were also viewed as part of the aforementioned project of urban reform that proposed to modernize Latin American cities and reform the attitudes of their lower classes.[12] The mayor of Lima, Pedro Jose Rada y Gamio, expressed this

[8] See "El paseo a Amancaes," *Variedades* (June 23, 1923), 8-10. In the article it was expressed that because of a proposal launched by the newspaper *La Crónica*, the Municipality of Rimac had repaired the street that permitted access to the pampa. For that reason, the magazine *Variedades* also supports the proposal and invites Limanians to come to the pampa the next June 24 to celebrate the day of San Juan.

[9] "Esplendida resurrección del paseo de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1923), 2; "Reviviendo la Lima antigua. El paseo a Amancaes," *Variedades* (June 30, 1923), 8-9; "Una tradición que revive. El paseo de Amancaes," *Mundial* (June 29, 1923), p. 14-15.

[10] "Reviviendo la Lima antigua…."

[11] Ver "La tradicional fiesta de San Juan en Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 15, 1926), 3.

[12] Cf. chapter 2.

clearly in 1922, saying that the political goal of the Municipality of Lima was not only to clean the streets, but also to stimulate private and national-civic virtues.[13] These words could be considered the expression of a mere personal position. However, similar sentiments were expressed by the Rímac mayor, Juan Ríos, on June 24, 1927, during the presentation of the winners of the First Contest of National Music and Dances organized for the Day of San Juan.[14]

The decade of the 1920's was not only a period of strong political repression but also of an intense nationalist and populist impulse. There was no important public event in Lima at which President Leguía (who liked horses and had his own racehorse named Alianza) was not present. It is not redundant to stress again that there are many photos that show this attitude.[15] The aforementioned speech of Juan Ríos was made not only to the spectators in the field but also to President Leguía, who in attendance at that time in Amancaes. Neither was it strange that a prominent member of Leguía's political party, Clemente Palma, as director of the weekly magazine *Variedades* and the newspaper *La Crónica*, reported on all of Leguía's public activities and, above all, supported many off his civic proposals.

From being a day of excursions and picnics, to collecting the yellow flowers in the hills, to dancing and playing music, the Day of San Juan was acquiring another social

[13] See "Discurso programa pronunciado por el doctor Pedro Jose Rada y Gamio en la sesión inaugural del nuevo Concejo," *Boletín Municipal* (January 31, 1922), 2670-2672.

[14] Read Juan Ríos's speech in "La gran fiesta de San Juan en las Pampas de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1927), 5; 8.

[15] Cf. photo of President Leguía as the godfather of the new image of the brotherhood of *El Señor Crucificado del Rímac* during the blessing ceremony in *Mundial* 5/10/1923, p. 13.

role in which one can see the active intervention of Rimac mayor Juan Ríos and the support of President Leguía. Thus, the ritual would eventually acquire a clearly theatrical and official aim. However, sources show that the field of Amancaes continued to be used before and after June 24 as a public area forexcursions or banquets.

The Day of San Juan: a National Festival of "Patria Nueva"

Days before June 24, 1926, the Municipality of Rímac announced that musical performances and a horse show with several elimination rounds would be the main spectacles on the Day of San Juan. The celebration of a *verbena* (night festival) on the Promenade of Los Descalzos on June 23 was also announced. Consequently, the Rímac Borough Hall asked the neighbors living near this Promenade for their support.[16] After two years of celebrating a festival that, according to the news report, had not obtained the same success as the one in 1923, the Rímac Borough Hall wanted the Day of San Juan to regain its old "face" and "brightness."[17] Of course, neither Manuel A. Fuentes nor other nineteenth-century foreign travelers said that some type of official competition occurred during the San Juan Day festivities in Lima. Clearly, a new tradition was being created exclusively by the Rímac Borough Hall.

Indeed, the *verbena* was the beginning of a festival that, according to the official program, would begin at 9:30 p.m. on the Promenade. A "criollo orchestra of popular music" would open the spectacle, which involved puppets presenting dances such as an

[16] "La tradicional fiesta de San Juan de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 15 1926), 3. See also "Gran concurso de Caballos de Paso y Trote para la fiesta de San Juan de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 18, 1926), 4; "La fiesta de San Juan en Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 18, 1926), 9.

[17] "La tradicional fiesta de San Juan…"

Inca dance and a dance of "devils in hell" (seemingly, this second dance was a mimicry of *El Son de los Diablos*[18]), finishing with a *marinera*. A performance of songs by the "guitarists and singers don Alejandro Sáenz, don Elías Ascues, don Augusto Ascues and don Manuel Covarrubias" was also announced, along with performances of "national dances, with criollo music" by artists with special training in old and popular forms such as *marineras*, *valses*, *polkas*, *zambas*, *aguas de nieve*, and *gallinazos*. Concerts called *retretas* performed by military bands in the streets, fireworks, the bonfires in the nearby hills, *tombolas*, and the sale of *criollo* food were also planned as part of this night festival.[19]

The night festival was announced as an authentic *verbena criolla*. However, the Day of San Juan now more closely resembled a kermess, or country fair. The situation was not so different during the day on June 24. One could see the same kind of food, dances, and music played by the same guitarists and singers from the night festival.[20] However, a soccer game between the Security Corps and the team from the sports club "Sport Picapedreros" of Amancaes; a boxing match between welterweights Juan M. Mendoza and David T. Rodriguez; a 400-meter speed race and a 400-meter sack race (*carreras de encostalados*) by members of the Picapedreros Sports Club; a cockfight between representatives from the Coliseum of Lima called "La Pampilla" and the "El Invencible" quarter of El Rímac were also added.[21] All these events were announced with

[18] About *El Son de los Diablos*, cf. chapters 2 and 5.

[19] "La fiesta tradicional de San Juan. Abajo del Puente," *La Crónica* (June 23, 1926), 11.

[20] See *La Crónica* (June 25, 1926), p. 8.

[21] "La fiesta tradicional de San Juan. Abajo del Puente."

the assistance of President Leguía, who observed the events from an official stage accompanied by his ministers, the officers of his army unit, and some congressmen.[22] According to the news reports, the Day of San Juan in 1926 was a success.

It was not the first time that President Leguía supported the initiatives of politicians close to his administration. He took a similar approach when the Lima Borough Hall redesigned the Limeño carnival in 1922 in hopes of creating a drier carnival. Supposedly, this modern carnival would displace the old way of celebrating that consisted not only of organized dances but also a "water war" that included throwing eggs, beans, and flour on the people in the streets. The official program of this newer carnival included the election of a Queen of the Carnival, a large parade with decorated cars, and several parties such as galas in the elite clubs. As part of the civic proposals of that time, the Limeños who participated in this new carnival testify, however, that both the modern and the old carnival were simultaneously celebrated until the end of the 1950's.[23] A similar phenomenon arose in relation to the San Juan Day in the 1920's.

A new ritual thus emerged during the Day of San Juan in 1923. Unlike the case of the 1922 carnival, there was no intention to eliminate the excursions and picnics in the field of Amancaes. Certainly, urban modernization could be clearly seen in the reinvented San Juan Day – e.g., the organization of sports tournaments.[24] Indeed, this was only the

[22] See. "La Fiesta de Ayer en Amancaes," La *Crónica* (June 25, 1926), p. 1.

[23] Concerning the Limeño carnival during the first decades of the twentieth century, see Basadre, *Historia de la República de Perú*, t. XIII, 239-240; Muñoz, Fanni, *Diversiones públicas en Lima, 1890-1920. La experiencia de la modernidad* (Lima: PUC-CIUP-IEP, 2001), 197-198; *Rojas, Rolando, Tiempos de carnaval: el ascenso de lo popular a la cultural nacional. Lima, 1822-1922* (Lima: IFEA-IEP, 2005).

[24] See also "La fiesta de San Juan en las Pampas de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 24, 1929), 12. A sports program was announced in 1932. Even a circus was located in the *pampa.* See "La celebración del día de San Juan en la Pampa de Amancaes," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 25, 1932), 3.

first step in the future organization of an immense artistic festival. The Rímac Borough Hall finally agreed in 1927 not only to a contest of Peruvian horses but also to one of national music and dances.[25] It was a step that the jury for the same music and dance contest strongly endorsed. The Day of San Juan was thus acquiring a nationalist tone.

The jury said that the contest was a way of promoting the national music and dances that they called *vernacular*. According to them, the contest would preserve the supposed beauty of this music. Consequently, the national music would neither be degraded nor adulterated in the future. Also, explained this jury, this last phenomenon sometimes happened when the "noble motifs" of this music were merged with foreign rhythms, "a deplorable vice that unfortunately some national composers have."[26] Also using medical jargon, the jury was expressing its desire to preserve an idealized authenticity and purity of the old Peruvian musical experiences. As we now know, this authenticity was usually defined in the press as a counter-position to the U.S. American rhythms so fashionable in the 1920's. That is, the revised Day of San Juan was also guided by an agenda of preserving the purity of musical practices that were generically referred to as folk music. Indeed, it was a notion closer to the elitist, romanticized, enlightenment notion about Malambo Street as the last bastion of Limeño cultural traditions.

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[25] "Gran Concurso de Música y Bailes Nacionales," *La Crónica* (June 16, 1927), 9. Among the different prizes that existed in this contest, a special one was called President of the Republic, and consisted of 50 Peruvian pounds donated by President Leguía. See "La gran fiesta popular de San Juan en la Pampa de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1927), 8.

[26] "Concurso de Música Nacional," *La Crónica* (June 23, 1927), 15. The Jury was composed by Francisco Graña, Enrique Swayne, Ernesto Devescovi, Jose Leguía, Darío Eguren Larrea, Armando Andrade, and Carlos Gamarra. One must add that this complaint about the influence of foreign music on Peruvian composers was based in fact. Tunes such as foxtrots and one-steps were clearly influencing Peruvian rhythms in those years.

The old San Juan Day had already been categorized as *criollo* in 1921,[27] and Limeño musicians were the dominant performers in the 1926 festival (as in the case of the Ascuez brothers). From 1927 onward, however, other musicians and dance performers from across the country arrived to participate in the music and dance contests at Amancaes. Indeed, the renewed San Juan Day reinforced the binary conception proposed by González-Prada emphasizing that Peruvian society was composed of people from the coastal area (*criollos*) and people from the Andes (*andinos* or *serranos*). By reading the contest rules and its performance categories (e.g., string ensembles or *estudiantinas*, singers, players of *quenas* and *yaravíes*, dancers of *huaynos* and *caschaparis, tonderos, marineras* and *resbalosas*), one can see that a division was also made between the music ensembles who played coastal dance music and those who played *incásica*, *serrana,* Andean music.[28] Even Abelardo Gamarra never proposed this rigid notion because he said that *yaravíes*, *marineras*, and *resbalosas* were also played throughout the whole country.

Without contradicting this notion, the Peruvian state stressed that this artistic festival was really a civic, national event. In the above-mentioned speech of 1927, mayor Ríos said that the festival was part of his municipal policy that aimed at the development and support of material progress in Lima, the defense and surveillance of the interests of the Rimac Borough Hall, and the stimulation of the civic and moral culture of the city. According to Ríos, the festival was an important step in this project because it was part of

[27] Deploring the loss (real or imagined) of "criollo customs," a newspaperman claimed that one of them - the Day of San Juan – was now only a piece of the past. See "La fiesta de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1921), 6.

[28] "Gran Concurso de Música…"

the "rebirth of the big and pompous festivities" that made the city of Lima famous in the colonial era and during the first years of the Republic.[29] Mayor Ríos wanted thus to "invigorate the national consciousness, bringing new stimulus to the civic conviction of our proper value as a nation."[30] President Leguía answered Ríos by saying that it was important to preserve the folk or *vernacular* tradition while "adapting it to the psychology of our times."[31] Consequently, the Rímac Borough Hall (as the organizer of the music and dance contests), President Leguía, and the Secretary of Foment (supporting the equestrian contest) were all giving their general support for the success of this reinvented day.

The day of San Juan in 1927 was so successful that the weekly magazine *Mundial,* in its July 8, 1927 edition, published a cartoon by Jorge Vinatea Reinoso, an Arequipeño artist that worked for the same magazine. His cartoons usually summarized the most important event of the last week. This cartoon was a festive allusion to the Day of San Juan but, above all, was open propaganda for the Leguía regime. [32] One can see President Leguía dancing the *marinera* with a young woman who represented the *Patria Nueva*. The other five members of the so-called Leguía sextet (two guitar players, one *cajón* player, and two hand-clappers) were really his ministers.

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[29] "La gran fiesta de San Juan en las Pampas de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1927), 5.

[30] Ibid, 5.

[31] Ibid., 8. About the Day of San Juan in 1927, see photos in "La fiestas de San Juan," *Mundial* (July 1, 1927), 12; "El concurso hípico en Amancaes," *Mundial* (July 1, 1927), 28-29; "Los bailes nacionales," *Mundial* (July 1, 1927), 30.

[32] See the cartoon in *Mundial* (July 8, 1927). The caption reads: "No solo por la alegría / y el gusto con que tocó / fue lo que premiaron: no, / este sexteto "Leguía" / como siempre, reveló / en cuanto ahí ejecutó / 'la más completa armonía'…"

Precisely, just days before, the regime had celebrated the anniversary of the *coup d'état* that permitted Augusto B. Leguía to take power on July 4, 1919. This authoritarian regime was thus in its eighth year. In the same issue of *Mundial*, a brief official note expressed positive feelings about the prosperity of the *Patria Nueva*.[33] The Municipality of Rímac had already announced that on July 4, 1927, a concert of national music and dance would be held to commemorate the anniversary of the *Patria Nueva*. The concert that was given at the Ideal Theater featured many of the prize-winning performers from the Day of San Juan contests.[34] In fact, this last event shows a collateral phenomenon linked to the festival. That is, this artistic festival was not only becoming a nationalist apotheosis and propaganda for the regime, but also was a profitable business venture now.

The Day of San Juan: a Music Business in the Patria Nueva

The economic organization of the Limeño music market is not only a topic that is beyond the scope of this dissertation but also has not merited any detailed analysis within the historiography of twentieth-century Lima. However, it is important, at least, to make some comments about this vast topic and its relationship to San Juan Day. A problem facing this kind of study is that many of the primary sources are lost (e.g., accounting information for the record companies), but some scarce sources can help us to form a picture of these events.

[33] "Glosario de la Semana. El progreso económico del Perú bajo la administración Leguía," *Mundial* (July 8, 1927), 2.

[34] "De Teatros," *La Crónica* (July 2, 1927), 8.

The Day of San Juan reinforced the circulation of Peruvian music among Limeños in such as way that this music was already in fashion around 1927. Therefore, the owners of different Limeño entertainment venues immediately realized that a profitable business could be had by including the musicians and dancers that performed in Amancaes as part of the shows at their establishments. This is the reason that one can read public advertisements for such artistic spectacles days after the music and dance contests were finished in Amancaes. The announcements were bigger if the spectacle included the main prizewinners of the National Music and Dance Contest. They were commercially announced as national, regional, *criollo*, or *andino* showcases.

For example, a "dinner danzant" on July 3, 1927 at the Zoo Garden, a restaurant where one could hardly listen to national airs, was announced. As part of the general show, the *criollo* program from the Day of San Juan was included.[35] That is, the winners of the Amancaes contest in the *criollo* category, including the *marinera* dancers Bartola Sancho Dávila and her partner Julio Peña, among others, would perform. The restaurant also announced that customers could buy *criollo* dishes such as *picantes* and liquors such as *chicha* during the spectacle. In the event, Bartola Sancho Dávila did not only dance *marineras* but also *tonderos*, *cachaspares*, and *huaynitos*.[36] This program at the Zoo restaurant was really part of its *varieté* show. Thus, a newspaper said that Sancho Dávila and the rest of the performers of this artistic program called themselves the "Trouppe

[35] "Restaurante del Zoológico," *La Crónica* (July 3, 1927), 4.

[36] See "Sociales," *La Crónica* (July 10, 1927), 4. Augusto Ascuez testified decades later that Bartola Sancho Dávila was, in the 1920's, a well-known performer of the *marinera*. He said that she could even play the *cajón* - "Bartola: nunca te olvidaremos," *VSD* 51 (January 14, 1983), 15. He also said that she could perform any kind of dance - see "¿Qué quieres saber del tondero," *VSD* 26 (July 9, 1982), 11.

Indo-Peruano."[37] A similar situation existed in other elite restaurants and clubs in the 1930's such as *La Cabaña* restaurant, where they permitted *música criolla* to be played only for special events such as the Day of San Juan.[38]

The reinvented Day of San Juan in Amancaes became a national symbol that was obviously used by the owners of cinemas, theaters, restaurants and, of course, by the performers to gain monetary profits. In 1928, this tendency continued with the arrival of more performers as official representatives from diverse Peruvian regions to participate in the festival.[39] When the contests ended, they remained in Lima for several weeks, performing in various Limeño cinemas and theaters.[40] This phenomenon was also taking place within the record companies. The representatives of Victor Talking Machine in Lima in 1928 (F.W. Castellano and Brother) said the festival had revived the "forgotten"

[37] Ibid, 4. On July 17, a music show was announced at the Zoo called "La Fiesta Criolla" that included "marineras, resbalosas, guitars, tonderos and quenas"- See "Zoológico," *La Crónica* (July 17, 1927), 3. Cf. similar spectacles in "De Teatros," *La Crónica* (July 21, 1927); "De Teatros," *La Crónica* (July 26, 1927), 9.

[38] La Cabaña restaurant was another elite restaurant founded in the decade of the 1930's where it was not possible to listen to *música criolla*. One could hear it only at special events such as a paid party called *La Gran Noche Criolla*. It was announced for June 24, 1938, the same day as the San Juan festival. See "Gran Noche Criolla," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 23, 1938), 12.

[39] Cf. the official program of the Day of San Juan in "Programa de la fiesta de hoy," *El Comercio* (June 24, 1928), 14. See "Los gestores del certamen musical de Amancaes," *Mundial* (June 28, 1928), 28, and the speech of Mayor Rios in "Las fiestas de San Juan en Amancaes," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 25, 1928), 3.

[40] One of the prizewinners of the 1928 contest was the *estudiantina* called *La Rondalla Piurana*. Their presentation in La Merced Cinema-Theater was announced as part of a combined show of music and movies. See the announcement "La Orquesta Típica 'Rondalla Piurana'. Gran éxito del Concurso de Amancaes," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 28, 1928), p. 13. The same situation occurred with the *Misión Cuzqueña de Arte Incaico* who not only was a prizewinner in Amancaes but also had the prestige of having performed at the Colon Theater (Buenos Aires). See the announcement in "Teatro Forero… Presentación de la 'Misión Cuzqueña de Arte Incaico' que ha obtenido gran éxito en el Concurso Nacional de Amancaes," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 26, 1928), 9.

Peruvian music in such a way that it was possible to hear it in any Limeño theater now.[41] The festival obviously did not create this music or the related artistic market, but clearly it was accelerating the recording of more Peruvian songs.[42] Consequently, the Limeño branch of Victor Talking Machine recorded 57 songs between March 28 and April 4, 1928, in Lima. These matrices were sent later to the facilities of Victor Talking Machine in the U.S. to be converted into 78 rpm discs. Then, these 78 rpm records were sent back to Castellano House in Lima in 5 remittances. The first group was advertised in a newspaper in August of 1928.[43]

These 78 rpm records were announced as national music, but the Castellano House advertisements also used the term *música criolla* or *canciones criollas* to refer to them.[44] Several of the performers chosen by the Castellano House to record these songs had participated and would continue to participate in the day of San Juan contest in the future. The performers included the Antonio Salerno and Carlos Gamarra duo; the Alejandro Saez, Augusto and Elías Ascuez ensemble; and Leopoldo Medina, Juan

[41] See "Los discos nacionales," *La Crónica* (August 11, 1928), 2; "Como vende la casa 'Víctor' de Lima," *La Crónica* (September 26, 1928), 5.

[42] Since the beginning of the twentieth century, U.S. record companies had been recording Peruvian music as part of their marketing strategy to record all kinds of music from all over the world – see chapter 4.

[43] Cf. "Los discos nacionales;" "Música Peruana," *La Crónica* (September 23, 1928), 20; "¡Gran Suceso! Primer lote de discos nacionales de grabación ortofónica," *La Crónica* (August 10, 1928), 5; "Discos Victor," *El Comercio* – morning edition (December 17, 1928), 1. The University of California, Santa Barbara is organizing an *Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recording* (http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/). I want to thank David Seubert from the Davidson Library at UCSB who gave me provisional information about the recordings made by Victor Talking Machine in Lima between 1928 and 1930. From that information, we know that the 1928 recordings were made between March 28 and April 2.

[44] "Los discos nacionales;" "Música Peruana;" "La Casa Victor y la música nacional," *La Crónica* (November 5, 1928), 5; "La Casa Victor pone a disposición de Ud.," *La Crónica* (November 7, 1928), 5.

Carrillo, and Giordano Carreño.[45] The recordings included *marineras*, *valses*, *tonderos*, *tristes, yaravíes,* and even *huaynos*.[46] Most of the musical forms on this list[47] were listened to in Lima and other coastal regions.[48] Although it has not been possible to directly access these 78 rpm discs, these recordings show that the festival was stimulating the growth of a music market not only in Lima; as in other parts of the world, it seems that their consumers were mainly city dwellers. An official recognition of the relationship between the festival and the music market was made by the same Rímac Borough Hall when it awarded a gold medal to Castellano Brothers House for their work in promoting *música criolla*.[49]

Clearly the Castellano Brother House was growing and, obviously, their wish was to control every aspect of the music business. Consequently, they decided to expand it. They tried to inaugurate a radio station. There is not much information about this project,[50] but one knows that the Castellano radio station did emerge years later, in the

[45] See "Los discos nacionales." According to a newspaper report in 1928, as a consequence of the Amancaes festival, the Saenz ensemble was a music fashion at any "criollo party" at that time - see "Música nacional. El conjunto Saez," *La Crónica* (October 14, 1928), 8.

[46] "¡Gran Suceso! Primer lote de discos nacionales de grabación ortofónica."

[47] See Appendix IV

[48] During these years, Limeños had the opportunity to listen to *tonderos*, *marineras*, *valses*, *tristes* and *yaravíes*. As we know now, even in the Limeño theaters one could listen to *huaynos*. See chapter 2 and 4.

[49] "La Municipalidad del Rímac y los señores Castellano," *La Crónica* (November 11, 1928), 7. Augusto Azcuez himself testified years later in the previously quoted articles (1982) that he also worked several times in the 1920's playing at elite parties and as a dance teacher to several members of the Limeño elite. These performers also played for foreign delegations or embassies at big lunch parties offered by Peruvian policymakers. Thus, in the beginning of December 1928, the Saenz ensemble and other performers played at the Zoo restaurant honoring the U.S. American reporters who had recently arrived on the U.S. American ship "Maryland." See "Otro triunfo de la Casa Víctor," *La Crónica* (December 1, 1928), 5.

[50] "La Casa Castellano establece una estación de radiodifusión de la música impresa en discos 'Victor', que importa," *La Crónica* (December 20, 1928), 5.

1930's. In any case, their enterprise of selling international music and recording Peruvian music did not stop. Another list of music records advertised by the Castellano House in December 1930 proves that the recording of Peruvian music continued to be a profitable business. These 78 rpm discs were directly announced as coming from the last Day of San Juan.[51] On a list that contains the music of the award winners of the festival, one can also find music from Ayacucho (made by the string ensemble *Estudiantina Tipica Ayacucho*) or Junín (made by the *Conjunto Musical Cerreño* of Jauja). However, the list also contains music not only from the Amancaes music festival but also comic dialogues that could be heard in Limeño theaters, such as *El Cachaco Galante* (The Gallant Policeman[52]) and a comic scene called *Pleito en una fonda de chinos* (Fight in a Chinese Restaurant; *fonda* was a word used to refer to a small, cheap Limeño restaurant).[53]

Definitely, this list of recordings is a very varied group of Peruvian music. There are 10 *yaravíes* (it seems that the list contained several regional versions), 7 *tonderos*, and 6 *marineras*. However, there are also 9 *huaynos*. Even so, many of these *marineras* were recorded by the *Lira Tipica Chiclayana*, a music ensemble from a northern coastal area of Perú, and one by the aforementioned *Estudiantina Tipica Ayacucho*. I have not listened to these 78 rpm discs, but I can strongly suggest that these *marineras* were not actually the Limeño version of this musical genre. That is, Limeños and other Peruvians

[51] "La sensación en Lima es la llegada de los nuevos Discos "Víctor" nacionales grabados en esta ciudad durante las "Fiestas de Amancaes," *El Comercio* - morning edition - (November 8, 1930), 1; "¡Sigue el más grandiosos y sensacional éxito de Música Nacional Peruana! Tercer lote de los nuevos discos nacionales "VICTOR" (…)," *El Comercio* – morning edition (January 22, 1931), 1; "Un éxito indiscutible "VICTOR". Cuarto lote de discos nacionales VICTOR," *El Comercio* (February 10, 1931), 1. See appendix V.

[52] See record 30045 – *El Cachaco Galante.*

[53] See record 30201 – *Pleito en una Fonda de Chinos*.

could listen, at the beginning of the 1930's, to varied recorded versions of *marineras*.[54] It remains clear that music from several regions of Peru could be listened to and enjoyed by at least part of the Limeño population now.

As pointed out earlier, a significant portion of the Limeño population in 1930 was from Andean regions and other coastal areas or was descended from these immigrant populations.[55] Thus, these immigrants surely also enjoyed these 78 rpm records at their private parties. In any case, the festival was clearly becoming part of a broad, national musical experience. However, at this precise time, when the festival was being transformed by the Peruvian state and used by a record company to sell discs, complaints about the loss of the celebration of San Juan as a supposedly authentic Limeño, *criollo* musical celebration were also being voiced.

Los Amancaes: a National Festival or a Celebration of Música Criolla?

Considering the above evidence, one can argue that the view of *música criolla* that Limeños held in the second half of the twentieth century was created by writers, reporters, and businessmen during the 1920's. The Amancaes music festival only reinforced this notion. Therefore, faced with the avalanche of Andean music groups that arrived to perform at the festival, some nostalgic writers and chroniclers reacted by exoticizing them and, later, reinforcing the divisive idea of *música andina* as an exclusive practice associated with the Andean areas.

[54] A similar phenomenon can be observed at the end of the twentieth century when Peruvian *cumbias* were recorded intensively, not only to be sold in Lima but also in other regions in Perú.

[55] Cf. chapter 2.

The same *Mundial* that put out propaganda supporting the festival and its promoters began to print some negative criticisms now. An anonymous critic said in 1928 that the Day of San Juan in Amancaes was a special opportunity to listen to the typical sounds of Lima, like a *jarana*. The critic says that one should expect to go Amancaes to have fun (*de parranda*) but not to listen to *yaravíes*.[56] For this writer, *yaraví* was synonymous with *serrana,* Andean music. Reporting on the elimination rounds of the 1928 contest, Enrique Carrillo, a Limeño writer whose pseudonym was *Cabotin*, said that faced with such a large number of musical groups from the Andean regions, *lo criollo*, as a cultural experience, was dying (again!). Even so, he predicted that *lo indígena* (according to him, a powerful, vigorous cultural experience) would go from being a simple literary trend to becoming a present reality for Limeños.[57] The 1928 contest rules continued to reinforce a binary division, establishing more categories of *criollo* and *serrana* performers. According to the contest rules, in this latter category, an important musical genre to be performed should be the *yaraví*.[58]

The Day of San Juan was clearly a nationalist event and a business opportunity in 1929. In the elimination rounds for the 1929 contest, the collaboration of the

[56] "Glosario de la Semana," *Mundial* (April 6, 1928), 19.

[57] See "Viendo las cosas pasar," *Mundial* (June 28, 1928), 13.

[58] The final round of the contest, with its eliminations, was made on May 21, 1928. See "Municipalidad del Rimac. Gran Concurso de Música y Bailes para el Día de San Juan (24 de Junio) en las Pampas de Amancaes," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 24, 1928). Carlos Saco, a Limeño composer of U.S. dance music and *valses*, also played *yaravíes* and *huaynos* in the Amancaes contest of 1928. The report in the *Mundial* said that to play these musical genres meant "a rare effort revealing what [Saco] feels." See Barrantes, Pedro, "El alma popular peruana," *Mundial* (June 15, 1928), 48. Alcides Carreño, another recognized *criollo* musician and composer, played *yaravies* in a duo with Adolfo Paredes in Amancaes (1929). However, it was registered in the category "Registro de canto (Música Andina)."See "Gran Concurso de Música y Bailes Nacionales," *La Crónica* (June 12, 1929), 7. See also "Concurso anual municipal de música y bailes nacionales," *La Crónica* (May 5, 1929), 26.

municipalities of several Peruvian regions was highlighted for the press.[59] In this way, the binary perception of the music could be found easily in the contest rules and commercial advertisements linked with the festival. However, one can also observe now that the Day of San Juan was beginning to be considered (as some social scientists would have said anachronistically in the late twentieth century) a multicultural event. The speech of President Leguía that opened the celebration of the Day of San Juan in 1929 is clearly part of this rhetoric. He stressed that his main goal was to connect and join all Peruvians. Proof of that aim was his infrastructure policy, the building of highways, but he also said that he wanted to connect Peruvians spiritually. Therefore, he supported the contest of Amancaes because the field was a physical space where those representative elements of several Peruvian regions could meet. He recognized the diversity of those elements, which he said was a product of geography and history, but he also stressed that they could be unified through one nationalist, artistic ideal. According to him, the San Juan Day was accomplishing this goal.[60]

This multicultural, redundant speech is one of the last chapters of a lasting *indigenista* rhetoric that plagued the Leguía Administration. In the end, however, Leguía's speech did not contradict the binary notion proposed by González-Prada. In this way, it was not an isolated, official position during this era. One must note that months before the Day of San Juan in 1927, the young writers José Carlos Mariátegui and Luis Alberto Sánchez discussed in the pages of *Mundial* the same *Indio* problem. This specific

[59] See "Concurso de Música y Bailes Nacionales," *Variedades* (June 19, 1929), 10-11.

[60] See "Con inusitado entusiasmo se ha celebrado ayer la fiesta de San Juan en la Pampa de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1929), 12.

discussion emerged due to an article published by a *Leguísta* politician named José Escalante. Beyond making any anachronistic judgment about who was the winner of this debate, it is interesting to note that Sánchez complained that *indigenista* writers and Mariátegui were radically stressing that the *costeño* and *andino* social worlds existed separately. As González-Prada would have said, Mariátegui answered that if he were stressing the existence of this unequal socio-geographic duality, which according to him, was born during the conquest era (sixteenth century), it was to point out the historical necessity to eliminate it.[61] The government was not immune to these kinds of disputes. Finally, the same José Escalante, as Secretary of Justice, Education and Religious Culture, promoted the creation of *El Día del Indio*. It was celebrated for the first time on June 24, 1930.[62]

This was one of the most important reinventions of the San Juan Day in Lima. It would be part of the patriotic calendar in Peruvian high schools during the next decades. The aforementioned decree that created it, signed by President Leguía and José Escalante on May 24, 1930, says that this day must be celebrated because the *indígena* population represented a key "factor" in the construction policy of the government (a policy called *conscripción vial* that promoted the construction of highways recasting the outdated colonial work tax called *mita*). The decree said this policy was a way to redeem the Andean rural population from the "lethargy" in which they lived. It also claimed that the artistic contests at the Amancaes field had transformed the Day of San Juan into a

[61] Aquézolo, Manuel, ed, *La polémica del indigenismo*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1987), 70-71; 81; 84.

[62] "Declarando 'Día del Indio' el 24 de Junio de cada año," *El Peruano* (2-6-1930), 522.

moment of "periodic glorification of the artistic temperament of the *Indio*." The decree further stated that on the same date, the rural Andean communities customarily celebrated the fecundity of their herds and blessed their seedlings. For that reason, June 24 was the best day for this new celebration.

These ideas were more or less repeated in the official speeches on the Day of San Juan in 1930. With satisfaction, mayor Ríos said the day of San Juan had finally acquired an immense meaning because the *Indio* was the "key to our nationality."[63] It was an idea similar to ones proposed by González-Prada and Mariátegui. In this way, one is observing diverse social actors using a similar nationalist notion for their own political purposes. To illustrate, President Leguía again insisted that the new celebration honored the "silent" work of the *Indio* people in mines and fields, in several other economic areas, and their loyalty and discipline in the army, the navy, and the police corps.[64] It was indeed a celebration that honored the Peruvian inhabitants of the rural Andes, but they were only seen as rural (or sometimes urban) workers whose artistic expressions were seen by some Limeño writers as an exotic phenomenon.

The complaints against the revised 1928 Day of San Juan were made, above all, by Limeño writers. José Gálvez's nostalgic ideas were becoming, to some Limeño writers, an annoying stance against the Andean populations and the Peruvian state. A reporter said in 1934 that people went to the "adulterated" festival in the same way that

[63] "Ayer se celebraron en medio de un indescriptible entusiasmo las tradicionales fiestas de Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1930), 2.

[64] Ibid, 13.

everyone went to a theater.[65] The reporter finally asked for a celebration of the festival without *indígena* people and "Andean" music, and without the presence of Peruvian politicians. Certainly, the Day of San Juan had been transformed since 1926 into an annual theatrical spectacle where the tunes of the Andean regions predominated. However, the sources show that the San Juan Day had not lost its quotidian life connotations. Thus, many Limeños continued going to Amancaes to attend the annual artistic spectacles,[66] to take excursions, to collect the yellow flowers, or to have fun playing sports until its extinction in the 1960's.[67]

Conclusion and Epilogue: the Day of San Juan in Amancaes after 1930

Although it was initially a Catholic celebration and a day to have picnics in an open field, the Day of San Juan in Lima came to be part of the official national calendar, as *El Día del Indio*, in 1930. The rebuilding of the San Juan Day was also a consequence of the modernization of Lima that meant to reinvent old rituals as being part of civic and national cultural practices. As a consequence, Peruvian music and dance would spread in the city, becoming a fashion around 1927 and easily available in theaters, restaurants, and cinemas. The Peruvian state thus converted the Day of San Juan into an official, nationalist performance, but it also became a business. In this way, the Limeño and other

[65] See Macon, "Motivos de ambiente. El progreso contra Amancaes," *La Calle* (June 26, 1934), 2-3.

[66] See photos in *Mundial* (June 28, 1928), p. 33.

[67] Cf. "En medio de mayor entusiasmo transcurrió ayer la tradicional fiesta de San Juan en Amancaes," *La Prensa* (June 25, 1935), 10.

carnivals in the Americas underwent a similar cultural and economic transformation during the twentieth century. In the case of the Day of San Juan, it did not mean that the celebration lost its features representing everyday life. Consequently, the Day of San Juan continued to be a day for excursions, picnics, yellow flowers, or sport tournaments. Some people complained about the changes after 1927, but many others continued to enjoy the day.

The nationalization of San Juan Day was finally achieved in 1930. Neither President Leguía nor Mayor Ríos would again be present at other San Juan Day celebrations. As a consequence of the economic and social crisis that originated from the Wall Street crisis of 1929, President Leguía was overthrown by a group of soldiers, a *coup d'état*, led by Commandant Luis M. Sanchez Cerro in 1930.[68] The Leguía government disappeared, but the Day of San Juan continued during the next decades. However, due to the economic and political crisis, San Juan Day in 1931 had lost its splendor of earlier years.[69]

Musical ensembles from other Peruvian regions were not present in the 1931 celebration. The contests of Peruvian music and dance would again be organized by the Rímac Borough Hall in 1932.[70] Even so, it seems that the Rímac Borough Hall wanted to

[68] This crisis was deep but of shorter duration compared with other countries such as Colombia. See Thorp, Rosemary, and Carlos Londoño, "The Effect of the Great Depression on the Economies of Peru and Colombia, in *Latin American in the 1930s*, ed. Rosemary Thorp (London: Macmillan Press / St. Anthony's College, 1984), 81-116.

[69] See "El día de Amancaes," *Mundial* (June 26, 1931), 22-23; "El concurso anual de caballos en Amancaes," *El Perú* (June 10, 1931), 4.

[70] See "Municipalidad del Rímac," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 12, 1932), 4; "Fiesta de San Juan en la Pampa de Amancaes," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 16, 1932), 2.

suspend the festival in 1931. This radical measure was objected to by an association of street vendors, car drivers, and other people whose job activities depended on this day and the subsequent weeks. According to them, more or less 1 million participants circulated between June 24 and September 30. The letter from that association also said that the Day of San Juan was important not only for the sales of their food, liquor, and transportation, but also for the musical contestants. As a result of the contest, their award-winning music was recorded and transformed into 78 rpm records to be sold in Perú and the rest of the continent.[71]

The Day of San Juan now had the same economic role as some late twentieth-century music festivals that launched or revived the national and international artistic careers of several performers in the Americas. That situation was reinforced years later, when more radio stations emerged in Lima and aired special radio broadcasts of *El Día del Indio*.[72] Although the previously discussed letter represented the interests of a specific economic sector, it should not be dismissed as providing biased data. As has been shown in the lines above, it was true that the festival promoted the artistry of several performers, some of whom were even given the opportunity to record their repertory. For example, the Ascuez Brothers joined with other performers after having participated in Amancaes, recorded music for Victor Talking Machine, and toured in Chile in 1929.[73]

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[71] "Las tradicionales fiestas de San Juan," *El Perú* (June 9, 1931), 6.

[72] See "Con diversiones populares celebróse la fiesta de San Juan en Amancaes," *La Crónica* (June 25, 1935), 6; "Radio Grellaud hoy," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 24, 1938), 5.

[73] See "Marineras, resbalosas, panalivios, sañas, festejos y jaranas," *Cascabel* (January 11, 1936), 20.

The day of San Juan continued until the 1960's. At that time, the field dramatically transformed into a new urban area, a shantytown variously called by Limeños *barriada* (1960's), *pueblo jóven* (1970's) or *asentamiento humano* (1990's). Its surrounding hills were occupied – the word that an old Limeño who attended the festival in the 1930's would have used is *invadido* – by the increasing rural Andean population that had been migrating *en masse* to the city since the 1940's. This was a signal of new times. However, Amancaes remained as an important cultural icon in the imagination of several practitioners of *música criolla*. Some *valses criollos* referred directly to the old excursion or *paseo*. In the next chapter, I will explain in detail how *música criolla* also circulated among Limeños due to the support of the music industry and the radio station network.

Chapter 5

The Mass Media Network and the Creation of a National Music in Lima (1920-1944)

Phrases such as *música criolla* were never used by Peruvians before 1850. However, *música criolla* was already a label intensively used by Limeño writers and music businessmen in Lima during the 1940's. The first Peruvian music companies that emerged at the end of the 1940's used that phrase to promote the sale of 78, 45 and 33 rpm discs and, decades later, compact discs of coastal Peruvian music. In the second half of the twentieth century, *música criolla* had become a term commonly used not only by writers and artistic promoters but also by Limeños in general.[1] According to performers of *música criolla* in the second half of the twentieth century, *música criolla* was a group of musical forms whose most important genre was the nineteenth-century *vals criollo*.[2] Indeed, *música criolla* was also synonymous with *polka criolla*, the late colonial period *zamacueca* (renamed *marinera* by Abelardo Gamarra after the end of the War of Pacific, 1879-1883), the *tondero*, and the *resbalosa*. However, in the beginning of the twentieth century, *música criolla* was also synonymous with the *triste* and the *yaraví*. Lastly, for several writers, the tunes played mainly by African descendants were also considered as part of *música criolla* (e.g., the tune of *El Son de los Diablos*).

One knows now that the Peruvian state and part of the Limeño elite supported the official recognition of artistic festivals and performances such as the Day of San Juan. Certainly, it was a way of creating a consensus that Peruvians lived in a diverse but

[1] This concept and practice of *música criolla* has clearly been accepted by many Limeños in the second half of twentieth century. See "La mayoría de limeños celebra el día de la Canción Criolla y no Halloween," *El Comercio* <http://elcomercio.pe/ediciononline/HTML/2007-10-31/la_mayoria_de_limenos_celebra.html> (17 Oct. 2010).

[2] The music industry continues promoting this idea. Cf. "Música Criolla," *Perú CD.com. Toda la música peruana para ti!* < http://www.perucd.com/index.php?cPath=1_6&osCsid=ae2572dd38ccdc0dc8a3fba6d09f7089> (29 June 2010). See also Borras, Gérard, *Chansonniers de Lima*, chapter 1.

unified country. Members of the elite also promoted nostalgic performances in which *musica criolla* could be heard. This was a way of reinforcing their own sense of honor (e.g., *Entre Nous* performances) in an era of major urban transformations. Musical reviews, comedies, *varieté* shows and movies also spread *música criolla* through the entire city in the first decades of the twentieth century. Thus, in the 1930's, there had already emerged different ways of performing artistic routines referred to by Limeño intellectuals as expressions of *criollismo.* In this chapter, I will analyze the relationships between the mass media networks and the creation of an official musical tradition in Lima.

I will argue that due to commercial and cultural (that is, nationalist) goals, *música criolla* was also spread by the modern mass media networks. This chapter will begin with a short but necessary introductory analysis of the musical forms played in Lima during the nineteenth century. Next, I will offer a detailed explanation of the beginning of the commercial trend called *música criolla* through a historical analysis of the repertory of the Montes y Manrique duo, the first Peruvians to record Peruvian music commercially. I will end the chapter by analyzing how this music was introduced and disseminatd by the mass media networks beginning in the 1920's.

Music in Lima before the Emergence of "Música Criolla"

One must insist that some of the musical forms categorized as *criollos* in the twentieth century did not exist in the way that was generally pointed out by twentieth-century Limeño journalists, e.g., a street performance tune called in the twentieth century

El Son de los Diablos.[3] During the greater part of the republican period, the *marinera* was called *zamacueca*.[4] A musical genre considered by several Limeño writers as the core of this musical tradition after the 1930's, the *vals criollo*, did not exist before the 1860's.[5] Certainly, although the city of Lima underwent a slow cultural transformation during the early republican period, late colonial period rituals and music continued to be part of the daily life of Limeños.

These late-colonial cultural practices were documented by European travelers and Limeño writers during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1829, Felipe Pardo y Aliaga used a theatrical piece to point out that the *zamacueca* and other similar late colonial period dances continued to be part of Limeño daily life.[6] In 1839, Archibald Smith published a book in which he reported that the Day of San Juan in Amancaes was the best moment to organize a Limeño party or *jarana*, that is, a "dunning confusion of musical discord kept up by drumming, piping, shouting, harping and guitaring, singing, laughing, and dancing, but no fighting."[7] He wrote that the "national taste is on this, as on other occasions of festivity, eminently displayed by the loud and simultaneous laugh or

[3] See chapter 5.

[4] Cf. Durand, "Del fandango a la marinera;" Hayre, Carlos. *Apuntes para el análisis de la marinera limeña* (Lima, 1973); Romero, Raúl, "Perú," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music. South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*, eds. Daniel Olsen and Daniel Sheeby (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1998), 481-482.

[5] Cf. Santa Cruz, *El waltz y el valse criollo*; Yep, Virginia, "El vals peruano," *Latin American Music Review* 14/2 (1993), 268-280.

[6] Pardo y Aliaga, Felipe, "Frutos de la Educación," in *Poesías y Escritos en Prosa de Don Felipe Pardo*. (Paris: Imprenta de los Caminos de Hierro / A. Chaix et Cie), 1869, 190-191.

[7] Smith, Archibald, *Peru as it is: a Residence in Lima and other part of the Peruvian Republic* (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), vol. I, 151.

'carcajada', of cheering voluptuaries when the samaqueca – a favourite dance – is exhibited in a free and masterly style."[8] In 1848, a French voyager, A. de Botmiliau, broadly described the *zamacueca* and wrote that it was usually danced by African descendants on the above-mentioned San Juan Day in Amancaes. He noted that it was also danced in other cities and by members of the elite. However, he recognized that in the elite salons, the *zamacueca* was danced in a different way that in Amancaes.[9] Clearly, travelers and writers agreed that late-colonial period cultural practices were still part of the daily life of Limeños during the early republican period. They also wrote that the *zamacueca* was danced by all Limeños.

This and other Limeño public festivities were usually celebrated as national parties or *jaranas* by Limeños during the first decades of the republican period. *Jarana* was a broad term used by Limeño writers such as Rojas y Cañas to refer to a private party that they considered as the basic site for dancing colonial period dances such as the *zamacueca* (a graceful couple's dance of African and Spanish origins that used handkerchiefs as props), to drink the colonial liquour called *Pisco*, and to eat the colonial food that was called *comida criolla* after the 1850's.[10] The old colonial harp and guitar, and the Peruvian wooden box called the *cajón* usually accompanied the varied performances of the *zamacueca* during the *jarana*. Nineteenth century writers frequently considered the *zamacueca* as the Peruvian national dance. *Jaranas* would later be

[8] Smith, *Peru as it is*, vol. I, 152.

[9] Botmiliau, A. de, "La república peruana. La sociedad peruana," in Porras Barrenechea, Raúl (ed), *Dos viajeros franceses en el Perú republicano* (Lima: Cultura Antártica 1947), 192-193.

[10] Cf. chapter 1.

considered the basic occasions at which to play *música criolla* by twentieth century traditional musicians and composers in Lima.

However, during the Guano Era (1840-1880) the Limeño elite increasingly enjoyed the performing of fashionable European dances instead of late colonial ones.[11] As Rojas y Cañas pointed out, they rejected the *jarana*. In 1856, Frenchman Max Radiguet observed that the dances that the Limeño elite enjoyed in that period were "not so different from ours [French dances]." He also said that if anyone wanted to find something more traditional, they "should look, above all, to the popular classes."[12] Radiguet also stressed that it was difficult to find dancers of old national dances such as the *zamacueca, resbalosa,* and the old colonial tap or *zapateo* in the Limeño salons. The elite now preferred to enjoy the opera.[13]

In 1880, the French voyager Olivier Ordinaire would say that the *zamacueca,* a dance that "inflames actors and spectators among the *zambo* and *cholo* people," was not admitted in the elite salons; at least, he claimed, it was not danced in front of foreigners.[14] Finally, in 1893, E. W. Middendorf in a book that summarized more than 20 years of his

[11] Definitely, these new music genres were part of a music fashion in Lima. Consequently, dance teachers - according to Manuel A. Fuentes, many of them were African descendants - also began to teach them. See Fuentes, *Lima: Sketches of the Capital of Peru*, p. 448-450. See also "Avisos. Baile," *La Zamacueca Política* (February 12, 1859), 4.

[12] Radiguet, *Lima y la sociedad peruana,* 48.

[13] Radiguet, *Lima y la sociedad peruana*, 47. The Chilean José Victorino Lastarria noted in 1850 that in the elegant Limeño salons, people often performed dances such as the quadrille, the European polka and the waltz, and listened to Italian melodies by Bellini and Donizetti (Lastarria, Jose Victorino, "Lima en 1850," in Tauro, *Viajeros*, 103). A newspaper article in 1855 noted that the zamacueca was a dance of the popular classes. See "Costumbres. Los Domingos en Lima," *La Zamacueca Política* 6 (February 5, 1859), 4.

[14] Ordinaire, Olivier, *Del Pacifico al Atlántico* (Iquitos: CETA-IFEA, 1988), 25-26. In 1893, Middendorf would say something similar, adding that zamacueca was danced at the elite meetings when all the rest of the European dances (e.g. quadrille) had been danced. See his *Perú* (Lima: UNMSM, 1973), t. I, 182.

residence in Peru, stated (reversing and radicalizing the argument made by Ordinaire) that the "people of color" liked to dance the *zamacueca*, but they did not perform European dances such as the waltz and polka because the space that they had in their homes was too narrow to do so.[15] He also insisted that the "whites" liked to dance these and other European dances in their salons, and only when they had finished performing these dances did some of them dance the *zamacueca*.[16] Thus, the Limeño elite had quickly transformed part of its old customs during the second half of the nineteenth century. Clearly, they did not like to perform the older dances that did not prove the material and cultural progress of their country;[17] "progress," in this nineteenth-century context, meant replicating French or British customs.

However, the evidence shows that other new dances were emerging simultaneously from the practice of these new European fashions. This process happened not only in Lima. As an example, it is valuable to quote the memoir of the French traveler Eugene de Sartiges. In the 1850's, he described his visit to Arequipa (a southern Andean city that had a large Spanish descendant population) in 1834. A party had been offered in his honor by his Arequipeño friends during which people began to dance a waltz. He writes,

[15] This is an opinion clearly and emphatically criticized by César Santa Cruz (*El Waltz y el valse criollo*, chapter 1).

[16] Middendorf, *Perú*, t. I, 182-183.

[17] Cf. Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*, chapter 6; Majluf, *Escultura y Espacio Público*.

> I [E. de Sartiges] wished to dance in the style of Germany, as is danced in all parts of Europe. My dance partner, after three or four skips out of time, breathlessly declared that she had never heard of a waltz movement so violent and that it was completely impossible to follow me. As a result they asked me many questions about the waltz in Europe, and begged that I dance it as in Paris. A lady, bolder than the others, decided to assist me as my partner, and we began. We had not crossed the middle of the dance room when my partner stopped her improvisation and sat on a sofa in roaring laughter. The spectators joined in merry chorus. Their waltz was so slow with many wiggling movements, and was enriched with every kind of movement of the arms and shoulders.[18]

It seems that this waltz that Sartiges could not recognize was really a Spanish-descended Arequipeño version of a European waltz. In fact, in the first decades of the twentieth century, not only the Arequipeño *vals* but also the late colonial Melgarian *yaravíes* were considered part of *música criolla* in Lima.[19] When the writer Juana Manuela Gorriti organized her literary salons (called *tertulias* or *veladas literarias*) during the 1870's in Lima, European waltzes, waltzes composed by Peruvians, and even *yaravíes* were played at its meetings.[20] These Enlightenment *tertulias* were useful not only in cultivating social relationships but were also places where people played music,

[18] Sartiges, Eugene du, "Viaje a las Repúblicas de América del Sur," In Porras, *Dos viajeros en el Perú republicano*, 15. I am quoting the English translation of this text made by William Tompkins, "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru", 78.

[19] As an example, cf. *El Libro de Oro de la Canción Criolla* – an album honoring the election of the Queen of the Criolla Song (1940). On the inside of the album, one can read a small biography of Mariano Melgar (the nineteenth century Arequipeño poet who wrote yaravíes), Other modern Arequipeño composers such as Luis Duncker Lavalle and Benigno Ballón Farfán are also mentioned.

[20] See Matorell, Alicia, ed. *Juana Manuela Gorriti. Obras completas. Veladas literarias en Lima* (Salta, 1995), t. V.

danced, and read literature.[21] Therefore, these meetings stimulated musicians and writers to show their artistic repertory. Some of Palma's *Tradiciones* were first read in Gorriti's *tertulias*.

Similar to Arequipa, Limeño versions of these European waltzes would finally be composed in the late nineteenth century. Several of them were directly linked with the Spanish *zarzuela,* a Spanish-speaking theatrical piece closer to opera in which waltzes, mazurkas, or Aragonian *jotas* were played. Even so, Peruvian *zarzuelas* were also created, in which one could hear Peruvian musical genres such as *yaravíes*.[22] César Santa-Cruz has demonstrated that several early Limeño *valses* were really composed of and danced with musical elements belonging to mazurkas and Aragonian *jotas*; several of them belonged to *zarzuela* spectacles.[23] In 1906, Abelardo Gamarra (who had also participated in Gorriti's *tertulias*) said that the most famous of these nineteenth-century Peruvian *valses* was Walter Pease's *Recuerdos de Lima* (Lima Remembrances). He noted that it became popular precisely during the Chilean occupation of Lima (1881-1883).[24]

[21] For the case of Chile, cf. González, Juan Pablo and Claudio Rolle, *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile / Casas de las Américas, 2005), chapter 1.

[22] About *zarzuelas* and other similar spectacles in Lima, see Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú*, t. 6, 329-330; t.10, 81-82. According to Fuentes (*Estadística…*, 588-589), who was the manager of the "Main Theater" in Lima, the *zarzuela* was introduced in Lima around 1827, and was admitted by all the Limeños not only because the spectacle was varied, but also because the songs were sang in Spanish. Reynaldo Rebagliati – Claudio Rebagliati's brother - as other Peruvians composed *zarzuelas* when national songs could be listened. See Raygada, "Panorama…", 194. See also "Canta para los plebeyos y toca para los reyes… Avil…es [interview]," *VSD* 38 (October 8, 1982), 15. Carlos Pasta - an opera composer - made a zarzuela called *¡Pobre Indio!* It was performed for the first time in March 8, 1868. In his music sheet, he included not only the National Peruvian Anthem, but also two *yaravíes*, one zamacueca, and one *huayno.*

[23] Santa Cruz, *El Waltz y el valse criollo*, 17-18.

[24] Gamarra, Abelardo, "Rasgos de Pluma. Bailes y maestros de baile," *Integridad* (January 13, 1906), 1.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, several younger Limeños such as Abelardo Gamarra enjoyed the European waltzes and, consequently, they also replicated this fashion by composing waltzes and, in the case of Gamarra, *valses criollos*. This was not, however, the case for Ricardo Palma. Like Rojas y Cañas and Segura, his musical tastes were more linked with the late colonial period cultural experiences of Lima. Also, like nationalist writers during the Guano Era, Rojas and Palma thought these nineteenth century European music fashions were not part of the "authentic" music of Lima.[25] Their general attitude did, however, reveal that these musical fashions were very popular in Lima. In this way, historians know, for example, that workers' musical centers also organized *veladas literario-musicales*[26] in early twentieth century Lima honoring, for example, the martyrs of May 1. Poetic declamations, speeches and theatrical performances were part of these celebrations that sometimes ended (as in the case of the play performance at Macedo's house during the carnival in Lima)[27] in a general party. At these parties, the working classes danced *valses criollos*, *marineras*, *polkas criollas*, and other musical genres.[28] Therefore, these and other kinds of dance music were fully enjoyed by an appreciable group of Limeños in the early twentieth century.

[25] Cf. chapter 1. See also Lloréns, José Antonio and Rodrigo Chocano, *Celajes, florestas y secretos: una historia del vals popular limeño* (Lima: INC, 2009), 65-67.

[26] The twentieth-century Limeño newspapers are filled with advertisements that announced these *veladas* organized by regional or worker music centers. Clearly, in these centers everyone also liked to dance to U.S. musical genres such as jazz. Cf. Lévano, Edmundo, *Un cancionero desconocido. Historia y música del Centro Musical Obrero de Lima: 1922-1924* (Lima: BNP – PUC, 1998).

[27] Cf. chapter 2.

[28] See Tejada, Luis, *La Cuestión del Pan. El Anarcosindicalismo en el Perú, 1880-1919* (Lima: INC – BIP, 1988), 282.

In this early twentieth century cultural context, the Montes y Manrique duo recorded the first and largest group of commercial Peruvian songs in New York City in 1911. Later, a Limeño *vals* called *Acuarela Criolla* composed by Manuel Raygada would honor them as part of the Limeño music tradition called *guardia vieja*.[29] In fact, they also became part of that nostalgic view of old Lima that emerged among *costumbrista* writers during the twentieth century in Lima. Their trip converted them into musical heroes for followers of *música criolla* after the 1950's. This idealization is easily identified on Internet web pages. Consequently, we must historically contextualize the songs recorded by the Montes y Manrique duo.

Montes y Manrique: Music from Perú on 78 rpm New York City Records (1911)

In 1911, this duo, formed by the young Limeño singers Eduardo Montes and César Manrique, accepted an offer from Columbia Phonograph Company to record, according to historian Jorge Basadre, 91 double records of 78 rpm, a total of 182 recordings.[30] In reality, the Montes and Manrique duo only recorded 172 songs. César Manrique said in an interview in 1947 that a man called Joffay was looking for singers. This was a common practice among representatives of the recording companies in an era when they were organizing their national catalogs. Ultimately, this Joffay chose the

[29] The last stanza of *Acuarela Criolla* says: "Así es mi Lima criolla / alegre y jaranera / la tierra tres veces coronada / donde nació la Marinera / que con cajón y repique / en los barrios del Rímac, / antaño le dieron colorido / Montes y Manrique / padres del criollismo." About Montes y Manrique, see Zanutelli, Manuel, *Canción criolla. Memoria de lo nuestro* (La Gaceta, 1999), 69-72.

[30] Basadre, *Historia de la Republica del Perú*. t. XVI, 142. It seems that Basadre took this information from the article "La Música Peruana," *Variedades* (February 17, 1912), 199.

Montes y Manrique duo because they had a large musical repertory, and the duo later signed a contract with Columbia.[31] They arrived in New York City at the end of September, 1911,[32] and recorded the songs between October and November of that year.[33]

We know that 26 of the 182 recordings were simultaneously cataloged by this record company as both "Spanish" and "Peruvian" music.[34] The remaining 156 were cataloged only as "Peruvian." Thus, this music was not only coded in the large Spanish catalog of Columbia (1910-1923)[35] but also belonged to a Peruvian catalog that also included 1 piece by the *Banda Primer Regimiento de Artillería*, 3 pieces by the *Banda de la Escuela Militar de Chorrillos*, and 6 pieces by the *Banda del Regimiento de Gendarmes de Infanteria* (recorded in November, 1911). Many of these New York music recordings and their respective reproductions would be quickly sold during the following months and years in Peru,[36] a clear demonstration of the growing fame of the Montes y

[31] López Raygada, Jaime, *32 Reportajes y una crónica* (Lima: Empresa Editora Peruana, 1947), 251.

[32] See Zanutelli, Manuel, *Canción Criolla. Memoria de lo Nuestro* (Lima: Editora La Gaceta, 1999), 70; "Marineras, resbalosas, panalivios, sañas, festejos y jaranas," *Cascabel* (January 11, 1936), 19.

[33] Spottswood, Richard, *Ethnic Music on Records. A Discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced in the United States, 1893 to 1942* (Urbana / Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), t. IV, 2129.

[34] Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records*, t. IV, 2126-2129.

[35] On the serial and matrix codes used for this and other companies, see Spottswood, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Music on Records*, t. I, I-IV. For the mentioned "Spanish" record codes, see p. XXXV. See also Gronow, Pekka, "Ethnic Recordings: An Introduction," *Ethnic Recordings in America. A Neglected Heritage* (Washington D.C.: The Library of Congress, 1982), 1-31.

[36] López Raygada, *32 Reportajes y una crónica*, 253-253. Manrique himself used a common Peruvian expression to refer to this situation: "*Se vendian como 'pan caliente'*" (p. 253). See as an example the advertisement of a Peruvian music house -R. L Holtig – who distributed these records: "Discos Peruanos. El éxito artístico más colosal," *El Comercio* (September 19, 1912), 6.

Manrique duo, at least in Lima. A market for recordings of Peruvian songs was thus developing in Peru.

The commercial advertisements that referred to these 78 rpm discs and singers in the 1910's never used the phrase *música criolla*. Instead, they referred to these records only as "Peruvian music." A magazine reporter would say that those songs were very popular in Lima and had an "inextinguishable criollo taste."[37] However, a reporter literally said in 1912 that the Montes y Manrique duo were well-known performers of *música criolla*.[38] Using diverse sources, I have organized a provisional list of all of these 78 rpm records[39] as a preliminary step toward historically contextualizing these songs that had such a *criollo* flavor. Although a musicological and stylistic study of these songs is outside the scope of this thesis, one must nevertheless note the relationship that these songs had to national issues in early twentieth-century Peru. This relationship might be surprising to any Peruvian who, since the 1950's, has enjoyed *música criolla*.

Most of the songs recorded by the Montes y Manrique duo were not precisely Limeño or Peruvian *valses* but *yaravíes* (41), a musical genre categorized by late twentieth-century Limeños as a component of an *andina,* an indigenous musical form,[40] and *tristes* (31), another musical genre of the coastal area closer to the *yaraví*. Besides the

[37] See "Discos Peruanos." See also the general commentary about Montes y Manrique few days before to leave from Callao to New York in "La peruanización de los yanquis," *Variedades* 182 (August, 26, 1911), 1041. See also "La música peruana."

[38] Oronggi, Saul, "Vida teatral. En el Olimpo," *La Crónica* (April 26, 1912), 9.

[39] See appendix II.

[40] Cf. Álvarez Morales, Juan, "A contraluz. 'Canto yaravíes por mi madre' [interview]," *La República* <http://www.larepublica.pe/archive/all/larepublica/20070815/pasadas/13/40242> (17 May 2010).

yaravíes and *tristes*, Montes y Manrique recorded 31 *marineras*. There are also 23 *Danza-canciones*, 20 *valses*, 9 *tonderos*, 7 *polkas*, only 2 *mazurkas*, and 8 theatrical (imitative) pieces whose topics, similar to *costumbrista* theatrical pieces, are linked with daily life in Lima. In almost all of these theatrical pieces, one can hear *valses*, *marineras*, and references to the previously mentioned Limeño food.

One might think that this preference for a musical genre that any late twentieth-century Limeño would call *música andina* was an imposition of the record company searching to capture the largest number of Peruvian buyers. One of the Limeño stores that sold these records, R. L. Holtig, had a subscription system to sell them. Indeed, this store could send the discs by mail service from Lima to other Peruvian regions.[41] In his study of the U.S. "blues," Elijah Wald has precisely pointed out the danger of taking these catalogs as literal expressions of the musical tastes that communities had in a specific time period. He has explained that "records and sheet music give us an excellent idea of what was being sold in the commercial [record and sheet music] market…, but in many cases that would have little to do with what musicians were playing at live performances."[42]

Without wishing to contradict this idea, one must, however, note that the *yaravíes* were being heard and sung not only in the Andean areas but also in the coastal and other regions of South America.[43] Several sources also testify to the presence of the *yaraví* in

[41] See "Discos peruanos," *El Comercio* (January 28, 1912), 6.

[42] Wald, Elijah, *Escaping the Delta. Robert Johnson and the Invention of the Blues* (New York: Amistad, 2005), 14.

[43] See Raygada, "Panorama musical del Perú," 178; 188; Vega, Carlos, *Música sudamericana* (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1946), 18-19.

Lima. Certainly, the Montes y Manrique duo had a special predilection for the *yaravíes*. In an interview in 1936, the same César Manrique said that he liked not only the *valses, polkas* and *marineras* but especially the *yaravíes*. "The yaravíes," Manrique stated, "seduce me."[44] It is difficult to believe that he was so entranced by this musical genre only because he briefly recorded it in New York City. José Vasconcelos, the well-known Mexican writer, visited Lima in the 1910's. He remembered that one time his neighbors danced and sang all night. He said he listened to a "highland song," a *yaraví*, which was repeated without pause.[45] José de la Riva-Agüero y Osma,, in his *Cáracter de la literatura del Peru independiente* (1905), decided to analyze the late-colonial Arequipeño poet Mariano Melgar not only because he considered him an important colonial poet (his tragic death at the hands of the Spanish army converted him later into a Peruvian national hero), but also because he composed a popular and still audible literary genre, the *yaraví*.[46] One must remember that Abelardo Gamarra said in 1910 that a good example of musical *criollismo* was "[Mariano] Melgar, father of the yaravíes..."[47]

Testimonies of Limeño composers, musicians, and singers in the second half of the twentieth century also prove that although the *yaraví* and *triste* had almost disappeared in Lima (Gamarra incorrectly stated that Melgar invented the *yaravî*), they had been part of their repertory in theaters, cinemas and other venues decades earlier.[48] In

[44] "Marineras, resbalosas, panalivios, sañas, festejos y jaranas," 19.

[45] Vasconcelos, José, *Artículos* (San José: García Montes Editores, 1920), 18-19.

[46] Riva-Agüero, *Carácter de la Literatura del Perú Independiente*, 17; 23.

[47] Gamarra, Abelardo, "Entrada de pueblo," *Integridad* (March 12, 1910), 2.

[48] See "Vamos a la fiesta del Carmen, negrita. Huambachano. El campechano [interview]," *VSD* 46 (December 12, 1982), 7; Muñoz, Maruja, "César Santa Cruz ya lo llora: Vals peruano (Q.E.P.D.)

1958, the performers César Andrade and Julio Vargas said in an interview that nobody was singing *tristes,* a musical genre that was part of their repertoire also composed of *yaravíes* and Ecuadorian *pasillos,*[49] at that time. One must remember that Augusto and Elías Ascuez also recorded *yaravíes* on the Victor Talking Machine Compnay label in 1928.[50] Even so, Victor Talking Machine had recorded *huaynos* since the 1910's. In fact, the author of some of the *yaravíes* sung by the Montes y Manrique duo is the Peruvian national hero Mariano Melgar. Their *yaravíes* were thus part of the Limeño music field in the first decades of the twentieth century.[51]

The interview with Manrique in 1936 shows that Victor Talking Machine did not force the Montes y Manrique duo to record *yaravíes*. Moreover, recording this kind of music coincided with the market strategies of the American and European music record companies. They were competing to record and sell varied kinds of music from all over the world. In the case of the U.S. companies, they were also competing to record music that could be sold in their real or potential Americanized market.[52] They had already

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[interview]," *VSD* 50 (November 11, 1983), 14; "La Limeñita y Ascoy. A pesar de sus bemoles tienen… Una vida con…fusa [interview]," *VSD* 40 (October 22, 1982), 6.

[49] See "Hablan dos criollos de Ley. 'Ya tenemos siquiera un día al año para exaltar nuestra música criolla'," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 2, 1958), 5.

[50] Specific references to some *yaravíes* as *música criolla.* in "La sensación en Lima es la llegada de los nuevos discos "VICTOR" nacionales grabados en esta ciudad durante las 'Fiestas de Amancaes' ," *El Comercio* – morning edition (November 11, 1930), 1.

[51] Complaining about the popularity of music revues and tangos, the Limeño writer Antonio Garland said in 1927 that as a "popular music" expression, "criollismo" was dying out. Immediately, he numerated as part of this music tradition the *marinera*, the *tondero*, the *yaraví*, and the *vals.* See Garland, Antonio, "Motivos cotidianos. El 'paludismo' de los tangos y revistas baratas," *La Crónica* (May 3, 1927), 6.

[52] See Kenney, William, *Recorded Music in American Life* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 4. On French music industry such as Pathé, see Tournés, Ludovic, *Du phonographe au MP3 – XIXe – XXIe siècle. Une histoire de la musique enregistrée* (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2008), 27-30.

overcome serious technological burdens that had, in the past, stopped the mass reproduction of music records. In fact, the only significant restriction that existed was the song's length; it could not exceed 4 minutes.[53] Similar restrictions were later imposed on singers in Limeño radio stations.[54] For instance, scholar Fred Rohner has found some *valses criollos* with two stanzas that were originally composed of nine stanzas.[55] One can discover a similar phenomenon with some stanzas of Melgarian *yaravíes*. We do not know if these Melgarian *yaravíes* were sung in Lima without some of their original stanzas before 1911. Otherwise, one could strongly suggest that some stanzas disappeared due to recording time restrictions.[56]

During the first decades of the twentieth century, U.S. record companies such as Columbia Phonograph Company, Victor Talking Machine, and Edison (all located in or close to New York City) were competing worldwide not only to sell gramophones, opera records,[57] and U.S. music records but also music from all over the world in their own

[53] One big social restriction existed until the 1920 for the case of the U.S. American music market: few African-American performers were permitted to record music.

[54] See Vilca, Manuel, "Las Limeñitas: ¡qué tal roble! [interview]," *VSD* 39 (October 12, 1982), 6. There is an important academic project to make in the future that is out of our work: to edit these popular lyrics.

[55] Rohner, Fred, "Fuentes para el estudio de la lírica popular limeña: el repertorio de Montes y Manrique," *Lexis* XXXI / 1-2 (2007), 344.

[56] *Mariano Melgar. Poesías Completas* (Lima: Academia Peruana de la Lengua, 1971). Cf. "Amor Delirante" (a Melgarian yaraví really called "Yo te Dejare de Amar"), *Discos Columbia* – CO P59 with *Poesías completas*, 236-237; "Tirano Dueño," *Discos Columbia*-CO P11 with *Poesías completas*, 319-320; "El Desconsuelo," *Discos Columbia* – CO P72 with *Poesías completas*, 400-401.

[57] The sale of opera music records in the early twentieth century was part of a strategy to not only to elevate the prestige of the record companies but also to deeply introduce their products to an affluent U.S. middle-sector. "Opera was the art form of the moment; opera singers were admired celebrities" - Gronow, Pekka and Ilpo Saunio, *An International History of the Recording Industry* (London & New York: Cassell, 1998), 15. See also Millard, Andre, *America on Record. A History of Recorded Sound*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Pres, 2005), 62; 91. Opera was recorded in such as way that it seems that many of these records were considered mediocre by "serious" musicians. See also Day, Timothy, *Un siglo de música grabada* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2002), 16.

internal market. Immigrants from all over the world, mainly Europe, were living in the U.S. in those years. When the companies realized that these national communities living inside and outside the U.S. could also be potential buyers of their own "traditional" music, the record companies began to look at performers inside these national communities in the U.S. Simultaneously, they also sent emissaries to those countries looking for similar performers.[58]

The above-mentioned Joffay, who arrived in Lima looking for music performers, was part of this market strategy. The idea was to create national music catalogs and, consequently, to control the real or potential music markets of the world. Therefore, foreign branches of U.S. record companies were quickly established, making the recording of national music genres easier. Simultaneously, it became easier to disseminate U.S. gramophones and records. Some music stores that offered gramophones and U.S. music records such as the *Bazar Pathé* [59] already existed in Lima in the 1910's. In fact, sheet music, pianos, and other musical instruments had been sold since the nineteenth century in Lima. Some of these twentieth-century Limeño stores were really these older ones that had continued selling sheet music and pianos.[60] When the Montes y

[58] See *Ethnic Recordings in America*; Gronow, Pekka, "The Record Industry Comes to the Orient," *Ethnomusicology* 25/2 (1981), 251-284. On the music industry see Jones, Geoffrey, "The Gramophone Company: An Anglo-American Multinational, 1898-1931," *The Business History Review* 59/1 (1985), 76-100; Thompson, Emily, "Machines, Music, and the Quest for Fidelity: Marketing the Edison Phonograph in America, 1877-1925," *The Musical Quarterly* 79/1 (1995), 131-171.

[59] Gronow, "Ethnic Recordings," 16. See the following announcement that offered records, gramophones, and free catalogs in a Peruvian newspaper: "Gramófonos y Discos. Victor, Columbia y Odeon. Para conseguirlos a largo plazo entre usted como socio en el VICTOR CLUB. Prospectos y catálogos gratis a vuelta de correo (…). Bazar Pathé," *La Prensa* (May 29, 1911), 3.

[60] This is the case of La Casa Brandes that was established in 1876. See its advertisement in *Gaceta Comercial de Lima* (May 1, 1907).

Manrique duo recorded for Columbia, they joined a growing world market for music. This market became bigger than ever when World War I ended.[61] However, because there was not a large Peruvian community in the U.S. territory in the 1910's, the Montes y Manrique duo clearly recorded for the Peruvian market and for potential Spanish-speaking listeners.[62]

The lyrics of the Montes y Manrique duo's repertoire are varied. They generally deal with love affairs. Other times, they refer to scenes from daily life in Lima such as people gambling and dancing, or enjoying a *jarana* with a beautiful woman. One theatrical piece is about a *jarana* at Cocharcas in Barrios Altos. Another theatrical piece is about people enjoying food at Cantagallo in Rimac. Two of them are about public amusements: one refers to a group of friends going to have a picnic, *el paseo*, in Amancaes, and another is about the Limeño carnival.[63] The topics of these pieces confirm that these records were intended primarily to be sold in the Limeño market.

Other topics in the Montes y Manrique duo's lyrics deserve specific explanations because of their relationship with national issues. One of them is the glorification of

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[61] Gronow and Saunio, *An International History of the Recording Industry*, 28-29.

[62] Years before, Heinrich Brüning had recorded music from the northern Peruvian coastal area academic purposes See Yep, Virginia, "Música peruana en cilindros de cera (1910-1925). Las grabaciones musicales de Enrique Brüning," *Boletín de Lima* 130 (2002), 11-17. The Peruvian national anthem was already recorded by the Arthur Pryor's Band in 1904 – in the same day it was recording other national songs of countries such as Brazil and Portugal. See "Recordings Made on… Wednesday, October 26, 1904," *Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings*. <http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/date/browse/1904-10-26> (1 Nov. 2010). See also "Arthur Pryor's Band - National Air of Peru (Himno Nacional del Peru)," *You Tube* <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5My7OeH9DDE> (1 Nov. 2010).

[63] Listen "Una jarana en Cocharcas," *Discos Columbia* – CO P20; "Un piqueo en Cantagallo," *Discos Columbia* – CO P75; "Un Paseo a Amancaes," *Discos Columbia* – CO P54; "Un carnaval," *Discos Columbia* – CO P42.

national heroes such as Jorge Chávez, a pilot who died flying his airplane in an accident in 1910. Some other lyrics make references to the soldiers of the War of the Pacific.[64] The War ended in 1883, but it continued to be memorialized in the press, public speeches, statues, and articles written by nationalist intellectuals such as González-Prada. A border dispute between Perú and Chile that was finally resolved in 1929 made the War an ever-present reference invoking Peruvianness. Even artisan associations held patriotic meetings honoring the marines who died in the Battle of Angamos on October 8, 1879.[65] One of the theatrical pieces is about the Battle of Arica, an important battle that caused the Peruvian army to lose control of the southern Peruvian coastal states on June 7, 1880.[66] In this way, the War was still part of daily life in Lima.

Nationalist feelings were being reinforced through popular songs and theatrical pieces. The U.S. record companies stimulated this sense of belonging for their own profit. According to them, selling 78 rpm records would an easier task if these records could evoke the motherland at parties and festivals (above all, among immigrants in the U.S.).[67] This is one of the reasons that national songs and national anthems were recorded by these companies in the early twentieth century. *El Ataque de Uchumayo* (a famous patriotic Peruvian *marcha*) recorded by *Banda del Regimiento de Gendarmes de Infanteria* was really the number one record of the 1911 Columbia Peruvian music

[64] Listen "Jorge Chávez (vals)," *Discos Columbia* – CO P24; references to the heroes of the War of Pacific in the resbalosa contained in the song called "Anoche jugué y perdí," *Discos Columbia* – CO P42.

[65] Tejada, *La Cuestión de Pan*, 252-253.

[66] "Asalto de Arica - Part.1;" "Asalto de Arica – Part 2," *Discos Columbia* – CO P4; "Arica (vals)," *Discos Columbia* – CO P15.

[67] See Gronow, "Ethnic Recordings: An Introduction."

catalog.[68] A similar phenomenon would happen decades later with the *salsa* music trend at the end of the 1960's. As a "Latin" commercial music created in New York City, it mixed melodies from Puerto Rico and Cuba that were already popular in the Americas. Therefore, it was assumed to be part of the daily lives of the increasing numbers of Spanish-speaking immigrants in the U.S., whose numbers doubled in size between 1960 and 1980, and other similar populations in the Americas.[69]

A second nationalist topic that would be repeated in future lyrics was festive references to a specific, imagined type of woman of African descent who lived in the alleys and *casas de vecindad*. These lyrics refer to a woman that was categorized during the colonial period as belonging to the colonial castes. As a Limeña, she was usually labeled as a *china* or *zamba*. Thus, one can hear on some of these records a man expressing his love or admiration for a beautiful woman, but she was usually a "sweet" *mulata*, *mestiza*, or *zamba*, in other words a *china*.[70] Other lyrics glorified the beauty of Peruvian women, but, again, it was usually a *zamba* or *morena*.[71] She was indeed being depicted in these records as the best example of *criollismo*, that is, as a Limeña who expressed congeniality, coquetry, graciousness, and courtesy.

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[68] The historian Jorge Basadre (1901-1980) in his memories - *La vida y la Historia* (Lima, 1981), 161 - remembered that, as a young professor in Lima, he used for several years in his classes a gramophone to play *El Ataque de Uchumayo* and *La Marcha Fúnebre de Morán*.

[69] Cf. Kattari, Kim, "Building Pan-Latino Unity in the United States through Music: An Exploration of Commonalities Between Salsa and Reggaeton," *Musicological Explorations* 10 (2009), 105-136; Abreu, Christina, "Celebrity, 'Crossover,' and Cubanidad: Celia Cruz as 'La Reina de Salsa,' 1971-2003," *Latin American Music Review* 28/1 (2007), 94-124.

[70] Listen "No quiero que a misa vayas (marinera)," *Discos Columbia* – CO P32; "Por ser día de tu santo (marinera)," *Discos Columbia* – CO P43.

[71] Listen "La reina del Perú (marinera)," *Discos Columbia* - CO P65.

These lyrics are an echo of an intellectual discussion from the colonial era about the influence of Lima's geographical environment on the social and psychological life of its inhabitants. Spanish American psychological attitudes continued to be overemphasized during the republican period. Foreign travelers and writers in the nineteenth century, even the unrefined Rojas y Cañas, stressed that the representative of *criollo* attitudes *par excellence* was indeed the Limeña woman, especially if she was dressed as a *tapada*. The final result of this intellectual operation was to imagine that these attitudes were usually embodied in a common, exotic Limeña woman that supposedly lived in areas such as Malambo. She was frequently depicted in nineteenth century pictures and foreign travel books dancing the *zamacueca*. One can also invoke the cartoon about the Day of San Juan in 1926,[72] in which Vinatea Reinoso depicted the new Peruvian nation or *Patria Nueva* as a woman dancing the *marinera*. In fact, some 1940's lyrics of *música criolla* would ultimately imply that Limeña womanhood was synonymous with such flirtatious and courteous sociability.

Some lyrics also refer to the Asian population that had been living in the Peruvian coastal area for more than 60 years. There are some festive depictions of this population,[73] but at other times, the lyrics express the clear segregationist attitudes shared by many Limeños until the 1940's.[74] Thus, the Asian could be the man who sold bad food

[72] Cf. chapter 3.

[73] Listen "La japonesita (polka)," *Discos Columbia* – CO P38.

[74] See Tejada, *La Cuestión del Pan*, 255-256. Read Borja, C, "Nada de chinos. Semejante inmigración es y será la más grande de las calamidades que ha podido sobrevivir al Perú," *Integridad* (August 4, 1894), 1; Ibid (August 11, 1894), 2-3; Ibid (August 25, 1894), 1-2; Ibid (September 8, 1894), 2. When the 1929 economic crisis occasioned the loss of jobs, this racist discourse (re) appeared many times in Limeño newspapers. The Asian population was thus considered as a scapegoat by the press.

in a restaurant or *Fonda*. In other instances, there is mockery of Asians because, as in the case of the rural Andean population, they could not speak Spanish fluently.[75] Other depictions of Asians take the form of aggression and insults during public festivities such as the carnival.[76] This is an attitude that could be observed in other social spaces in early twentieth-century Lima. Faced with the bubonic plague in that city, some people began to voice the idea in the 1910's that the germs of the *peste* were spreading due to the existence of the homeless and the Chinese.[77] Lyrics showing these well-known racist biases against the Asian population show that the Chinese and Japanese populations were already part of the social landscape of Lima as small retail businessmen or restaurant owners.[78]

The Limeño Music Tradition before the O.A.X. Radio System

The Montes y Manrique duo formed one of the main underpinnings in the strengthening of a 78 rpm record market that seems to have been centered in the main Peruvian cities in the 1910's. They were considered by some reporters to be part of the

[75] Cf. the theatrical piece "La fonda de la Inquisición," *Discos Columbia* – CO P20; and "Un piqueo en Cantagallo," *Discos Columbia* – CO P75. In the first example, one of the singers is stereotyping the broken Spanish of a *macaco* (Chinese) who ran a fonda; in the second, at the end of this record, one can hear the way that a *serrana* (indigenous woman) spoke Spanish in Cantagallo (Rímac).

[76] Cf. the theatrical piece "Un Carnaval," *Discos Columbia* – CO P42.

[77] See Cueto, Marcos, *El regreso de las epidemias. Salud y sociedad en el Perú del siglo XX* (Lima: IEP, 2000), 51-54.

[78] On the Chinese population in Lima see Rodriguez Pastor, Humberto. *Herederos del dragón. Historia de la comunidad china en el Perú* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2000) and his "Lo japonés en polkas criollas de antaño," *Discover Nikkei. Japanese Migrants and Their Descendants*. <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2007/10/9/lo-japons-en-polkas-criollas/> (1 Nov. 2010).

old *música criolla* or *guardia vieja* after the 1930's. [79] The appeal of the *yaravíes* and *tristes*, which they promoted, would disappear from the Limeño cultural experience in the second half of the twentieth century. However, it is not true that Montes y Manrique were the only singers and musicians that recorded music for commercial purposes between 1910 and 1930. A branch of the Victor Talking Machine Company had already been established in Lima in 1913. Its catalogs show the clear goal of organizing a broader Peruvian music opus.[80] César Manrique said in 1947 that the sales of the duo's 1911 songs were a success.[81] This explains why, a few years later, Victor Talking Machine opened a branch in Lima promoting sales of its products and the creation of its Peruvian catalog.

Thus, in the early twentieth century, commercial competition began between the U.S. music record companies to supply records not only to Peru but also to surrounding countries; musical genres such as *valses* and *pasillos* from Ecuador were also recorded by Alfonso Dougard and Rodolfo Martínez in Lima in 1913.[82] This commercial trend was more intense than ever in the 1920's. World War I destroyed the European music industries; however, it did not really damage the U.S. music industry. At the end of the War, the U.S. music companies could thus expand easily.[83] The consequence was that

[79] Cf. "Marineras, resbalosas, panalivios, sañas, festejos y jaranas."

[80] See appendix III. See also *Discos Víctor, 1921-1922*; *Catálogo de Discos Víctor 1924-1925*.

[81] Cf. note 36.

[82]Cf. "Alfonso Dougard (vocalist: baritone vocal)," *Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings* <http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/talent/detail/6157/Dougard_Alfonso_vocalist_baritone_vocal > (1 Nov. 2010).

[83] In 1924, more than 70% of the entire imports of phonographs and 78 rpm discs to Lima were from the U.S. Cf. Gargurevich, Juan, *La Peruvian Broadcasting Co.* (Lima: La Voz Ediciones, 1995), 71-72.

U.S. music, especially jazz, became fashionable in other countries and cities such as Paris and Lima. This process lasted in Lima until the emergence of the Mexican and Cuban music fashions in the 1930's, and this process was also promoted by U.S. record companies. One Limeño journalist specifically stressed in 1924 that U.S. music was part of an industry in Lima that had developed the custom of composing this kind of dance music on any pretext.[84] Even U.S.-style dance contests arose in exclusive clubs such as the Country Club.[85] Consequently, it was not strange to observe jazz orchestras or "modern dance" schools offering their services.[86]

This musical phenomenon influenced the composers of *música criolla*. Thus, Felipe Pinglo Alva, a composer of Limeño *valses,* also composed foxtrots. Several of these foxtrots were even considered part of the old *música criolla* in the second half of the twentieth century.[87] The music composer, guitarist, and pianist Carlos Saco said, in 1926, that he had composed at least 25 pieces of music such as jazz-camels, one-steps

[84] Juviali, "Industria musiquera," *La Crónica*. (December 29, 1924), 8.

[85] See "Gran torneo de baile," *La Crónica* (September 19, 1925), 12. This announcement testified that ballrooms for dancing music were common in Lima. About a modern dance contest in the Country Club, see "Glosario de la semana," *Mundial* (July 18, 1930), 20; "El concurso de baile en el Country Club," *Mundial* (August 15, 1930), 27.

[86] Cf. "Centro Social Reid de Bailes Modernos," *La Crónica* (August 20, 1921), 10; "Gran torneo de baile," *La Crónica* (September 1925), p. 12; "Jardín Estrasburgo," *La Crónica* (October 8, 1926), 15; "Hoy gran Cotillon de baile," *La Crónica* (October 10, 1925), p. 7; "Tango," *La Crónica* (December 20, 1926), p. 3; "The Purizaga Jazz-Band," *La Crónica* (January 30, 1927), 6; "Un bailarín peruano," *Mundial* (May 3, 1924), 22. In the mentioned "Jardín Estrasbugo" restaurant was offered a party called "Gran Baile Apache" that promised to reproduce the "Caveau des Innocents de Paris." The Apache dance was a fashion French dance similar to tango. This dance could also be part of varieté shows.

[87] A well-known Pinglo's foxtrot is "Llegó el invierno." See "Llegó el invierno - Esther Granados," *You Tube*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WRN_k9ZqT4E> (1 Nov. 2010).

and foxtrots.[88] Saco composed music, called dance or light music in the newspapers and magazines (*música bailable* or *ligera*), which was played in ballrooms, cinemas, theaters, and circuses. Filomeno Ormeño, who composed and played *valses*, *marineras*, and *festejos* at radio stations in the 1930's, and Laureano Martínez Smart led jazz orchestras at different times during the 1920's and 1940's.[89]

In this Americanized musical environment, the idea of the near extinction of *música criolla* proposed by Cisneros must be nuanced. Certainly, these old dances and musical forms continued to be listened to not only at *jaranas* in the alleys but also in some restaurants and workers' and regional association meetings. They were also part of *varieté* shows, musical reviews, circus spectacles, cinemas, and other theatrical pieces. Sometimes, they were heard in elite association meetings such as those of the Entre Nous Library. A similar phenomenon happened with the U.S. "blues" that circulated in theaters and circuses in the early twentieth century.[90] One knows now that the renewed Day of San Juan played a role in the transformation of Peruvian music into a fashionable musical trend.[91] Several photos in Limeño magazines also show that gramophones were owned by

[88] Don Máximo, "Breve charla con el compositor Carlos Saco," *La Crónica* (June 6, 1926), 15. He said that he played in the cinemas and the Barranco ballroom - *Baños de Barranco*. Other news report said that his compositions were sold in Lima and some of them were played at the San Martin Cinema (Lima) and at the Mundial Cinema (Barranco). See also "Dos Paso-dobles, dos tangos y dos fox," *La Crónica* (November 17, 1927), 11.

[89] See "The Record Jazz Band," *El Comercio* (May 13, 1928), 10. In much of the sheet music edited by the Editorial House of Laureano Martinez Smart, one can read commercial propaganda about his own orchestra called "Aleluya Jazz" which, however, seems not to have been limited to playing jazz.

[90] Cf. Wald, Elijah, *Escaping the Delta,* 11. For the case of *música criolla*, see "De teatros," *La Crónica* (December 6, 1923), 5; "Ring Mundial," *La Crónica* (December 7, 1923), 10; "De teatros," *La Crónica* (December 8, 1923), 7.

[91] Cf. chapter 3. See also "Restaurant Hipódromo – viernes 23 de septiembre de 1927 -------- Gran Criollada Limeña," *La Crónica* (September 23, 1927), 2.

several Limeño restaurants. Consequently, Peruvian and other kinds of musical genres were circulating in Lima even before the rise of radio stations.

Up to this point, three basic steps in the spread of this *música criolla* have been discussed. The first was the dissemination of these musical genres through theater performances and movies as part of a long-lasting *costumbrista* cultural trend. Another important step was the support that artistic festivals received from the state, such as in the case of the Day of San Juan. A further significant development was the recording and marketing of this music through 78 rpm discs. The Montes y Manrique duo marked the beginning of this third step. A music market was growing in Lima, but the depression era that lasted in Peru from 1930 to 1935 stopped this process. The next and last step that reinforced this transformation was the strengthening of the radio station system in Lima after 1935. It will be the topic of the following section.

The Radio System and the Consolidation of a Limeño Music Tradition

The radio was a great novelty in the 1920's. As an electric machine that received music, speeches, and audible spectacles from a main station, the radio was important in the spreading of speeches, news, and cultural images before the emergence of the television and the Internet. In their early years, the radio station amusement programs were indeed replicating many productions that could be observed in theaters and cinemas. As such, many of the first Limeño radio station artists, singers, musicians, and broadcasters belonged to the Limeño theatrical arena. This was the case of Filomeno Ormeño, Carlos Saco, and Teresa Arce. Many of their first artistic directors also belonged to the theatrical world, such as Antonio Garland, who wrote *costumbrista* articles and

theatrical pieces, and Rosa Elvira Figueroa, who also participated in *Entre Nous* performances.[92]

At its start, the radio broadcast system in Peru had many problems. The first radio station, the O.A.X., was backed by the Peruvian state in 1924. According to a Government Supreme Resolution (1924), the Peruvian state owned the broadcasting system, but a private company called the Peruvian Broadcasting Company was authorized by the Leguía administration to provide, in the name of the Peruvian state, radio service in exclusivity for 10 years. The Company had the obvious goal of selling radios across the Peruvian territory.[93] It legally acquired the rights to build a radio station similar to the one in London that was built by the Marconi Wireless Company, a British company.[94] Thus, the O.A.X. station was inaugurated on June 20, 1925 with the assistance of President Leguía.[95] However, in September 1926, the Peruvian Broadcasting Company announced its dissolution. Although they had a monopoly over the sale of radios in Peru, it seems that few had been sold because of their elevated price.[96] The Peruvian radiotelegraphic service, administered in the 1920's by the Marconi

[92] Antonio Garland was the artistic director of the O.A.X. – the future National Radio – in the 1920s; Rosa Elvira Figueroa was the artistic director of Weston Radio in 1934. On her participation in an *Entre Nous* performance, see "Importante labor de estudio, fomento y divulgación del arte vernacular, realiza la Escuela… Entrevista con la señorita Rosa Elvira Figueroa, directora de la escuela," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (November 13, 1950), 4.

[93] See "Peruvian Broadcasting Co," *La Crónica* (August 2, 1925), 9.

[94] See the Supreme Resolution in "La radiotelefonía en Lima," *La Crónica* (October 10, 1924), 3.

[95] "Ayer se realizó la inauguración oficial de la estación O.A.X," *La Crónica* (June 21, 1925), 7-8.

[96] The evidence show that radios (including the antenna and license) could be expensive for a common Limeño. See "Radio," *La Crónica* (August 21, 1925), 6.

Wireless Telegraph Company, would eventually place the failed company under its control. Thus, it became the National Radio of Perú in the 1930's.[97]

It is extremely difficult to measure exactly how many people were able to listen to the O.A.X. On the day of its inauguration, audio speakers were located in some squares of the city, such as the San Martin Plaza. In 1931, some people complained about these speakers, but one does not know if they were permanently located in these areas.[98] In general, it seems that there were few radio listeners, but the main problem was indeed linked with its overall amount of airtime. Unlike other radio stations on the continent, the O.A.X. did not really have specific programs, and its general programming only lasted for a few hours in the morning and a few more in the evening.[99]

The director of the O.A.X., Antonio Garland, said in 1927 that besides the musicians, radio station professionals were very few in Lima.[100] He stressed that the main

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[97] About the first years of the Limeño radio "O.A.X." see Bustamante, Emilio. "Los primeros veinte años de la radio en Perú," <http://www.ulima.edu.pe/revistas/contratexto/v3/pdf/art11.pdf> (1 nov 2010); Gargurevich, *La Peruvian Broadcasting Co*, chapter 3.

[98] See "Ayer se realizó la inauguración oficial de la estación O.A.X.;" "Reforma de los programas musicales de radiotelefonía," *El Perú* (April 20, 1931), 7.

[99] See samples in "Radiotelefonía," *La Crónica* (November 20, 1926), 7; "Radiotelefonía," *La Crónica* (January 1, 1927), 7; "Radiotelefonía," *La Crónica* (February 10, 1927), 3. Joaquin Azambuja who had worked in the O.A.X. as General Director since October 1930 said in an interview that not too many radios existed in Lima in those years because the O.A.X. had only 2 hours of airtime and the programs were "too poor." Consequently, there was not a broad interest in buying radios. According to him, the people were really interested in buying recorded music. The above-mentioned information about programming suggests that programs in the morning and night existed in the 1920s but all of them counted only 4 hours. See Godard, José, "'Radiominiscencias' de antaño," *Radiovision* (October 20, 1955), 16.

[100] This and other problems denounced by the Director of the O.A.X., Antonio Garland, can be read in a letter published in "El radio en el Perú. A propósito de un artículo de 'Racso'," *La Crónica* (January 12, 1927), 11. Faced with similar complaints about the lack of reserved airtime for specific musical genres in a new radio station in Lima (1934), his owner – Roberto Grellaud – expressed similar reservations as Garland. Read the complaints in "Al fin y al cabo, a la detestable OAX, que se había convertido en una quena, le ha salido otro gallo o gallina, la OA4R, que siendo mala es superior," *La Calle* (June 2, 1934), 23; and the answer in "Nos escribe la estación de radio OA-4-AR," *La Calle* (June 9, 1934), 7.

burden for the development of the radio system in Peru was within the radio station organization itself. With scarce financial support and few professionals, the only radio station in Lima could not, according to Garland, add more hours to its airtime and organize specific programs because of the lack of legal opportunity for obtaining commercial advertising. Due to these several restrictions, it seems that amateurism characterized the O.A.X. Thus, special auditions of "national music" were, above all, a personal initiative of the O.A.X. director, as happened with the "National Week" broadcasts promoted by Garland at the end of May, 1927.[101] For our purposes, however, the crucial phenomenon to analyze here is what kind of music some Limeños could listen to during the few hours the O.A.X. radio station was on the air.

The music offered on the O.A.X. was varied but random. Besides the speeches, English classes, news, and poetic recitations, one could listen to a one-step, followed immediately by a *tango* or another musical genre such as a *paso doble*, Charleston, or foxtrot. Later, perhaps a *yaraví* could be heard, followed by a camel trot and short excerpts of operas. Reading the radio programs from the 1920's is like reading record music catalogs. The programs were a mix of 78 rpm records and live performances. There was a permanent orchestra at the radio station as well as some musicians, Carlos Saco among them, who were categorized as *criollos* by the press.[102] Because of the

[101] See "La primera semana nacional de audiciones de la 'O.A.X.'," *La Crónica* (May 20, 1927), 6; "La semana nacional de audiciones de la 'OAX' se iniciará esta noche," *La Crónica* (May 23, 1927), 7-8. Popular music performers such as Giordano Carreño and Leopoldo Medina, concertist such as Rosa Mercedes Ayarza, and the O.A.X orchestra played *yaravies*, *valses*, *tonderos*, *huaynos*, short pieces of operas and, even, fox trots for several days. This week included short speeches and poetry recitations.

[102] This is also the case of Gamarra y Salerno duo. See "En la estación 'O.A.X.'," *La Crónica* (July 23, 1925), 14, "Radiotelefonía," *La Crónica* (November 20, 1926); "Radiotelefonía," *La Crónica* (February 10, 1927), 7; "Radiotelefonía," *La Crónica* (January 15, 1927), 7.

organization of the programming, these musicians also played the *tango*, one-step, fox trot, and other musical genres that could also be heard in cinemas and ballrooms.[103]

This situation changed in the 1930's when the number of radio stations in Lima began to grow. One can observe small changes as early as 1931. The Peruvian state directly controlled the O.A.X. after the fall of Leguía. Beginning in 1931, short organized shows began to emerge within the general programming of the O.A.X. They were sponsored by the Limeño branches of Columbia, Victor, and Brunswick record companies. Even the old store, Casa Brandes, had its space.[104] Some business reports were also propagated around 1934.[105] By the end of November, 1935, there were 11 radio stations in Lima.[106] They were inaugurated between 1934 and 1935, when the Peruvian economy was recovering from the 1929 crash. These new stations would definitely expand the market for Peruvian art and music. Thus, during the celebrations of the IV Centenary of the Foundation of Lima City (1935), radio programs about Limeño customs and music emerged.[107] A music competition was also organized for the IV Centenary that followed the model of the San Juan Day festival. Its winners then performed at the

[103] "En la estación O.A.X.,"*La Crónica* (July 23, 1925), 14; "Radiotelefonía," *La Crónica* (November 20, 1926), 7.

[104] "Radiotelefonía. Estación OAX onda 380 metros," *El Perú* (July 8, 1931), 4.

[105] Since 1934 a diary report about the cotton had been propagated. It was a budget report about the main export commodity that helped Peruvians businessmen to overcome the economic crisis. See "Estación Radiodifusora Nacional de Lima – Perú," *La Prensa* (September 19, 1934), 6.

[106] The radios stations were Castellano y Hno (the radio of Castellano Brothers store, representatives of Columbia Record company), Davila, DUSA, Escuela Militar, Goycochea, Grellaud, Internacional, Miraflores, Nacional (the old O.A.X.), Santello and Sucre. See "Radio," *La Prensa* (November 14, 1935), 11; "Radio," *La Prensa* (November 23, 1935), 10.

[107] See "Radio," *La Prensa* (January 8, 1935), 11; "Radio," *La Prensa* (January 12, 1935), 11.

National Radio station.[108] This phenomenon had already occurred with *La Rondalla Típica Piurana* (an *Estudiantina* from the northern coastal area that participated in the Amancaes contest) years ago when it was invited to play at the O.A.X. radio station in the middle of June, 1928.[109]

The radio broadcast system would gradually expand in its programming a musical phenomenon that could already be heard in festivals and theaters. The hours dedicated to *música criolla* were initially few. Special programs dedicated to such musical genres did not even exist in the early 1930's. Around 1935, the mass media system would finally begin to promote performers who were playing *música criolla* in theaters and cinemas as part of specific radio programs. One can observe another big change occurring around 1935: several of these and other programs were beginning to be promoted by a specific commercial sponsor. Even so, some programs of *música criolla* sponsored by the same radio stations (that could also include music contests) would also emerge in which the *yaravíes* were being progressively displaced by *valses criollos.*[110]

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[108] This was the case with *Los Criollos*, a group of performers composed of Luis de la Cuba, Ernesto Echecopar, Luis Aramburu Raygada and Juan Mejia. See "Estación Radiodifusora Nacional de Lima – Perú," *La Prensa* (November 10, 1934), 8.

[109] See "Radiotelefonía," *La Prensa* – first edition (June 16, 1928), 2. For the same night's program, Mariano Bejar Pacheco, who represented Puno in the mentioned music contest, was invited to play. For other day, the music ensemble that represented Huancayo in the same contest was also invited to play in the O.A.X.

[110] DUSA radio convoked a *música criolla* contest in 1936. Again, it is symptomatic that the radio station asked the participants to present a music program that included a "yaraví or triste - with fuga," a *vals*, a *marinera*, and a *tondero*. See "Concurso de Música Criolla organizado por radio Dusa," *Cascabel* (March 29, 1936), 21. The situation had changed in 1939. In a similar contest, the *yaravíes* and *tristes* were excluded. See "Concurso de nuevos valses y polcas criollas," *El Comercio* – morning edition (April 25, 1939), 7. The edition of the mentioned album honoring the election of the Queen of the Criolla Song (November 1940) stressed the Melgarian *yaravíes* were part of the *música criolla – El libro de la canción criolla* (Lima: La Lira Limeña, 1940). However, in a contest convoked by the Felipe Pinglo Social Music Center months before, only *valses* were considered. See "Acerca de un concurso de valses, y de conocidos aspectos de las broadcastings, habla Jose Moreno," *Cascabel* (August 24, 1940), 21.

Peruvian music did not cause the number of radio stations to increase in Lima. In this way, it seems that the decision to dedicate more hours to Peruvian music in the radio auditions was based on the opportunity to find sponsors, the specific agenda of the radio station owners, or the personal musical tastes of the radio station directors. In the case of the Grellaud radio station, in 1934, the policy of mixing several musical genres in its programs was continued in the hope of attracting many more and varied listeners.[111] The owner of Goicochea Radio, engineer Pablo Goicochea, admitted at the inauguration of his new radio station in 1936 that his old radio programs had been too improvised, putting more emphasis on entertainment music than on national music. At the same time, he also admitted that it was difficult to organize select programs, such as national ones, under the pressure from radio's commercial sponsors, who were going to air commercials several times during the station's daily programming.[112]

Almost all of the primary sources linked with the early years of the radio system in Peru have disappeared, but the radio reports in magazines and newspapers strongly suggest that this situation changed at the end of the 1930's. The number of hours dedicated to *musica criolla* increased throughout these years; at least, it increased at the National Radio station, where the number of such programs rose from 230 in 1939 to 343

[111] Cf. "Al fin y al cabo, a la detestable OAX, que se había convertido en una quena, le ha salido otro gallo o gallina, la OA4R, que siendo mala es superior;" "Nos escribe la estación de radio OA-4-AR." Seeing the radio programs that were published in the newspapers, it remains clear that the amount of *música ligera* or dancing music overtopped in several radio stations other recognized music genres such as classical music. About that, see "Los programas musicales de nuestras estaciones de radio," *La Prensa* (February 23, 1936), 13.

[112] "Próxima inauguración de una estación trasmisora [interview]," *La Prensa* (March 29, 1936), 13.

in 1943, before descending again to 240 in 1944.[113] In 1937, there was already an evening broadcast called *La Hora Criolla de los Sábados* on National Radio.[114] By 1938, Lima Radio (formerly Goicochea Radio), like other radio stations, already had a permanent in-house folkloric music ensemble led by Filomeno Ormeño. In some elite restaurants such as La Cabaña, the orchestra---specifically, the Coltrinari Orchestra---began to introduce *valses* and *polkas* into its repertoire around 1940.[115] Clearly, it was not only the radio stations but a broad commercial establishment that was spreading *música criolla*.

During these years, musical centers mainly honoring the artistic lives of certain *música criolla* performers who had passed away were also founded. Clearly, these centers were the continuation of the same cultural process (which had stopped due to the 1929 crisis) of the modernization of Lima, whose cultural expressions were the emergence (not without problems) of more newspapers, university students, theatrical shows and, now, radio stations.[116] Some of the members of these musical centers belonged to the Limeño artistic arena, but others were actually former friends of the late performers. For example, one of these first musical centers was founded in 1936 by a group of friends of the Limeño composer Felipe Pinglo Alva, who had died in 1935.[117] These centers participated in the official Limeño Carnival either through entering floats or by

[113] See Mc Clean Estenos, Jorge. "Medios de divulgación de la cultura nacional," in Sainte Marie, Darío (ed). *Perú en cifras, 1944-1945* (Lima: Ediciones Internacionales, 1945), p. 925; Alegría, Alonso, *O.A.X. Crónica de la radio en el Perú (1925-1990)* (Lima: Radioprogramas Editores, 1993), 100.

[114] See "Radio," *La Prensa* (May 29, 1937), p. 11; "Radio," *La Prensa* (July 10, 1937), 11.

[115] "Como enfoca Jorge Huirse los problemas de nuestra música popular."

[116] See Mc Clean Estenos, "Medios de divulgación de la cultura nacional," 926.

[117] See Zanutelli, Manuel, *Felipe Pinglo … a un siglo de distancia* (Lima: Editora La Gaceta, 1999), 66-67.

organizing parties.[118] They would also organize paid public concerts such as the one honoring Felipe Pinglo, which was broadcast over the radio, at the Segura Theater in 1938.[119] That is, these centers were also part of the aforementioned artistic job market that organized *funciones de gala y beneficio*.[120] Finally, the Limeño music movement that had emerged in the early twentieth century was institutionalized.

As a consequence of this institutionalization, some artistic heroes began to be imagined. The calvary suffered by Felipe Pinglo days before his death – he was hospitalized, and a newspaper asked for money to help him[121] – made him the perfect candidate for this increasingly institutionalized artistic movement. His death did not receive broad press coverage. Later, however, not only did his friends make him a cultural icon of *criollismo*, but his image was commodified as well.[122] Several songs dedicated to him would be published in *El Cancionero de Lima*.[123] However, complaints arose about these kinds of compositions that could be heard on radio programs. According to one magazine reporter, these composers were trying only to replicate the

[118] See the allegoric car of Carlos Saco Music Center in *El Comercio* (March 1, 1938), 1.

[119] See Mugurussa, V. "Conmemorando el segundo aniversario de la muerte de Felipe Pinglo Alva," *El Comercio* – morning edition (May 13, 1938), 3 and the added artistic program honoring Pinglo.

[120] Cf. chapter 2.

[121] See "Felipe Pinglo, gran compositor nacional, lucha contra el infortunio," *Cascabel* (April 25, 1936), p. 8; Falconí, Heraldo, "Ignorado de los institutos y academias musicales, Felipe Pinglo, autor inagotable de canciones criollas, lo sacrifico todo en aras de la música popular," *Cascabel* (May 9, 1936) 19-20.

[122] See "El homenaje a Felipe Pinglo en el Segura," *Cahuide* 15 (May 1938), 28. The spectacle was also possible to be listened by Grellaud radio. See also "Antenas, micros y ondas," *Cahuide* 15 (May 1938), 36-38.

[123] Zanutelli, *Felipe Pinglo … a un siglo de distancia*, 59-60. Pinglo also published his songs in *El Cancionero…* See Idem, 63.

romantic but sometimes sorrowful compositions of Pinglo and Saco. He stressed that these new *valses* were in bad taste because (as in the case of *tangos*) they were only associated with death, cemeteries, hospitals, and suicides.[124] Pinglo, who mainly composed *valses* and *polkas*, was thus part of a melodramatic trend at the end of the 1930's that also included Mexican, Argentine, and Peruvian musical films.[125]

Finally, *música criolla* would be officially recognized by the Peruvian state when a group of its practitioners decided to create a special day dedicated to this musical tradition. An initiative launched in 1944 by the President of the *Centro Social Musical Carlos A. Saco* (located in Barrios Altos), Juan Manuel Carrera, and its artistic director, Francisco Estrada, would be the first step in creating this day honoring *criolla* song. Their initiative was expressed in a public letter published in *El Comercio* on October 3, 1944. They announced that they had chosen a day to honor and stimulate the work of composers, players, and singers belonging to "criollo folklore" who were contributing or had contributed to the promotion of Peruvianness. They asked President Manuel Prado to officially support this initiative.[126] This public declaration was made in the same location and at the same historical moment when President Prado created the Day of

[124] Rivera, Isaías, "Vamos a ver que hay de música criolla," *Cahuide* 33 (December 1939), 19; "Antenas, micros y ondas," *Cahuide* 32 (December 1939), p. 71; "Antenas, micros y ondas," *Cahuide* 33 (December 1939), p. 67-68, "Antenas, micros y ondas," Cahuide 45 (January 1941), p.48-49. It must be remarked that these critics were published in a magazine whose owner – Jorge Aprile – enjoyed the *criollo* music. A similar complaint about *valses llorones* in "No esta en buenas manos la canción criolla: Pancho Estrada lo afirma y ofrece pruebas," *Cascabel* 279-182 (1940), 12.

[125] Cf. chapter 2.

[126] See the letter written by the aforementioned persons about *El Día de la Canción Criolla* in "Centro Social Musical 'Carlos A. Saco'," *El Comercio* – morning edition (October 3, 1944), 4.

Peruanidad,[127] a day that honored the participation of the Peruvian army in a short military conflict (1942) against the Ecuadorian army. The initiative was also immediately supported and coordinated by other similar centers.[128]

Manuel Prado was the first elected civilian President (1939-1945) since the end of the Leguía Administration, and his victory was due in part to the votes of many persecuted Aprista male militants. Consequently, although the Aprista party was not a legal party, it was not persecuted during the Prado Administration; it had been officially banned as a radical, illegal organization since the Luis M. Sánchez Cerro Administration (1931-1933). Prado belonged to the industrialist sector of the Peruvian elite that believed that it was possible to politically stabilize the country by making political agreements with the Aprista party. One must remember that many followers of *música criolla* were workers, artisans, and members of the lower middle classes. These sectors usually sympathized with the reformist agenda of the Aprista party. That is, in the same manner that Leguía created the *Día del Indio*, October of 1944 was an opportune time to support this initiative and convert it into a populist gesture

This was a private initiative also supported by the newspaper *El Comercio*. A new national celebration was thus being created. Their promoters expressed their wish that the day for this celebration should be October 31. Finally, on October 18, 1944,

[127] In their letter, Carrera and Estrada linked the future *Día de la Canción Criolla* with the patriotic mood of the Peruanidad Day. See "Centro Social Musical 'Carlos A. Saco'," *El Comercio* – morning edition (October 3, 1944), 5.

[128] See "Centro Social Musical 'Carlos A. Saco'," *El Comercio* – morning edition (October 9, 1944), 14. See also "El Día de la Canción Criolla," El *Comercio* – morning edition (October 24 1944), p. 5.

President Prado made *El Día de la Canción Criolla* an official day[129] that would be celebrated during the rest of the twentieth century every October 31. The first celebration occurred that same year in several Limeño squares or *plazas*, with parties in the musical social centers that supported the initiative of the Saco Social Music Center. At this center, President Prado attended a special celebration that was composed of musical performances in which all the music centers involved participated.[130]

An important fact to stress here is that several of these musicians and performers who were members of those centers also worked either in the radio stations or in the theaters. For example, members of the Carlos A. Saco Center included Rosa Ascoy known as *La Limoneta*, and her brother, Alejandro Ascoy, who had worked in the National Radio years ago. Another member of the Saco Center was the previously mentioned theater performer Teresa Arce, as well as Luciano Huambachano (who also worked in theater), and Filomeno Ormeño. Two members of the Felipe Pinglo Alva Center, namely Oscar Aviles and Humberto Cervantes, would be future members of a famous music ensemble in the 1950's, *Fiesta Criolla*. Several of these performers would sign contracts to record *música criolla* in the future for Peruvian record companies such as SONO RADIO and IEMPSA.

This first day-long October 31st celebration marked the birth of a ritual that would be reproduced in the next decades. It would be romanticized in future newspapers and

[129] "Se declara 'Día de la Canción Criolla' el 31 de octubre," *El Comercio* – morning edition (October 19, 1944), 5.

[130] See "Realzó el Presidente de la Republica, Dr. Manuel Prado, la actuación central del programa con que fue celebrado ayer el 'Día de la Canción Criolla'," *El Universal* (November 1, 1944), 9.

magazines.[131] In the next decades, parts of it would even be partially televised.[132] The 1944 celebration began at 6 a.m. with the honoring of the national Peruvian flag at the headquarters of every music center in Lima.[133] Later, at 11 a.m., a Catholic mass in El Carmen church honored each of the singers and composers of *música criolla* who had passed away. At the 1944 celebration, a commission visited President Prado to thank him for his official support. The cemetery was the next stop in this ceremony, and attendees honored the dead by placing flowers on the graves of *música criolla* performers. The main, official concert at the Saco Center began at 7 p.m. with President Prado in attendance.[134] Finally, from 9 to 11 p.m., public performances were held in several Limeño squares by a particular center's artistic groups. It was also advertised that parties would be organized for paying customers by several musical centers from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. Thus, a local incentive promoted by these centers had become a national event due to the support of President Prado and the press. The radio stations themselves aired special programs, such as the lyrical concerts of Rosa Mercedes Ayarza, celebrating this day, and they would continue to do so in the years to come.[135]

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[131] See one example in "Homenaje a la 'Canción Criolla'," El *Comercio* (October 31, 1959), p. 4.

[132] See "Televisión-programas," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (October 31, 1959), 4.

[133] See the official program in "El Día de la Canción Criolla," *El Comercio* (October 31, 1944), 7.

[134] "La celebración del 'Día de la Canción Criolla'," *El Comercio* – morning (November 1, 1944), 3 years before this celebration, President Prado had already been honored for his birthday in a *criollo* music program of Goicochea Radio were the Govea brothers sang part of their repertoire. See "Antenas, micros, y ondas," *Cahuide* 37 (April 1940), 20-22.

[135] See "Octubre Martes 31. Radio Lima presenta: 'Estampas Criollas.' Dir.: Rosa Mercedes A. de Morales," *El Comercio* – morning edition (October 31, 1944), 4; "Microfonerias," *El Universal* (November 1, 1944), 13.

Conclusion

The idea of the existence of a *música criolla* was fully accepted by the end of the 1930's. Even so, a special day honoring it was created in 1944. The Peruvian state, the mass media, the music companies, and the performers of *música criolla* were active participants in this process of officially validating *música criolla*. However, the number of hours that radio stations should dedicate to *música criolla* would continue to be debated during the next decades. Complaints about the loss of "authentic" *criollo* Limeño musical traditions would also continue to be voiced in the coming years. The radio stations and record companies had not created *música criolla*, but they reinforced the notion of its existence as a musical tradition and the circulation of its musical forms. In fact, a market already existed for *música criolla* before the strengthening of the radio station system in the 1930's. It was from this same core of *música criolla* that another commercial label emerged at the end of the 1950's. It stressed the existence of a so-called *música negra*, or black music. In the next and last chapter, I will offer a general introduction to this topic, analyzing its relationships to *música criolla*.

Chapter 6

Música Criolla and Nationalist Performances: the Origins of *Música Negra* (1950-1960)

Lima during the decade of the 1950's was a city similar to the Lima of the 1920's. The increasing export of raw materials, mainly to the U.S., generated a renewed economic boom in Peru. It was also the era when foreign music fashions such as the *mambo*, *guaracha, rumba*, and twist were extensively practiced in Lima. Consequently, several foreign orchestras toured in Lima, playing these rhythms in ballrooms, theaters, cinemas, and on radio stations. A good portion of Limeños had the money to spend on these performances, and they did.

In this economic environment, *música criolla* was an established artistic form in Limeño cultural life. However, in the second half of the 1950's, some writers, journalists, and entertainment producers began to refer to some old Limeño musical genres as *música negroide*. This new label emerged due to changing social conditions and the music companies' desire for profit. As part of a musical revival, in the 1950's *música negroide* was also part of that above-mentioned old *costumbrista* theatrical trend. The difference was that almost all the performers were of African descent. It was also a profitable business that arose inside the established market of Peruvian music. The same press that some years previous had talked about the existence of *música criolla* was helping to create the foundations of a musical trend that would be called *música negra* in the 1970's.

At the end of the 1950's, this press began to stress that in the coastal Peruvian area, there existed a unique group of musical genres and performances practiced only by African descendants. However, one must point out that the first commercial practitioners of this *negroide* music in the 1950's usually had begun their artistic careers as performers of either *música criolla* or Caribbean music, known as *música tropical*. Even so, for most

of the twentieth century, neither these performers nor the press completely separated those musical practices from *música criolla*.

In order to finish this discussion of how a group of musical genres was transformed into a symbol of Peruvianness, I will first give a brief introduction to this cultural puzzle. In this chapter, I will not make a historical analysis of the musical trend called *música negra* in the second half of the twentieth century (1960-2000) but will provide an analytical description that will permit me to explain the rise of this *música negra* and its relationships with *música criolla* during the first half of the twentieth century. First, I will provide an introductory analysis of the musical practices of African descendants before the 1950's. Later, I will finish analyzing the relationship of this new trend to *música criolla* during the 1950's. The press often used the terms *música* or *ritmo negroide* in the 1950's. I argue that the intensification of the Peruvian music business in an era of deep urban transformation and the intense popularization of Cuban music influenced the press in their discussions of *música negroide* in Lima in the 1950's.

The Limeño Music Practices and the African Descendants Before 1940

Música negra was a term used by late twentieth century record companies and the press to refer to a group of musical genres (e.g., *marinera*, *festejo*, *El Son de los Diablos*, *lando*, *panalivio*) usually practiced by descendants of African slaves in the Peruvian coastal areas. Until the end of the 1950's, however, the press frequently used the term *negroide* to refer to these tunes and lyrics. It seems that the majority of these rhythms were created during the Republican Era. For example, the *festejo* seems to have been a republican dance without an established, formal choreography until the end of the

1930's.[1] The *lando* seems to have been an old musical genre rarely sung and danced in Lima in the twentieth century.[2] However, there is no clear evidence that both of them existed during the colonial period. There are other "black" dances and tunes that definitely did belong to this period. However, when one reviews colonial sources looking for them, one finds them depicted in a different manner than in the twentieth century.

One of these is a street performance categorized as a "black" dance in the twentieth century and called by the press *El Son de los Diablos* – The Son of the Devils. In 1791, a writer nicknamed Hesperióphylo referred with curiosity and rejection to the participation of the *bozal* population (Africans not fluent in Spanish) on the last day of the Corpus Christi procession in Lima. In an article published in *Mercurio Peruano,* an eighteenth-century Enlightenment Limeño newspaper, he said each African *nación* paraded in the Corpus Christi procession with their flags and dressed in different ways. He also said that some of them were dressed like devils while others were feathered or dressed like animals and monsters (the author never used the phrase *El Son de los Diablos*). Hesperióphylo noted that they paraded making a lot of "noise." He also claimed that this kind of parade could be pleasant for a masquerade carnival, but not for a religious procession.[3]

[1] Tompkins, "The Music Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru," chapter 8; Ascuez, Augusto, "Esclavos de la alegría," *VSD* (July 16, 1982), 5.

[2] Tompkins, "The Music Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru," chapter 9.

[3] Hesperióphylo, "Idea de las congregaciones públicas de los negros bozales," *Mercurio Peruano*. II / 48 (1791), 116 -117. Cf. Estenssoro, Juan Carlos, "Música y comportamiento festivo de la población negra en la Lima colonial," *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 451-452 (1988), 161-168.

Thus, the *bozal* performance was negatively described as part of a Catholic Medieval ritual in Lima. It was a live performance also practiced in other geographical areas. For example, the bishop of Trujillo, Baltazar Martínez de Compañon, wrote a manuscript about the geographical, botanical, and cultural features of his diocese located in the northern area of Peru (1789). Influenced by Enlightenment ideas, the report contained pictures that, in catalog form, depicted vegetables, animals, regional customs, and human types. One of these pictures is a dance called *Danza de los Diablicos*.[4] It depicts some musical instruments that would also be used in the twentieth-century performance called *El Son de los Diablos* such as the *quijada*, made from the jawbone of an ass, and the *cajita*, a small wooden music box. They were instruments that for some Limeños such as Hesperióphylo only made noise. The picture does not show the *Diablicos* crew as being only formed by Africans or African descendants. One can, however, find another picture to a dance clearly practiced by African descendants called *Bailanegritos*.[5] One must finally say that other similar crews or *Diabladas* could also be found throughout the Americas.

In 1858, Manuel A. Fuentes referred to a similar dance that he called *de diablos*. He described it as an "obscene" dance that was born in the era of "barbarity," that is, the colonial era, and was usually performed in some Catholic processions. It was, according

[4] See *Manuscritos de América en las colecciones reales. Trujillo del Perú, t. II, Estampa 145*, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/patr/80771096008914356746280/ima0150.htm> (1 Nov 2010.

[5] See *Manuscritos de América… Trujillo del Perú, t. II Estampa 140*, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/patr/80771096008914356746280/ima0145.htm> (1 Nov 2010)

to Fuentes, a dance introduced by the *negros bozales* and later practiced by the [black] *criollos*. The music that accompanied the street crew (composed of instruments such as harps, violins, guitars, *quijadas*, and *cajitas*) was disagreeable to Fuentes.[6] He never described it, but when he wanted to add additional information about the street performance, he quoted large paragraphs of the aforementioned article in *Mercurio Peruano* (1791). Fuentes' perception of this and other late colonial cultural practices was a reflection of the Bourbon cultural agenda of the Eighteenth Century, which tried to erase similar festive, plebeian manifestations from Catholic religious performances.[7] In the case of Fuentes, this erasure was part of the agenda that from the 1850's to the 1920's called for the modernization of Latin American cities to supposedly put them on the road to progress.

Similar opinions about *El Son de los Diablos* can be found during the twentieth century. They are now referred to as a street crew parading during the carnival. The young José Gálvez described *El Son de los Diablos* in 1913 as a carnival street crew, saying that it was a "stupid and monotone dance." He also said (as some elder Limeños still remembered in the late twentieth century) that when the crew finished performing the dance, their members asked for money.[8] Replicating colonial notions about the

[6] Fuentes, Manuel, *Estadística de Lima* (Lima: Tipografía Nacional de M. N. Corpancho, 1858), 595.

[7] See Estenssoro, Juan Carlos, "Modernismo, estética, música y fiesta: élites y cambio de actitud a la cultura popular. Perú, 1750-1850," in *Tradición y Modernidad en los Andes*, ed. Henrrique Urbano (Cuzco: CERA "Las Casas", 1992), 181-195. About Fuentes, see Poole *Vision, Race and Modernity*, chapter 6.

[8] See Gálvez, José, "El Carnaval en Lima," *La Crónica* (February 2, 1913), 5; "El Carnaval en Lima y balnearios," *El Comercio* – morning edition (February 13, 1918), 2.

African descendants, Ismael Portal said in 1919 that *El Son de los Diablos* (a "depraved" performance) belonged to the "negro caste." He also said this performance could still be observed in the Quasimodo (Corpus Christi) procession 40 years earlier.[9] Certainly, photos testify that the devils paraded in the Limeño carnival. In one such photo dated 1913, their leader, called the *Gran Diablo* and nicknamed in the press *Churrasco*, is pictured.[10] The *Gran Diablo* was also depicted by Francisco Fierro in his nineteenth-century watercolors. Additional sources suggest that other crews or individuals paraded dressed like devils during the carnival but played different melodies.[11]

Finally, the Limeño journalist Eudocio Carrera voiced similar views in 1940. He expressed that the crew, composed of descendants of African slaves, was dressed in horrible costumes, and danced and played a melody (he never described it) of bad taste.[12] However, as a well-known journalist who usually glorified Limeño customs, Carrera described the performance not only as being part of the carnival but also as part of the Limeño, i.e. *criollo*, cultural tradition. In the end, Carrera and the rest of the above-mentioned authors were only expressing historical prejudices about the supposed sensuality and transgressions that descendants of African slaves exhibited in both private

[9] Portal, Ismael, "Pancho Fierro," in *Cosas limeñas* (Lima: Empresa Tip. "Unión", 1919), 184.

[10] See *La Crónica* (February 5, 1913), p. 1; 6.

[11] Cf. Feldman, Heidi, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 39-42; cf. the testimony of José Durand Flores about the *El Son…* melody that he learned from his relatives in *El Señor de la Jarana. Homenaje a: Augusto Ascuez Villanueva*, produced by Telecentro. 1 hr., DVD 1979.

[12] See Carrera, Eudocio *La Lima criolla del 900* (Lima: Imprenta A. J. Berrios, 1940), 198-199. In the second edition of his book (1954) Carrera repeated the same argument. Cf. *La Lima criolla del 900*. 2nd edition (Lima: 1954), 263. About this performance in the beginning of 20th century, see Muñoz, *Diversiones Públicas en Lima*, 190-191.

and public performances. In any case, *El Son de los Diablos* was depicted in 1940 as a street performance that any Limeño could observe during the carnival.

In fact, *El Son de los Diablos* was also part of the reinvented twentieth-century Limeño carnival. Thus, in 1950, it was mentioned in the official carnival program as being part of a public parade in Barrios Altos. It was also mentioned as part of the main parade or *corso* in the 1956 Limeño carnival.[13] A similar crew was included as part of the inaugural carnival parade in 1957.[14] Despite the complaints about the supposed obscenity of *El Son de los Diablos* registered by Limeño writers, the performance was included in some official programs of the modernized Limeño carnival parades that lasted from 1922 to 1959. Arturo Jiménez Borja, a Limeño scholar, had already confirmed the existence of *El Son de los Diablos* in 1939. He said that during carnival times, it was common to observe the "colored dancers" performing it at Cocharcas (Barrios Altos).[15] It seems that the devils only disappeared from the Limeño streets when the official Limeño carnival was banned in 1959.[16]

This carnival crew did not completely disappear from the Limeño cultural field after 1959. On June 7, 1956, the street dance was recast artistically during a performance at the Municipal Theater. As a theater performance led by a Limeño professor, José

[13] See "Programa oficial del Carnaval de 1950," *El Comercio* – morning edition (February 15, 1950), 5. See other mention in "Hubo alegría y entusiasmo en los festejos del carnaval desarrollados ayer," *El Comercio* (February 20, 1950), 3. See also "Carnaval de 1956," *Boletín Municipal de Lima* LXXVI / 1659 (1956).

[14] See also "Carnaval de 1957," *Boletín Municipal de Lima* LXXVII / 1632 (1957).

[15] Jiménez Borja, Arturo, "Danzas de Lima," *Turismo*. XIV/135 (1939).

[16] See "Se suprime el juego de Carnaval en todo el país," *Boletín Municipal de Lima* LXXVIII / 1643-44 (1958).

Durand Flores, the press called it *Pancho Fierro*.[17] It was the professional beginning for several singers and dancers that would become well-known as performers of *música negra*. During the next years, they would replicate this theatrical performance and create their own dances and tunes. For example, they recorded recast melodies that had accompanied the *El Son de los Diablos* crew during the carnival.

However, some of these younger performers probably did not know that 1956 was not the first time that it was possible to observe *El Son de los Diablos* in the Limeño theatrical scene. In fact, artistic performances similar to *Pancho Fierro*, that is, performances either partially or totally based on the watercolors made by Francisco Fierro, were seen in the past but categorized as *criollas.* Alejandro Ayarza (Rosa Mercedes Ayarza's brother) wrote a *sainete* called *Pilsen Lima* (1913) which debuted at the Mazzi Theater. In that piece set during carnival time, the devil is clearly mentioned dancing "the devil dance" and playing music.[18] As we now know, Edgardo Rebagliati created a musical revue called *Lima de mis Amores* in which *El Son de los Diablos* was performed by "authentic black malambinos." Peruvian playwrights Eduardo Eckhardt Pastor and Juan Colich also produced a comedy called *Sucedió en 1895* (It Happened in 1895) which was first presented in 1939. The newspaper announced that it would be possible to observe *El Son de los Diablos* in this comedic work.[19] One of its scenes was

[17] A version of *El Son*….played by the 1956 Pancho Fierro's theater crew can be found either in 33 rpm records or compact disc sang as a *festejo* by the Limeño singer and box performer (*cajonero*) Arturo Cavero and the guitarist Oscar Aviles. Cf. Durand, *El Señor de la Jarana.*

[18] Ayarza, Alejandro, *Pilsen Lima* (Lima: Empresa Tip. "Union", 1913), 13; 23-24.

[19] See the references to that in "Teatro Segura (…) Sucedió en 1895," *El Comercio* (September 5, 1939), 12.

called *carnaval de antaño*, or old carnival. One can strongly suppose that *El Son de los Diablos* was performed in this scene. Unfortunately, one does not know how the melodies in *El Son de los Diablos* sounded in all these theatrical pieces. Nonetheless, it is clear that *El Son de los Diablos* was not only part of the carnival parade but also a part of stylized theatrical pieces between 1913 and 1956.

The newspapers, commercial advertisements, and reports about *El Son de los Diablos* described this and other dances such as the *Agua de nieve* as exclusively practiced by the descendants of African slaves in Lima. In the case of the *marinera*, for example, a reporter had already stated in 1921 that it was rarely danced or sung at elite parties. The same reporter also claimed that when someone referred to the *marinera* in Lima, it referred to the "dark neighborhoods."[20] However, one knows now that the *marinera* was not only practiced by African descendants. In reality, this is a complicated topic that cannot be simply analyzed by saying the practices of some specific rhythms are part of the cultural experiences of a racialized population.

Unfortunately, the history of cultural practices of the African descendants in twentieth-century Lima, a population who supposedly only lived in "dark neighborhoods" or ghettos, has not received careful attention yet.[21] Thus, there are few studies that can help us to accurately contextualize the musical practices of a population generally categorized as *afroperuana* by late twentieth-century scholars.[22] For example,

[20] Barrantes Castro, Pedro, "La Marinera," *Mundial* (October 14, 1921), 23.

[21] Valuables studies exist but focus on the musicological aspects. See Tompkins, William, "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru;" Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*. For late twentieth century, see León, Javier, "The Aestheticization of Tradition: Professional Afroperuvian Musicians, Cultural Reclamation, and Artistic Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003).

[22] Some very general works exist for this topic. See Cuche, Denys, *Poder blanco y resistencia negra en el Perú: un estudio de la condición del negro en el Perú después de la abolición de la esclavitud* (Lima: INC,

what was the daily life of "black families" like in this time and place? A paradigmatic study was made of black families in the U.S. by Herbert Gutman, but there has been nothing comparable about African descendant families in twentieth-century Lima.[23] How did these African descendants collaborate in the building of social networks to form labor, artisan, or religious associations?[24] No scholars have followed Edward Thompson's analytical framework to analyze, in the case of Peru, the self-action of the African descendants in twentieth-century Lima as a historical process. In this way, we should not reproduce the prejudices of the aforementioned Peruvian writers and think about *negros* in Lima as a mere census category, caste, or "thing."[25] In this way, the available sources permit us to develop additional ideas about this topic.

1975); Sanchez, Robert: "Black Mosaic: The Assimilation and Marginalization of Afro –Peruvians in Post – Abolition Peru, 1854-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana – Champaign, 2008); scholar Rosa Vásquez has written a book called *La práctica musical de la población negra en Perú* (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1982) but it is referred for the southern coastal area called Chincha. See a bibliography (more often referred to during the slavery period) in Ragas, José, "Afroperuanos: un acercamiento bibliográfico," in *Etnicidad y discriminación racial en la historia del Perú*, Mónica Ferradas et at (Lima: PUC – Instituto Riva-Agüero / Banco Mundial, 1998), t. II, 191- 226.

[23] Cf. his *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976). This book received a lot of critics but stimulated scholars to research much more about this topic. See an example in Inscoe, John, "Generation and Gender as Reflected in Carolina Slave Naming Practices: A Challenge to the Gutman Thesis," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 94/4 (1993), 252-263.

[24] The most prominent of these Catholic *cofradías* or *hermandades* during the Twentieth Century is *El Señor de los Milagros* brotherhood. Although the cult belongs to colonial Lima, the brotherhood was officially founded in the late Nineteenth Century and its members were not only African descendants. There are studies about the cult and the history of brotherhood but there are no studies about the social networks that have been formed around this cult. Cf. Vargas Ugarte, Rubén, *Historia del Santo Cristo de los Milagros* (Lima: Editorial Lumen, 1949); Banchero, Raúl, *Lima y el mural de Pachacamilla* (Lima: Jurídica, 1972); Rostworowski, María, *Pachacamac y el Señor de los Milagros* (Lima: IEP, 1992).

[25] Thompson, Edward, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 9-11.

African Descendants and Their Music: an Intellectual Dilemma

African slaves were already part of the old Limeño artisan sector before the abolition of slavery was decreed in Peru (1854). They also performed other job activities such as nannies or street vendors. Some slaves even obtained their freedom before the 1854 decree. They have also become, since the 1900's, part of the new industrial workers.[26] These African descendants were informally categorized by nineteenth-century *costumbristas* and foreign travelers as *negros*, *zambos* and *chinos* (remember that the term *chino* is not referring here to an Asian descendant). In using these terms, nineteenth-century writers reproduced the old colonial notions favoring caste systems – *castas* or *estamentos* - an idea that continued to influence some late twentieth-century scholars.[27]

From 1850 to 1950, the Limeño censuses show that a social group categorized as "black" had become a small portion of the total population of the city. The African slave trade had ended before the decree of its abolition (1854) and stopped the supply of this workforce to the coastal estates and cities such as Lima. Some slaves still arrived in Peru from Colombia in the early Republican Era.[28] Perhaps some slaves from Lima were not counted in these censuses because they fled from Lima during the independence wars. The 1876 general census described 19.5% of the Limeño population as descended from African slaves. The 1940 census claims that they constituted only 0.47% of the Limeño

[26] See Stokes, Susan, "Etnicidad y clase social. Los afro-peruanos de Lima, 1900-1930," *Lima obrera, 1900-1930*, ed. Steve Stein (Lima: El Virrey, 1986), t. I, 173-252.

[27] Scholar Mauricio Tenorio has pointed out this intellectual practice. Cf. his "Essaying the History of National Images," in *After Spanish Rule. Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*, Mark Thurner and Andres Guerrero, eds. (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003), 68-69.

[28] Kitchens, John, "The New Granadan – Peruvian Slave Trade," *The Journal of Negro History* 64/3 (1979), 205-214.

population.[29] Considering this data, it is difficult to know the precise number of the Limeño population that was categorized officially as "white" in these censuses; they would most likely have been informally categorized by Limeños as *mestizos*, *chinos* or *zambos*.

The descendants of African slaves could be found in the early twentieth century along the Peruvian coastal areas. There is no evidence, however, that proves that this entire population, which late twentieth-century scholars generically called *afroperuanos*, self-identified with this term. At least, this term cannot be found in republican censuses and other documents. This and other similar terms (used positively by some Limeño performers such as the former artisan Nicomedes Santa Cruz after the 1950's) were sometimes replicating a nineteenth-century racist agenda. Thus, the term *negro*, for example, not only permitted the categorization of some Peruvians based on their dark skin – using an imprecise chromatic scale – but also ascribed artistic (or criminal) practices to them.[30] Limeño writers such as Ismael Portal supposed that the cultural practices of the "negro caste" were part of their "natural" (*costeño*) and supposedly ethnic background. This concept is similar to the binary notion that González-Prada used to divide Peruvian populations. After the 1970's, the late Nicomedes Santa Cruz recognized

[29] See table 52 in *Censo nacional de población y ocupación* 1940 (Lima: Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, 1944), vol. I.

[30] The Santa Cruz brothers (Victoria and Nicomedes) who created and led some of the most important and valuable "black" ensembles in the 1960's and 70's, several times used terms such as "negro," "African," and "afroperuano" with that above-mentioned essentialist accent. See Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, chapter 2 and 3. About criminality and race during the republican period, see Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and their Worlds.*

the polysemous and, at times, racist use of those categories and preferred not to use them at all.[31]

The articles of Nicomedes Santa Cruz (a Limeño who identified himself as a black in the 1970's) have been used extensively to refer to the existence of an *afroperuana* community. As a performer of *música criolla* since the end of the 1950's, he also became a journalist strongly influenced by the U.S. Civil Rights Movement, the 1959 Cuban Revolution, and the anti-colonial struggles in modern Africa. His articles were influenced by an academic approach that viewed the cultural practices of the African descendants in the Americas as a replication of the cultural practices of their African ancestors. As a classic topic in African studies, one must remember the studies Melville Herskovits produced and the objections made to his essentialist ideas by Sidney Mintz, and Richard and Sally Price.[32] This controversial academic topic has, to some extent, been recast by Paul Gilroy in *The Black Atlantic.*[33] As a former Peruvian student of Herskovits, historian Fernando Romero carried out similar historical studies in the twentieth century.[34]

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[31] See Elmore, Peter and Federico de Cárdenas, "Nicomedes Santa Cruz: "yo nací en olor de décimas [interview, 1983]," *Nicomedes Santa Cruz. Poeta, periodista y folklorista peruano. Hemeroteca. 1983* <http://www.nicomedessantacruz.com/prensa/prensa/79a.jpg> <http://www.nicomedessantacruz.com/prensa/prensa/79b.jpg> <http://www.nicomedessantacruz.com/prensa/prensa/79c.jpg> (1 Nov. 2010).

[32] A good summary and a theoretical proposal against this essentialist notion can be found in Mintz, Sidney, and Richard Price, *The Birth of African American Culture* (Boston: Beacon, 1992).

[33] Gilroy, Paul, *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[34] Cf. his books that summarize his long academic life, *El negro en el Perú y su transculturación lingüística* (Lima: Carlos Milla Batres, 1987); *Quimba, Fa, Malambo, Ñeque. Afronegrismos en el Perú*; and his *Safari Africano y compraventa de esclavos en el Perú, 1492- 1818* (Lima: IE-UNSCH, 1994).

It is important to point out that early practitioners of *música criolla* who descended from African slaves, such as the Ascuez brothers and Bartola Sancho Dávila, referred to themselves differently. In 1982, the elder Augusto Ascuez said that he was *moreno* (dark-skinned) and claimed musical genres such as *festejo* were *negroides*, but he immediately used the word *criollo* and *criollismo* to refer to his own artistic and festive expressions.[35] One must add that the Ascuez brothers and other African descendants such as Miguel Almenerio and Justo Arredondo recorded on Victor Talking Machine in the 1910's and 1920's. They never recorded 78 rpm discs that contained *festejos* or other *afroperuano* rhythms that were very popular after the 1960's. They only recorded Peruvian music.

Following W.E.B DuBois' ideas, Heidi Feldman suggests that this last phenomenon was really an expression of a "double consciousness." That is, music, food, and sports would be the only realms in which the accomplishments of many African descendants were publicly accepted and celebrated in Peru. Simultaneously, the "whites" denied them access to socially prestigious activities such as business and politics. This process would also suppose the partial alienation undergone by these African descendants from their "African diasporic" culture.[36] Lloréns and Chocano have made a similar proposal. That is, the non-existence of "neatly 'afproperuano' recordings" from the

[35] See Ascuez, "Esclavos de la alegría." It is clear that he was using the term *moreno* or *negro* in a very descriptive way – referred to a racialized, dark-skin population who performed specific music genres. However, when he referred to the musical genres he used the word *criollo* as Abelardo Gamarra would have used – as synonymous with artistic, national expressions (cf. chapter 1). He also stressed that he learn all these musical genres at Malambo – "the emporium of *criollismo*."

[36] Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, 9.

Peruvian central coastal areas in the list of songs recorded by the Montes y Manrique duo are proof that the *criollo mestiza* and the *afroperuano* musical repertories were relatively autonomous in early twentieth-century Lima.[37] However, the complex building of a musical tradition called *música criolla* was far more than a process of cultural appropriation or isolation.

Such cultural appropriation and segregationist attitudes surely existed, attitudes that have not received a detailed historical analysis in the case of twentieth-century Lima.[38] However, performers such as the Ascuez brothers were not passive actors in this process. In the case of Victor Talking Machine and other companies in the 1910's, there is no evidence of segregationist attitudes against foreign performers when they recorded their repertory. One also knows now that the Ascuez brothers and Bartola Sancho Davila performed diverse musical genres, including *marineras*, *huaynos*, *yaravíes*, and *tristes*. Williams Tompkins also said there are no clear testimonies of the practice of *festejo* during the colonial period and for most part of the nineteenth century.[39] The same situation happened with the *lando* in the 1960's.[40] Faced with this puzzle, one can suggest

[37] Lloréns and Chocano, *Celajes, florestas y secretos*, 78.

[38] Few studies exist about this topic. Some of them are focused in the analysis of racism as a discourse. Cf. Portocarrero, *Racismo y mestizaje y otros ensayos*; Manrique, Nelson, La *piel y la pluma. Estudios sobre literatura, etnicidad y racismo* (Lima: SUR-Casa de Estudios del Socialismo, 1999). There are other studies more focused in the sociological and psychoanalytical aspect of this phenomenon. Cf. Callirgos, Juan, El *racismo y la cuestión del otro (y de uno)* (Lima: DESCO, 1993); Bruce, Jorge, *Nos habíamos choleado tanto: psicoanálisis y racismo* (Lima: USMP, 2007).

[39] Cf. Tompkins, "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru," chapter 8.

[40] Faced with criticism about a completely new choreography of *landó* that did not correspond supposedly with the old dancing practice also called *landó*, Heidi Feldman says that she asked Victoria Santa Cruz about that issue. She said her answer was elusive (Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, 74).

that some of the musical forms categorized as *afroperuana* at the end of the twentieth century were unknown in Lima during the 1910's, or at least, most of them were not practiced extensively in Lima until the 1940's.[41] Durand has said that several lyrics of old *festejos* really belonged to old *resbalosas* and *mozamalas*. The modern commercial *festejo* of the 1940's was indeed designed using the rhythmic base of these and other musical genres (e.g., *resbalosa*, *El Son de los Diablos*). Even so, the *festejo* suffered other transformations later.[42]

For example, listening to the old version of a well-known *festejo* called *Don Antonio Mina* in the 1980's, one can easily notice that its tempo is slower than several *festejos* made in the 1970's.[43] As happened with other music around the world, the *festejo* became faster and was danced to with intense body movements in the 1970's. This well-known process of recasting and "darkening" old music was done for commercial reasons. The *festejo* thus became a fashionable dance for young consumers.[44] It could be compared with the commercial "rumba craze" mentioned by Robin Moore in the case of

[41] Tompkins found practitioners of a dance called *landó* in the 1970's living in the Guayabo rural community (Chincha). Tompkins asserted that this dance displayed during the carnival was used by the members of *Peru Negro* to make one of the commercial versions of *landó*. See "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru," 297-299; see also Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, 74.

[42] Cf. Durand, José, "Del fandango a la marinera," 14; Tompkins, "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru," chapter 8; Rohner, "Notas para la edición y estudio de la lírica popular limeña (siglos XIX-XX), 296-297.

[43] Cf. "Los Chalanes del Perú. Don Antonio Mina," *You Tube* <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZIUj0LfOIGY> (6 June 2010).

[44] The guitarist Felix Casaverde told Heidi Feldman that this faster movement was caused by the requirements made by the *peñas* (a ballroom when one could eat, listen to, and dance *criollo* music) that forced the performers to convert *festejo* into a fashionable dance for young consumers. See Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, 161-162. See also León, "Mass Culture, Commodification, and the Consolidation of Afro-Peruvian 'Festejo'," 232.

Cuba, which promoted the creation of a new dance for the Cuban middle class and foreign tourists.[45] It is a phenomenon also linked with Afrocentric notions espoused by the young Victoria Santa Cruz (Nicomedes Santa Cruz's sister). As a theater performer after the 1960's, she believed that an *élan vital* could and should be evoked during theater performances.[46]

This last notion was paradoxically reproducing the nineteenth-century views of Limeño writers, scriptwriters, and newspapers reporters about the existence of a "negro caste." Starting in the second half of the nineteenth century, they referred to African descendants in Lima as living in working neighborhoods such as Barrios Altos and El Rimac. It is, however, known that they could be found in other neighborhoods.[47] They usually referred to them as living in alleys, selling food and other goods in the streets, and practicing some specific Catholic rituals and dances.[48] The lyrics of some *festejos* after the 1950's, such as those written by the *cajonero* (wooden box music player) Carlos (*Caitro*) Soto, describe these populations. Even in this last case, they mainly referred to a rural African descendant population in a broad, light-hearted way. Soto depicts their everyday activities such as working in the rural fields, looking for food, or cooking.[49]

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[45] Moore, "The Commercial Rumba: Afrocuban Arts as International Popular Culture," 172.

[46] Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, 53; 73.

[47] Stokes, "Etnicidad y clase social," 194-195.

[48] A literary testimony for 1947 can be found in Baudouin, Julio, "Al son de la tambora. Perfil negrista peruano," in *Folklore de Lima* (Lima: Ediciones Biblioteca Peruanologia, 1947), 26-30. In that *costumbrista* article, there is a testimony about the existence of a festejo that would be successfully commercialized years later under the name *El Alcatraz.*

[49] Read the lyrics in *De Cajón. Caitro Soto. El duende en la música afroperuana* (Lima: Empresa Editora El Comercio, 1995).

In this way, insufficient information about similar songs or musical scores existed in the 1920's. One of these songs was mentioned as *afro-limeño* music by the press; unfortunately, the musical score that accompanied it is missing. This term *afro-limeño*, rarely used before 1960, was used by a newspaper reporter from *El Comercio* in 1928 similarly to the way that Limeño newspapers referred to *afrocubano* performances.[50] This reference was in a report that accompanied the publication of a *cumbia*, a scarcely analyzed musical genre. The reporter said it was another name for the *agua de nieve*. Whether or not this was true, this *cumbia* was created by Eladio León, a Limeño musician and Director of the Coast Artillery Band, for the Amancaes Music Contest of 1928 (**see appendix VI)**. This *cumbia* festively referred to a rural town and its residents, several of whom were African descendants. The title of this *cumbia* is *Aquí está Cañete* (Here is Cañete).

There is a question that must be posed here: are the terms *Afroperuano* or *Negro* referring to one or several human communities? The aforementioned proposal made by Lloréns and Chocano also supports the idea that those *criollo* and *afroperuana* musical communities were really expressions of relatively autonomous ethnic communities.[51] One must add that without a deeper historical and ethnomusicological analysis of the music of these communities, it is hard to make further claims about their autonomy. Also of importance are several *valses*, *décimas*, *polkas* and other coastal tunes that were never commercially recorded in the 1910's. Some recordings of old *festejos* are extremely rare

[50] The term was used referred to the Eliseo Grenet's *Compañía de Revistas Cubanacan*. See "De teatros. Cincuenta negros – hombres y mujeres – que hacen revistas vienen a Lima," *La Crónica* (December 7, 1929), 4.

[51] Lloréns and Chocano, *Celajes, florestas y secretos*, 78-82.

and difficult to find, such as the recordings made by the Ricardo Palma ensemble in Lima sometime after 1930.[52]

Moreover, this idea of the relative separation of two musical repertories is, again, reinforcing the colonial notion about the existence of a "negro caste" different from the "Spanish American" or *criollo* group. This is, in fact, a much more complex cultural phenomenon. Sources clearly show that some twentieth-century Limeños descended from urban African slaves while some other African descendants lived in twentieth-century Lima as a result of migration from rural coastal areas. As in the case of rural Andean immigrants, they had migrated to Lima in search of employment. The above-mentioned *cumbia* indeed refers to such a southern coastal town called San Luis de Cañete. The *festejos* of Carlos Soto referred to his daily life there as a youth.

Cañetanos (such as the *cajonero* Carlos Soto mentioned earlier), *Chinchanos* (inhabitants from another southern coastal area called Chincha), and other people from rural coastal areas have lived in Lima since the 1920's.[53] This is an important phenomenon to consider in understanding Limeño cultural practices in the twentieth century. As several testimonies have already shown, some of the music and dances commercially labeled as *negroides* in the 1950's were created from old music and dance

[52] Cf. the testimony of one of his members, Francisco Ballesteros – a former shoemaker - in "Yo soy Pancho Ballesteros," *VSD* (May 14, 1982), 10-11. Ballesteros asseverated in his remembrances that he knew and play with Juan Criado. He also claimed that *Ricardo Palma* played his "fashion" music in every place in Lima, and that he met José Gálvez in his own home.

[53] See the testimony of Augusto Ascuez about this population in "Cuando Cañete invadió Lima," *VSD* (October 29, 1982), 15. Cf. the testimony of Carlos Soto in "Caitro yo recuerdo…," in *De Cajón. Caitro Soto. El duende en la música afroperuana*, 41-58.

practices of this so-called *Afroperuana* population.[54] However, some of them seem to have originated from the daily festive life of these later migrants.[55] Thus, some twentieth-century music and dance styles were not really part of the old Limeño cultural field at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The poems, for example, called *décimas* (octosyllabic, ten-line stanzas of Spanish origin) published by Nicomedes Santa Cruz and Luis Rocca in the 1980's were not only part of the cultural practices of some African descendants in Lima but also were in the repertory of other *decimistas* from different rural coastal areas.[56] Moreover, African descendants were not the only people who declaimed *décimas*. Scholar José Durand asserted in a T.V. program in 1979 that he had observed differences between the *El Son de los Diablos* danced in the former colonial diocese of Trujillo and the *El Son de los Diablos* of Lima. Poetic forms such as *cumananas* and the same *décimas* were also sung in Lima using different melodies because they belonged to the private spheres of African descendant families who had migrated to Lima after the 1920's.[57]

[54] Cf Tompkins, "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru."

[55] This is also an important issue to take in account in future studies of the Spanish talked in Lima by African descendants. That is, some expressions used by some of them were only a regional way of speaking Spanish in some rural coastal areas. Cf. Romero, *Quimba, fa, malambo, ñeque. Afronegrismos en el Perú*; Lipski, John, *A History of Afro-Hispanique Language: Five centuries, Five Continents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[56] Santa Cruz, Nicomedes, *La décima en el Perú* (Lima: IEP, 1982); Roca, Luis, *La Otra historia. Memoria colectiva y canto en el pueblo de Zaña* (Lima: IAA, 1985).

[57] Cf. Durand Flores, *El Señor de la Jarana*. Manuel Acosta Ojeda testified that when he was child he visited Ilo (a southern coastal harbor) and listened décimas completely different to the ones made by Nicomedes Santa Cruz later. Cf. Martínez, *Manuel Acosta Ojeda, arte y sabiduría del criollismo*, 79-80.

Thus, several composers and singers of commercial *festejos* during the 1930's and 1940's were not part of these populations of African descent; they included Filomeno Ormeño, Jorge Huirse, Amparo Baluarte, Eduardo Márquez Talledo, and Jesús Vásquez.[58] They were not considered "black" by their artistic promoters. The lyrics of their *festejos* (usually referred to in the press as part of *música criolla*) were published in *El Cancionero de Lima*.[59] As a cheap magazine, it published lyrics that were heard in radio station programs, movies, theaters, and 78 rpm discs in the 1930's and 1940's. Consequently, these *festejos* and *agua de nieves* such as *Don Antonio Mina* during the 1940's were not only practiced by African descendants in Lima.

Jesús Vásquez, commercially labeled in 1939 as *La Reina de la Canción Criolla* (The Queen of the *Criolla* Song), also liked to sing the lyrics of a well-known Caribbean musical genre called *bolero*. In the same way, many of the young Limeño performers of *música criolla* or *negroide* in the 1950's were the first performers or followers of tropical music. They enjoyed *guarachas*, *boleros*, *canciónes rancheras* and, in the 1950's, several

[58] Filomeno Ormeño wrote several *festejos*. One of them is called "Negrita Caracundé," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1497 [1944], 3. Several times *El Cancionero de Lima* also added information corcening specific radio stations or theaters where these and other songs were performed. Thus, one knows that Jesús Vasquez sang *festejos* such as an old one called *Don Antonio Mina*. See "Don Antonio Mina," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1471 [1943], 8. Delia Vallejos also performed *festejos*. See Morocho, "La morochita de los ojos dormidos. Es cantante y deportista," *Radiocine* 37 (May 1940), 17.

[59] The next *festejos* were referred to as *criollos*. See Segovia, Arístides, "Tierra limeña," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1483 [1943], 8; "Congorito," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1495 [1943], 5; Márquez Talledo, Eduardo, "Va a llover," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1508 [1944], 6; Ormeño, Filomeno, "Mi suegra," *El Cancionero de Lima*, [no. 1527, 1944], 5; Baluarte, Amparo, "Azucarillos," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. [1539, 1944], 4; Soria, Fernando, "El Banquete del negro," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. [1539, 1944], 6.; Soria, Fernando, "Yo te enseñare a Sumar," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1543, 1944, 2; Soria, Fernando, "La mulata," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1548, 1944, 3; Soria, Fernando, "Los ojos de mi morena," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. 1548, 1944, 3. See the *Agua de Nieve* of Jara, Juan. "Manonga la tamalera," *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. [1539, 1944], 8. This is a list that could be much larger if one adds all the *marineras* mentioned in this magazine.

of them were also admirers of a new musical fashion called *manbo*.[60] During the 1950's, the success of a Cuban music ensemble known as *La Sonora Mantancera* was enormous, and other *Sonoras* emerged in Lima.[61] Later, instruments used in this Cuban music were incorporated into the new *negra* musical performances in Lima during the 1960's. In an era when many Limeño performers of *valses*, *marineras*, and *festejos* were former performers of Caribbean music, the practitioners of the recast *festejo* introduced *bongos, tumbadoras* and *cencerros* (cow bells) into their performances.[62] That is, as happened with the case of Felipe Pinglo in the 1920's, African descendants (like other people in Lima during the 1950's) were clearly being influenced by these musical trends.

As workers, drivers, artisans, nannies, and bodyguards, the racialized but diverse African descendants were not socially and culturally isolated in twentieth-century Lima from other workers and artisans, or from foreign cultural influences. Their cultural practices were influenced largely by radio station programs and theater performances. Historians also know that the only Limeño neighborhoods that could be considered

[60] The composer Mario Cavagnaro liked *boleros*. Cf. "Cavagnaro. La historia de mi vida," *VSD* (April 10, 1982), 11. Abelardo Vásquez (who also worked with Victoria Santa Cruz) said that he played with his own father and brothers *música criolla.* But in their beginnings, Vásquez worked in tropical music ensembles. See his "Abelardo. Préndeme la vela [interview]," *VSD* (December 3, 1982), 7. Carlos Soto knew how to play the music box - *cajón* – when he was a teenager. Later, as a bricklayer, he also played in tropical ensemble in private parties. See Soto, "Caitro yo recuerdo…," in *De Cajón. Caitro Soto. El duende en la música afroperuana*, 52. About *manbo* see "El 'Mambo': la novedad del día," *El Comercio* – morning edition (March 1, 1951), 1; 7; "Está bien mambo pero no tanto," *El Comercio* – morning edition (March 12, 1951), 5.

[61] See Cavagnaro, Mario, *La Historia de mi vida* (Lima, FIMART SAC, 2001), 130-134. It was enormous the success of this Cuban music ensemble that Sono-Radio (a Limeño music record company) created his own *Sonora.* There is a photo in the mentioned Cavagnaro's book about this *Sonora* in which one can clearly observe the future *criollo* musician Carlos Hayre playing the bass.

[62] Tompkins, "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru," 110; León, Javier, "Mass Culture, Commodification, and the Consolidation of Afro-Peruvian 'Festejo'," *Black Music Research* 26/2 (2006), 230-232.

ghettos during its long history were the colonial *Indio* town called *El Cercado* (in the northern part of Lima, modern Barrios Altos) and the republican Limeño Chinatown, generally known as *Capón*.[63] In any case, if those "unique," African-descent forms of dance and music were practiced in Lima, one must say that, in some cases, they were part of the cultural traditions of migrants from coastal rural areas. In other cases, they were part of the private artistic traditions of some Limeño families who surely suffered discrimination. They may have also been practiced by some African descendants as belonging to a common plebeian cultural experience, e.g. the case of *El Son de los Diablos* and the *marinera*. They may also have been enjoyed as part of the Limeño entertainment arena that reinforced a stereotyped image of the "negro caste."[64] The same evidence suggests that some of these young African descendants in the 1950's did not practice the rhythms that would be referred to as *música negra* in the 1960's.

In fact, the most important performers of *música negra* in the 1960's did not begin their career as performers of *festejos* and *agua de nieves*. For instance, Nicomedes Santa Cruz began his artistic life reciting *décimas*. The newspapers usually categorized Santa Cruz in the 1950's as a *decimista criollo*.[65] His sister, Victoria, would be completely

[63] Cf. Cardenas Ayaipoma, Mario, *La población aborigen del valle de Lima en el siglo XVI* (Lima: UNMSM - CONCYTEC, 1989); Rodríguez Pastor, Humberto, "La calle del capón, el callejón Otaiza, y el barrio chino,"in Panfichi, Aldo, and Felipe Portocarrero, *Mundos interiores*, 397-430.

[64] Eduardo Eckhardt Pastor showed a revue at Segura Theater in 1941 that, according to a report, it was only a replication of his radio theater pieces. He depicted the history of *El Señor de los Milagros*' Catholic procession. The author depicted its origins that would be in the Catholic practices of Africans in seventeenth century Lima. In one of the scenes, "the blacks in the small estate" or *huerta* sang *festejos criollos*, *saña* and *agua de nieves*. See Miró, Cesar, "Teatro-Cine-Radio," *Cultura Peruana* I/3 (1941).

[65] Cf. "Lima a Medianoche," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (June 2, 1958), 4; "Brillante resultó el Festival de la Belleza en el teatro "El Porvenir'," *La Crónica* (July 2, 1958), 16; "El Día de la Canción Criolla. Opinan 4 voceros autorizados de nuestra música," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (October 30, 1958), 4. Nicomedes Santa Cruz testified that he grew up listening *décimas*, *festejos*, *panalivios* and *habaneras* but when he was young, he strongly liked the boogie-woogie and other fashions rhythms. See

involved in the creation of a "black theater" in the 1960's, but she also composed *valses* in her beginnings. A recognized performer of *negroide* music in the 1950's, Juan Criado, was a former goalkeeper on a Limeño soccer team. In the 1940's, he was categorized by the press as a performer of *música criolla* who liked the *negroide* rhythms.[66] In actuality, Juan Criado not only performed *aguas de nieves* on the radio[67] but also composed *valses, polkas and boleros*.[68] Certainly, *festejos* and other similar musical genres were already part of the Limeño entertainment market, dominated by *valses* and *internacional* music since the 1940's.[69]

Elmore, Peter and Federico de Cárdenas, "Nicomedes Santa Cruz: "yo nací en olor de décimas [interview]."

[66]See "Dos paginas del repertorio criollo," *Alta Voz* [ca 1944]; "Juan Criado, un maestro de nuestros ritmos negroides," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (October 19, 1959), [p. 8]. About *Alta Voz*, see the next footnote.

[67] The songs were performed by Criado in some radio stations. They were published in a song magazine called *Alta Voz* in the end of the decade of 1930 and the decade of 1940. I thank Fred Rohner for bring us a large photocopy that contained several issues of *Alta Voz*. It is a disorganized photocopy that, however, has sufficient commercial and political information that permit me to date the lyrics, in a very broad way, in the 1940s. The next *agua de nieve* written by Abelardo Carmona ("Maitin no ha mueito") was sang by Criado in a radio program in the 1940s. He also created an *agua de nieve* called "Lo negrito e' San Luis." According to *El Cancionero de Lima*, the agua de nieve "Manonga la tamalera" was also sang by Juan Criado in a radio program (cf. *El Cancionero de Lima*, no. [1539, 1944], 8). The *agua de nieve* of Márquez Talledo, Eduardo – "Que viva don Pascual" - was also sang by Criado in a radio program.

[68] See "Girando el dial," *Alta Voz* (May 17, 1944); Collantes, Aurelio and Juan Criado, "Ingratitud (vals)," *Alta Voz*; Criado, Juan, "Canto (Canción-Bolero)," *Alta Voz*; Criado, Juan, "Corazón, ¿por qué suspiras? (vals)," *Alta Voz*.

[69] As one knows now, this international music was usually composed by tropical music genres and tangos. About the *festejos*, cf. one advertisement sample, "Grabaciones de música nacional," *El Comercio* – morning edition (February 9, 1950), 1. One can read several *festejos* mentioned in this list of music records, but it is true that in other lists published later the *valses* predominate.

"Pancho Fierro" (1956) and the Criollo Music Tradition

In this cultural scenario, the *Pancho Fierro* theater company represented not only the continuation of a long cultural trend of *costumbrista* performances but also the beginning of a new one, described as *negroide* music by the Limeño press in the 1950's. *Pancho Fierro* was the name of a theater performance announced as a *criollo* performance[70] in some press reports. Several of their performers later became the cultural icons of a small black movement in Peru. The troupe debuted in the Municipal Theater on June 7, 1956. The show was also announced as an example of coastal musical folklore, as a Peruvian show that supposedly tried to reproduce dances and songs from the time of Francisco Fierro. For that reason, the costumes were based, according to the press report, on his watercolors.[71] The press also said that the advisors for the show were the composer and teacher of *marinera* and *resbalosa* Rosa Alarco,[72] the writer José María Arguedas, the scenery designer Alberto Terry, and the chorus teacher Manuel Cuadros. José Durand Flores, a scholar from San Marcos University and a specialist in colonial literature who also knew about theater and opera, led this performance. Several people engaged in the Peruvian artistic and literary arena were thus involved in this production.

The music of an old song called *Toro Mata*, the *Yerbatero* (a *pregón*) and *El Son de los Diablos* were part of the *Pancho Fierro* performance. The report said that the

[70] "Revivirán danzas y canciones de la Lima antigua. Habrá arte criollo en el Municipal," *La Prensa* (May 25, 1956), 6.

[71] "Revivirán danzas y canciones de la Lima Antigua."

[72] See a newspaper advertisement about her teacher activities in "Rosita Alarco," in *El Comercio* – morning edition (January 2, 1958), 7.

masks and clothes used in that spectacle would be reproduced from the Arturo Jiménez Borja collection;[73] these items were similar to the ones depicted by Francisco Fierro. Another press report said that the show was originally conceived as Peruvian in the broad sense of the term and not only as a coastal performance. That is, echoing the binary division observed in the Amancaes festival, the press report said that Jose Maria Arguedas and the painter José Sabogal were asked to organize a presentation of Andean songs and dances. They accepted the job but in the end, according to the report, the performance was limited to coastal folk music, "especially to the so-called *negroide* type," keeping two Andean scenes for another performance.[74]

These performances showcasing *criollo*, *costeño*, and *incaico* or *andino* scenes were not strange to Limeño followers of *costumbrista* theatrical pieces.[75] The Pancho Fierro show was described as being composed of 18 scenes, which was a way of organizing a theatrical performance similar to those made by the *Entre Nous* Library.[76] The differences, however, appear in the press's commercial labeling of this performance – sometimes the show was called coastal folklore, *criollo* art or *ballet negro* – and the performers, who were not from the operatic cultural arena as also happened with Ayarza's *Pregones Limeños*.

[73] "Revivirán danzas y canciones de la Lima Antigua."

[74] "Folklore. 'Pancho Fierro'," *La Prensa* (June 3, 1956), p. 10.

[75] Cf. chapters 2 and 3.

[76] "Mañana debuta el 'Ballet Negro'," *La Prensa* (June 6, 1956), 6.

The show began with an artistic recast of the street carnival crew of *El Son de los Diablos* that crossed the entire Municipal Theater from the entrance of the auditorium to proceed finally onto the stage. Later, Juan Criado with the *cuadrillla morena*[77] and Lito Gonzales performed a *pregón* and the dance called *Toro Mata*. It was even possible to listen to more *pregones* and see several dances such as the *marinera*. One of them was performed by the famous singer and composer Isabel *Chabuca* Granda and her partner Eduardo Freundt. Granda also sang her own *valses*. Another *marinera* was performed in a scene called *La Fiesta en el Solar* (The Party in the Alley) and began with a classic serenade. According to the report, the dancer Olga Vásquez was applauded several times for this performance, and she even gave an encore. The show ended with a scene called *El Cañaveral* (The Cane Field) in which it was possible to see not only all of the caste but also a counterpoint performance (*contrapunto*) and a tap performance labeled *zapateado criollo*. According to the press, *Pancho Fierro* was a "triumph of the *música criolla*."[78]

Using an ethnographic device that Rosa Mercedes Ayarza had incorporated to create her *pregones*, José Durand asked local informants for information about music and dances that would be shown in the scenes. He even added his own remembrances about *El Son de los Diablos* that he had learned from his relatives when he was younger.[79] One of these informants was Porfirio Vásquez, a former private guard and a dance teacher in

[77] "La Cuadrilla Morena," *Caretas* (April 30, 1956), 36.

[78] "Chabuca y los conjuntos brillaron," *Última Hora* (June 8, 1956), 17. See also "Mañana debuta el 'Ballet Negro';" "Dos veces más presentarán Pancho Fierro en el Municipal," *La Prensa* (June 13, 1956), 10; "Pancho Fierro abre cofre de melodías criollas hoy," *Última Hora* (June 1, 1956), 16."

[79] About this last point, listen to the testimony of Durand in *El Señor de la Jarana*.

the *Escuela de Danza y Música Folklóricas* founded by Rosa Elvira Figueroa in 1948.[80] His siblings became involved and were theatrically trained by Durand for this show.

Most of the performers (African descendants and relatives or friends of the informants), the Soto brothers, were unknown to many Limeños. According to one of them, Carlos Soto, he and his brothers (who were known within a certain social network due to their musical abilities) brought the aforementioned Nicomedes Santa Cruz to *Pancho Fierro* Company at a later time.[81] Durand also asked for information from some members of the *El Son de los Diablos* crew about how to best recast the street dance and melody. The previously mentioned Juan Criado, a well-known performer of *festejos* and *agua de nieves,* played an important role in the show as a singer of several numbers.[82] In the future, these performers would continue performing *música criolla* and *negra.*

Probably, Durand artistically trained them to claim that the spectacle was an "authentic" image of coastal cultural traditions, above all in the scenes such as *El Son de los Diablos*, the cane field, and the party in the *solar*.

This artistic show and its promoters have been described by Heidi Feldman as being part of nostalgic trend for the colonial era – a "criollo nostalgia." That is, it was a

[80] About the school, read the interview with Figueroa by a reporter of *El Comercio* in "Importante labor de estudio, fomento y divulgación del arte vernacular, realiza la Escuela… Entrevista con la señorita Rosa Elvira Figueroa, directora de la escuela." Figueroa never mentioned that the school teachers taught something such as *música negra*. Reinforcing the aforementioned binary perception about *criollo* and *andino* cultural experiences, Figueroa did mention that the school offered courses such as *criolla* guitar, *criollo* dances, *criollo* song repertory (*cancionero criollo*), and coastal folkloric music. One can easily imagine that Vasquez was one of the *criollo* teachers engaged in these kinds of courses.

[81] Soto, "Caitro yo recuerdo…," in *De Cajón. Caitro Soto. El duende en la música afroperuana,* 52.

[82] Tompkins, "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru," 106-107.

way of not only conecting with the past but also keeping the past alive.[83] Really, this is only one view of this cultural phenomenon. As one knows now, the nineteenth-century comedies of Segura did not have a nostalgic mood. Fuentes and Pardo y Aliaga even hated the late colonial period dances. The performances organized by the *Entre Nous* Library and other *costumbristas* scriptwriters such as Edgardo Rebagliati had a nostalgic mood. However, musical revues and other shows of *música criolla* did not, nor can Pinglo's musical repertory be considered as part of a colonialist nostalgic evocation. It was in reality some of his followers who engaged Pinglo in this nostalgic trend. The 1950's *valses jaraneros* of Mario Cavagnaro also cannot be exclusively attributed to this cultural trend.[84] *La música criolla* was part of a complex cultural Limeño experience rather than a nostalgic colonial evocation.

This nostalgia was really indicative of an early twentieth-century mindset expressed by a group of *costumbrista* intellectuals and individuals from or linked with the Limeño elite. This attitude was now exerting an influence on certain composers of *música criolla* and theatrical scriptwriters. As in the 1920's, it was a response to the urban transformations in Lima. Immigrant populations from the Andes were now arriving *en masse* in Lima looking for jobs. It was the period in which the old 1920's city of Lima was profoundly transformed into a twentieth-century megalopolis. Slums began to surround Lima and protesters emerged in the streets. Later, after the Cuban Revolution (1959), peasant protesters and guerrillas would appear in the rural areas, thereby

[83] León, Javier, "El que no tiene de inga tiene de Mandinga: Negotiationg Tradition and Ethnicity in Peruvian Criollo Popular Music" (MA diss. The University of Texas at Austin, 1997), 25-26; Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru,* 17 - 23.

[84]About his *jaranero* and *replanero criollo* songs recorded in early 1950s, see Cavagnaro, *La Historia de mi vida,* 98.

increasing the wave of rural migration into Lima. The elite increasingly fled from downtown Lima looking for a new hometown in the recently developed southeast suburban areas, where they could reinforce their negative notions about the *indígena* population. In this context, *música negroide* was promoted by the press and the music industry as a collateral product of *música criolla* in the late 1950's. It was the moment when, unlike in the 1920's, the word *vernacular* began to refer to the *indígena,* or Andean, cultural tradition.[85]

Due to the massive arrival of this Andean population in Lima, the timeless intellectual and elite complaints about the loss of Limeño cultural traditions became increasingly audible. César Miró-Quesada provides a good example of this attitude. As a radio speaker, former director of the National Radio, and composer of *valses* – he signed his articles as César Miró – he also celebrated the election of the Queen of Tradition in 1958 as a way of celebrating that an old cultural tradition existed in Lima.[86] In addition, he wrote *costumbrista* articles and expressed his support for the artistic work of Nicomedes Santa-Cruz. However, he also complained about how the Andean rural populations were transforming the city and changing its "traditional tone."[87] The loss of this supposed tone was actually the rise of new rituals and social actors in the city.

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[85] This phenomenon was also noted by Lloréns and Chocano (*Celajes, florestas, y secretos*, 172-174) and Feldman (*Black Rhythms of Peru*, 23).

[86] See his "Esencia y sombra de lo tradicional," *El Comercio* – morning edition (May 29, 1958), 2. See also Ego Aguirre, Ernesto, "Tradición y marinera," *El Comercio* – morning edition (May 30, 1958), 2.

[87] Miró, César, "Demos criollo," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 20, 1960), 2. Cf. "El Inca, San Juan, y los Amancaes," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 27, 1958), 2. See also the commentary about a photo of street vendors in Lima streets in "Costumbres indígenas imponen su barbarie en Lima," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (September 26, 1958), 1. See also Fuentes, Manuel, "Lima ciudad sitiada," *El Comercio* – morning edition (October 3, 1958), 2.

In 1958, the Rímac Borough Hall proposed reproducing during San Juan Day the recast twentieth-century Inti Raymi ritual that was also celebrated on the same day in the city of Cuzco. As a strategy to attract more tourists and (again!) to rejuvenate the Day of San Juan in Lima, someone even proposed sacrificing a llama during the celebration.[88] The Inti Raymi was finally performed and a parody of the sacrifice of the llama took place.[89] Miró-Quesada wrote an editorial complaining about how "unnatural" this Andean ritual was on San Juan Day.[90] Later, he also expressed his concerns and fears about the living conditions and social impact of a new slum called El Augustino populated by Andean migrants.[91]

Despite these problems, the decade of the 1950's was a period of economic growth fueled by the export of raw materials that lasted into the middle of the 1970's. It was the period that Mario Cavagnaro, the artistic director of an important Peruvian music record company called SONO RADIO, pointed out as the golden age of Peruvian music.[92] Clearly, his dancing *valses jaraneros* was really expressing his younger

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[88] "Gran ofensa a la cultura del país: victimarán en publicó una llama," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (June 23, 1958), 1.

[89] "Inti Raymi en Lima," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (May 17, 1958), 3; "Las provincias en Lima. Evocación del Inti Raymi en Lima," *El Comercio* – morning edition (May 30, 1958), 7; Miro, Cesar, "La Semana de la Tradición," *El Comercio* – morning edition (May 31, 1958), 2; "Por 1ª vez se representó ayer en Lima el Inti Raymi," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 25, 1958), 3.

[90] Miro, César, "Cada cosa en su lugar," *El Comercio* – morning edition (June 26, 1958), 2.

[91] Miro, César, "La tierra prohibida," *El Comercio* – morning edition (September 25, 1958), 2. Cf. "Invasores de una plaza pública. Formas indígenas de mercado en pleno Lima," *El Comercio* – afternoon edition (June 27, 1958), 1.

[92] Cavagnaro, Mario, *La Historia de mi vida*, p. 101. The other music record companies were Industrias Eléctricas y Musicales Peruanas (IEMPSA) and El Virrey. The only company from this era that exists in the twenty first century is IEMPSA. Unfortunately, I could not access the Board of Trustees' documents of these companies.

optimism in an era when Cuban music was very popular. The SONO RADIO agenda in those years was to build a catalog composed mainly of Peruvian music.[93] In fact, they created three main catalogs: one for *vernacular* – read *andina* – music, one for *música criolla* and the last for Peruvian singers and musicians who played international music.[94] Interestingly, Durand also knew Cavagnaro and would introduce Juan Criado and the ensemble called *Cuadrilla Morena* to SONO RADIO. They finally recorded their repertory later.[95]

There was money to buy music records and to pay for artistic shows as in the 1920's. The difference was that Peruvian record companies had finally emerged. It is in this historical context that one must relocate the *Pancho Fierro* performance. Durand and his colleagues were thus promoting a production in an affluent but changing era that was not so different from others created by playwrights such as Edgardo Rebagliati (*Lima de mis Amores*), and Eduardo Eckhardt Pastor (*Sucedió en el 95*). It was a theatrical tradition that included nostalgic elements in some of its pieces. It was also a theatrical environment that continued to be influenced by the U.S. theater experience. As in some musical revues in early twentieth-century Lima, Juan Criado also blacked his face for his performances in the *Pancho Fierro* show. In fact, checking the photos of the *Pancho Fierro* performance, one can see that Criado was not the only performer in blackface.[96]

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[93] Cavagnaro, *La Historia de mi vida,* 128-130. Cavagnaro said that Sono Radio adopted the principle that at least 60% or 70% of the production of the company should be of national music productions (p. 103).

[94] Cavagnaro, *La Historia de mi vida,* 102

[95] Cavagnaro, *La Historia de mi vida,* 105.

[96] See photo of *Pancho Fierro*'s performance face in Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, 30; see also "En el Municipal. Triunfó el callejón," *Caretas* (June 11-25, 1956), 21. Cf. chapter 2.

Certainly, *Pancho Fierro* can be relocated within the same cultural field as the Segura and Pardo y Aliaga theatrical pieces. Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz's father was indeed a theater scriptwriter within this tradition at the beginning of the twentieth century. In their work, the siblings Victoria and Nicomedes Santa Cruz would also reproduce a similar theatrical format and even some scenes of parties or fights in the *solar*. In this way, the *Pancho Fierro* performance would not be the last time that a party in an alley was artistically depicted in a Limeño theater.[97]

Surely the *Pancho Fierro* show was, as Nicomedes Santa Cruz would say years later, "a series of songs and dances that are, to most Peruvians of this generation, unknown."[98] One must, however, note that although some of these musical genres were almost gone or invisible to the majority of the Limeño population (e.g., *Toro Mata*), others could be still observed, such as the *marinera* and *El Son de los Diablos*.[99] Something similar was created by authors such as Rojas y Cañas and Segura, who recast in their articles and comedies their own experiences about cultural traditions and individual attitudes that any Limeño either could still observe or that had almost gone.

According to newspaper reports, the performance was a success and continued for several weeks.[100] They also toured later in Chile under the name *Ritmos Negros del Peru*

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[97] See "Serafina Quinteras estrena hoy en el Segura su pieza costumbrista "El callejón," *El Comercio* – morning edition (February 28, 1958), 11. It was a comedy. Juan Criado was announced as part of the troupe. Following M.A. Segura's model, Quinteras announced that satiric criticism of Peruvian politics and institutions could be found through all her comedy.

[98] Santa Cruz, Nicomedes, "Estampas de Pancho Fierro," *Estampa* (February 2, 1964), 7.

[99] One must insist that the information used by Durand to build the street crew was obtained from members of one of these carnival crews and his own remembrances. Cf. the DVD *El Señor de la Jarana*.

[100] "Renace lo costumbrista. Con las presentaciones de las Cías "Pancho Fierro" y "Estampas de mi tierra" vislúmbrase el triunfo del folklore," *La Crónica* – morning edition (June 8, 1956), 23.

– Black Rhythms of Peru – but it seems that it was a financial failure.[101] After that tour, the members of the company disbanded and formed their own groups. Clearly, some of them expressed years later that *Pancho Fierro* and other similar theatrical experiences gave them an opportunity to be culturally and economically successful as professional artists inside the well-established Limeño and foreign artistic market.[102] As happened with the ensembles that played in the Amancaes festivals, artistic ensembles composed of former *Pancho Fierro* members toured in Limeño theaters, elite clubs, hotels, restaurants, public festivals, and other Limeño venues, thereby also becoming part of the tourist business.[103] Testifying to this phenomenon, Teresa Mendoza, actress in the Santa Cruz's theater company called *Cumanana* (1959-1961), said years later that "our audience was all kinds of people. But they were mostly rich people. We had a great audience."[104] It is true that a small portion of the Limeño elite had liked *música criolla* since the early twentieth century, but it is also clear that these "black" performances became a fashion in the 1960's.

[101] Tompkins, "The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru," 107.

[102] Cf. the testimony of Teresa Mendoza – Carlos Soto's wife – who was part of the Santa Cruz brothers's ensemble - *Cumanana* - in Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, 58; 132.

[103] See, for example, the participation of the *Ricardo Palma* and *Cuadrilla Morena* ensembles during a series of public celebrations for the crowning of the Queen of Tradition. Cf. Revoredo, César, ed. *Homenaje a la tradición. Ciudad de los Reyes* (Lima, 1958); "En la Granja Azul. Pachamanca impresionista," *Caretas* (March 9-18, 1959), 28-29; 50; "Fiesta criolla en la residencia Mulanovich," *El Comercio* – morning edition (November 17, 1959), 7; "Fiesta grande a ritmo de cajón y ritmo de marinera," *Caretas* (August 25, 1962), 24-28. As Francisco Ballesteros expressed about Ricardo Palma's music ensemble, it is clear that this musical genre had become a music fashion in the late 1950's. See also Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, 132; 165, and chapter 5.

[104] Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*, 65.

Conclusion: the Criollo Cultural Tradition on the Eve of a New Era

Música criolla was composed of several musical forms belonging to the broad cultural experience of Peru's coastal population. During the 1950's, however, for commercial reasons, a new musical tradition emerged. At the same time that immigrants from the rural areas of the Andes were transforming Lima, the perception that there was a unique cultural coastal tradition was reinforced by the press. Within this coastal tradition, the commercial *negroide* music trend enabled performers to obtain cultural recognition and money after the 1950's. It was also a fashionable entertainment for many Limeños and tourists. The *Pancho Fierro* production was the continuation of a long tradition of *costumbrista* theater experience but also served as a professional school for future performers of *música negra.*

Nicomedes Santa Cruz would say years later that he became exhausted from performing in the elite entertainment arena. Faced with the Cuban Revolution (1959) that he so admired, he decided to change his artistic agenda. The turning point in this process is beyond the main scope of this thesis. A reformist army, led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975), took power on October 3, 1968. Later, they implemented social and political reforms which several artists such as the Santa Cruz Brothers and even Isabel *Chabuca* Granda supported. They firmly and sincerely believed that the Peruvian army was making the social and political reforms that had been requested for more or less 70 years. Some of them directly received the support of the regime; for example, Victoria Santa Cruz became the Director of the National Folklore Ensemble, which was replicating a similar artistic experiment made during the Cuba of Fidel Castro. *Música criolla* would take a new and stronger direction with the regime's nationalist regulations

protecting it and stimulating its commercial activities. The nationalization of the musical practices of Lima was thus accomplished by the 1970's.

CONCLUSION

My dissertation is a historical analysis of musical forms in twentieth-century Peru mainly practiced by industrial workers, artisans, and the lower-middle classes. These musical forms were generically called *música criolla* by the Peruvian press. I have analyzed the historical relocation of these musical forms as cultural symbols of Peruvianness in the first half of the twentieth century. I have argued in my dissertation that the idea of the existence of a national music called *música criolla* emerged in twentieth-century Lima in the context of an intense modernization process that transformed the urban landscape of the city, a process that began in the second half of the nineteenth century. Faced with this urban challenge, which transformed the late-colonial period way of life in Lima, intellectuals reacted by asserting that the people of Lima did and should display old cultural values and art forms in their daily lives. These intellectuals imagined these art forms and attitudes as being the authentic "soul" of the city. They used the term *criollismo* to refer to these cultural values and art forms such as *música criolla*. Thus, by the 1950's, it was fully accepted in Lima that *música criolla* was the typical musical practice of the city, that is, it was accepted as being part of the authentic "soul" of the city, different not only from foreign musical experiences (mainly from the U.S.) but also from the musical practices of the Andean immigrants who had been flooding Lima *en masse* since the 1940's.

This dissertation is a contribution to the analysis of a little-known case, not only in the general academic field of the construction of modern cultural traditions, but also within the historiography of twentieth-century urban Peru. In the Peruvian case, there are several scholarly works about old musical traditions. However, they have usually analyzed the ethnomusicological aspects of the so-called *música andina*, that is, the

musical practices of the people mainly living in the Peruvian highland. Indeed, there are few studies that have examined the musical practices of the twentieth-century coastal populations in Peru and, again, they have been carried out mainly by musicologists and anthropologists. This dissertation is therefore contributing to this broad topic with a lengthy historical analysis of the links between the practices of *música criolla* in twentieth-century Lima (a city located in the central coastal area of Peru) and certain nationalist agendas.

Within the academic field focused on the construction of modern cultural traditions, the ideas of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger about the construction (or invention) of cultural and political traditions have been especially pertinent to my analysis. Borrowing these ideas, I have analyzed the transformation of *música criolla* into a broad cultural symbol of Peruvianness. In this way, several Limeño writers made a nostalgic claim about *música criolla* as being part of an urban authenticity at the same time that many traditional cultural practices were disappearing in Lima due to the process of modernization. The result was the conception of the existence of a national culture. According to Limeño intellectuals, it would be comprised mainly of cultural forms from the Pacific coastal areas of Peru.

My dissertation also makes a contribution to the analysis of the everyday festive life of the urban working classes in twentieth-century Latin America. In recent years, musicologists, sociologists, and anthropologists have focused mainly on the relationships between racial perceptions, musical life, and the building of national identities in the Latin American area. In the cases of Colombia, the Dominican Republic, or Cuba, scholars have analyzed how musical practices that have been traditionally associated with

racialized, subordinated populations underwent an ambivalent process of nationalization. For example, musicologist Robin Moore has analyzed how, in the case of Cuba, African-influenced musical forms and mass-mediated images of Afrocubans first entered the national mainstream and shaped changing conceptions of *cubanidad*. I have made a similar effort to contextualize *música criolla* in Lima inside various cultural arenas, such as theater at a time period when these musical forms were also considered part of a commercial trend and were intensively referenced by newspaper and magazine reporters as cultural symbols of the Peruvian nation.

However, *música criolla* was a musical phenomenon that reached far beyond reinforcing racial notions in Lima. The majority of the performers of *música criolla* were not African descendants. In fact, the descendants of the colonial indigenous and Spanish populations as well as the descendants of nineteenth-century European immigrants were also practitioners of *música criolla*. Thus, my study is a historical analysis of a shared musical experience across the entire city of Lima.

My dissertation develops a broader historical framework which roots this musical experience within a deeper genealogy of the controversial term *criollo* and, then, traces how the changing uses of *criollo* eventually give rise to the notion of *música criolla* at the beginning of the twentieth century. Using newspapers, travel books, and literary sources, I analyze the circumstances within which Limeño writers recast the meaning of the word *criollo* after the 1850's. Faced with increasing British and French cultural influences in Lima, nationalist writers redefined the old term *criollo* (whose general meaning during the colonial period was "to have been born in the Americas") as one being synonymous with national cultural practices from Lima: that is, as representing practices that were

emphatically local and not French or British. After the defeat of the Peruvian army during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), an era of intense national discussions, this use became more intense. Thus, the term *criollo* was clearly used to refer to the existence of national artistic attitudes. In this way, Limeño writers began to assert that one of these attitudes required the playing of a group of old musical genres that they called *música criolla*. My dissertation demonstrates that *música criolla* was a cultural label already circulating in Lima by 1910 and used mainly to refer, not only to the Limeño *vals* and *polka*, the *tondero*, *marinera*, and *resbalosa*, but also to the coastal *triste* and the *yaraví*, the last a musical form also practiced in the Peruvian highlands. My study also shows that several Limeño writers considered the musical forms mainly practiced by African descendants in the coastal areas of Peru as part of *música criolla*.

This dissertation continues with an analytic description of the Limeño theatrical arena in the first decades of the twentieth century. In its varied facets, theater in Lima was one of the main artistic venues for spreading Peruvian music and national, *costumbrista* topics in Lima. These Peruvianistic performances also served as models to create radio-station theatrical performances and musical films in the 1930's. Using newspaper and magazine reports, photos, and commercial advertisements, I have examined how performers of *música criolla* arose as professional artists in that broad theatrical landscape consisting mainly of musical revues, comedies, and *zarzuelas*. I have also examined the rise of colonial nostalgic performances, which were mainly performed by members of the Limeño elite. In general, this broad theatrical musical experience in Lima clearly shows that *música criolla* was not a practice exclusively confined to the lower classes in the city.

Theater and Peruvian movies were not forms of entertainment linked with the modernization process in Lima. Following the ideas of Hobsbawm and Ranger (which complement Benedict Anderson's argument that the building of a national community is a cultural construction, similar to a brotherhood), my dissertation continues with an examination of a reinvented ritual which sought to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implied continuity with the past. This ritual was reinvented during the Augusto Leguía Administration (1919-1930), an era when the modernization process was particularly intense in Lima. Incorporated into the nationalist agenda of the Leguia Administration, *El Día de San Juan El Bautista* (the Day of Saint John the Baptist, on June 24) was a Catholic celebration converted into a national artistic festival. In 1927, it became a contest of national horses but, above all, an immense tournament of music and dances from different regions of Peru. Using photos, commercial advertisements, and newspaper and magazine reports, I have analyzed how the Peruvian state not only gave financial support to this artistic festival, but also used it to demonstrate the existence of a harmonious cultural diversity in Peru. San Juan Day became finally part of a nationalist, *indigenista* rhetoric, which in the long run, reinforced a current stereotype about the existence of an imagined coastal, *criollo* music world completely different from an imagined *andino* music world. The result was that in 1930, San Juan Day in Lima became integrated into a new national celebration called *El Día del Indio*, or the Day of the Indio.

These official artistic festivals and performances helped to circulate *música criolla* throughout the entire city, even before the emergence of the radio station system in Lima. Performers on San Juan Day, for example, performed in Limeño restaurants,

theaters, and combined theater-movie performances, which were announced as national *criollo* or *andino* artistic shows. Even so, some of these performers commercially recorded their musical repertory. This process was reinforced by Lima's emerging mass media network. Thus, I analyze the relationship between this modern mass media network and the creation of an "authentic" musical tradition in Lima. Using newspaper and magazine reports, commercial advertisements, photos, and musical recordings, I also show that due to commercial and cultural (that is, nationalist) goals, *música criolla* was also spread through this modern mass media network.

Finally, my dissertation ends by explaining the emergence of a new strain of commercial music called *música negra* in the 1970's that came out of *música criolla*. In the beginning of the 1950's, a new label emerged due to social and profit-seeking reasons. As part of a musical revival, *música negroide* in the 1950's was also part of the aforementioned old *costumbrista* theatrical trend. It was also a profitable business that arose within the established Peruvian music market. The same press that some years ago had talked about the existence of *música criolla* was helping now, in the 1950's, to create the underpinnings of a future musical trend that would be called *música negra* in the 1970's. Thus, at the end of the 1950's, the press began publicly to stress that there was a unique group of musical genres and performances practiced only by African descendants in the Peruvian coastal areas. The consolidation of the Peruvian music business (the first Peruvian record companies were founded in the late 1940's) in an era of renewed urban transformation (as well as the popularization of Cuban music) led the press to talk about the existence of a *música negroide* in the 1950's. In this way, I point out that the first commercial practitioners of this *negroide* music in the 1950's usually began their artistic

careers as performers of either *música criolla* or Caribbean music. In fact, during the second part of the twentieth century, neither these performers nor the press completely separated *música negra* from *música criolla*.

Thus, my dissertation has shown that the idea of the existence of *música criolla* was really a twentieth-century intellectual invention that came about in an era of modernization. During these years, older cultural practices were recast as theatrical musical performances and, later, as part of a national cinema. In this way, public festivals also were important cultural venues for the performance of Peruvian dance and music, and were used by the Peruvian state to create a sense of national belonging. The production and circulation of this music were enhanced by the modern mass media network of the 1930's and by the "officialization" of this musical trend in the 1940's. Thus, *música criolla* was not only fully converted into a profitable business, but would also remain a symbol of Peruvianness during the rest of the twentieth century in Lima.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

CLASS AND NUMBER OF SPECTACLES IN LIMA (1943 - 1960)

YEAR	THEATER	CINEMA VARIETE	HORSE RACING	BULLFIGHT	STADIUMS	BOX	COCK FIGHT	OTHERS	TOTAL
1942	360	16. 727	42	24	125	-	139	448	17.865
1943	337	17. 101	44	28	121	20	175	528	18.354
1944	436	17.023	42	11	85	26	195	633	18.541
1945	627	25.272	54	42	72	72	195	630	26.964
1946	1.056	47.974	52	34	66	92	203	362	49.839
1947	799	48.754	63	21	58	85	117	455	50.352
1948	504	48.981	65	18	63	12	122	279	50.044
1949	609	51.851	64	17	183	16	165	407	53.312
1950	557	44.637	65	20	123	-	181	243	45.826
1951	804	43.305	67	17	149	-	176	273	44.791
1952	506	39.950	64	21	-	-	137	314	40.992
1953	510	41.989	61	15	-	-	120	277	42.972
1954	287	43.010	89	23	31	-	118	216	43.774
1955	371	43.961	103	19	127	-	111	256	44.948
1956	524	46.067	103	25	125	-	137	324	47.305
1957	717	47.591	104	33	83	-	144	287	48.959
1958	308	46.246	103	26	97	-	185	300	47.265
1959	338	45.393	102	30	82	-	203	236	46.384
1960	300	47.319	102	30	75	-	235	212	48.273

Source:

- *Anuario Estadístico del Perú 1959; 1966; 1969*

APPENDIX II

PERUVIAN MUSIC CATALOGUE – 78 RPM DOUBLE DISCS COLUMBIA PHONOGRAPH COMPANY (1911)

CODE	NAME	MUSICAL GENRE	PERFORMERS
P1	himno nacional del Perú		banda del primer regimiento de artillería
P1	ataque de Uchumayo		banda del regimiento de gendarmes de infantería
P2	cachaspares		banda de la escuela militar de chorrillos
P2	mis recuerdos	yaraví	montes y manrique
P3	yaraví No. 3		banda de la escuela militar de chorrillos
P3	la verbena de un borracho	theatrical piece	montes y manrique
P4	asalto de arica - primera parte	theatrical piece	montes y manrique
P4	asalto de arica - segunda parte	theatrical piece	montes y manrique
P5	Abarca	vals	montes y manrique
P5	la esperanza	triste	montes y manrique
P6	el sonámbulo	vals	montes y manrique
P6	porque estás triste	triste	montes y manrique
P7	la verbenita	triste	montes y manrique
P7	carmen	vals	montes y manrique
P8	rosa elvira	vals	montes y manrique
P8	hijo del trueno	triste	montes y manrique
P9	crueldad	yaraví	montes y manrique
P9	el retrato	canción	montes y manrique
P10	separación	yaraví	montes y manrique
P10	islas Chinchas	canción	montes y manrique
P11	tirano dueño	yaraví	montes y manrique
P11	la codiciosa	canción	montes y manrique
P12	despedida	polka	montes y manrique
P12	dicen que las penas matan	marinera	montes y manrique
P13	saludemos esta casa	marinera	montes y manrique
P13	el trovador	polka	montes y manrique
P14	el lambayecano	tondero	montes y manrique
P14	el ratón	polka	montes y manrique
P15	arica	vals	montes y manrique
P15	huáscar	tondero	montes y manrique
P16	la palizada	vals	montes y manrique
P16	mañana me moriré	marinera	montes y manrique
P17	el payandé	canción	montes y manrique
P17	rieguen flores por el suelo	marinera	montes y manrique
P18	la palma	triste	montes y manrique
P18	rey de copas	marinera	montes y manrique
P19	marcha de banderas		banda de la escuela militar de chorrillos
P19	marcha fúnebre de moran		banda del regimiento de gendarmes de infantería

P20	Una jarana en cocharcas	theatrical piece	montes y manrique
P20	la fonda de la inquisición	theatrical piece	montes y manrique
P21	la venganza	yaraví	montes y manrique
P21	el bálsamo del perú	canción	montes y manrique
P22	no me olvides	yaraví	montes y manrique
P22	la vida ajena	canción	montes y manrique
P23	el bien que adoro	yaraví	montes y manrique
P23	sueños de amor	canción	montes y manrique
P24	Jorge Chávez	vals	montes y manrique
P24	el desgraciado	triste	montes y manrique
P25	amargura	yaraví	montes y manrique
P25	tus ojos	vals	montes y manrique
P26	biter batido	polka	montes y manrique
P26	la melancolía	marinera	montes y manrique
P27	los rigores	marinera	montes y manrique
P27	el mendigo	vals	montes y manrique
P28	tondero chiclayano	tondero	montes y manrique
P28	el jilguerillo	canción	montes y manrique
P29	el paiteño	tondero	montes y manrique
P29	cordobesa	polka	montes y manrique
P30	cuando la tórtola llora	marinera	montes y manrique
P30	noche de luna	vals	montes y manrique
P31	tú y yo	canción	montes y manrique
P31	déjate de ser variable	marinera	montes y manrique
P32	no quiero a misa vayas	marinera	montes y manrique
P32	la dadreselva	canción	montes y manrique
P33	al pie del misti	vals	montes y manrique
P33	el jilguero que bien canta	marinera	montes y manrique
P34	ingrata cual es la fe	marinera	montes y manrique
P34	el ángel del desierto	canción	montes y manrique
P35	de nuevo y acomodarse	marinera	montes y manrique
P35	la mariposa	vals	montes y manrique
P36	las Isabeles	tondero	montes y manrique
P36	suerte traidora	triste	montes y manrique
P37	las quejas	yaraví (de melgar)	montes y manrique
P37	pagar un bien con un mal	yaraví	montes y manrique
P38	tondero		banda del regimiento de gendarmes de infantería
P38	la japonesa	polka	montes y manrique
P39	el retrato	yaraví	montes y manrique
P39	dolora	canción	montes y manrique
P40	el guardián	yaraví	montes y manrique
P40	promesas de amor	vals	montes y manrique
P41	la cruz del valle	yaraví	montes y manrique
P41	la tórtola	canción	montes y manrique
P42	un carnaval	theatrical piece	montes y manrique
P42	anoche jugué y perdí	marinera	montes y manrique

P43	la Pasionaria	vals	montes y manrique
P43	por ser el día de tu santo	marinera	montes y manrique
P44	ojos negros	tondero	montes y manrique
P44	niña hechicera	mazurka	montes y manrique
P45	la flor de la manzanilla	marinera	montes y manrique
P45	el abecedario	vals	montes y manrique
P46	lámpara maravillosa	marinera	montes y manrique
P46	la revolución de los santos	canción	montes y manrique
P47	en el campo hay una yerba	marinera	montes y manrique
P47	el misti	triste	montes y manrique
P48	el guadalupano	tondero	montes y manrique
P48	la pastora	triste	montes y manrique
P49	en nombre de dios comienzo	marinera	montes y manrique
P49	la ausencia	triste	montes y manrique
P50	un alto pino	marinera	montes y manrique
P50	en el silencio	triste	montes y manrique
P51	en el cielo no hay jarana	marinera	montes y manrique
P51	primer amor	triste	montes y manrique
P52	el trujillano	tondero	montes y manrique
P52	José Vilches	yaraví	montes y manrique
P53	llanto del alma	canción	montes y manrique
P53	las aves	triste	montes y manrique
P54	marinera		banda del regimiento de gendarmes de infantería
P54	un paseo a amancaes	theatrical piece	montes y manrique
P55	El llanto	yaraví	montes y manrique
P55	aves marinas	canción	montes y manrique
P56	lucero	yaraví	montes y manrique
P56	el hortelano	canción	montes y manrique
P57	resignación	yaraví	montes y manrique
P57	fríos del alma	canción	montes y manrique
P58	el hechizo	yaraví	montes y manrique
P58	la palomita	triste	montes y manrique
P59	amor delirante	yaraví	montes y manrique
P59	La gacela	triste	montes y manrique
P60	el cielo de luto	yaraví	montes y manrique
P60	la Carmela	triste	montes y manrique
P61	el arequipeño	yaraví	montes y manrique
P61	ingratitud	triste	montes y manrique
P62	una china vale un peso	marinera	montes y manrique
P62	vivir Muriendo	vals	montes y manrique
P63	el piureño	marinera	montes y manrique
P63	el marino	triste	montes y manrique
P64	ya me voy a retirar	marinera	montes y manrique
P64	el centinela	polka	montes y manrique
P65	la reina del perú	marinera	montes y manrique
P65	mis deseos	vals	montes y manrique

P66	la maldición	triste	montes y manrique
P66	la limeña	marinera	montes y manrique
P67	a la mar fui por naranjas	marinera	montes y manrique
P67	el féretro	triste	montes y manrique
P68	suspirando te llamé	marinera	montes y manrique
P68	entre las flores	mazurka	montes y manrique
P69	la garza palomera	marinera	montes y manrique
P69	el sueño	triste	montes y manrique
P70	la searia	canción	montes y manrique
P70	la perla	canción	montes y manrique
P71	el veneno	yaraví	montes y manrique
P71	hacia ti va mi alma	vals	montes y manrique
P72	la Cascabamba	triste	montes y manrique
P72	el desconsuelo	yaraví	montes y manrique
P73	yaraví No. 1		banda del regimiento de gendarmes de infantería
P73	firmada en el viento	yaraví	montes y manrique
P74	yaraví No. 2		banda del regimiento de gendarmes de infantería
P74	el desengaño	yaraví	montes y manrique
P75	en piqueo en Cantagallo	theatrical piece	montes y manrique
P75	eonformidad	yaraví	montes y manrique
P76	la tarmeña	triste	montes y manrique
P76	el sudario	yaraví	montes y manrique
P77	el puneño	yaraví	montes y manrique
P77	el prisionero	triste	montes y manrique
P78	tu nombre - primera parte	canción	montes y manrique
P78	tu nombre - segunda parte	canción	montes y manrique
P79	el destino	yaraví	montes y manrique
P79	mis suspiros	triste	montes y manrique
P80	las fieras	triste	montes y manrique
P80	la lira	yaraví	montes y manrique
P81	fatalidad	triste	montes y manrique
P81	el testamento de Melgar	yaraví	montes y manrique
P82	noche oscura y tenebrosa	marinera	montes y manrique
P82	decepción	yaraví	montes y manrique
P83	en la tumba	yaraví	montes y manrique
P83	cupido	triste	montes y manrique
P84	la sirena	vals	montes y manrique
P84	piedad	yaraví	montes y manrique
P85	el carcelero	triste	montes y manrique
P85	ecos	yaraví	montes y manrique
P86	huacachina	tondero	montes y manrique
P86	sin esperanza	yaraví	montes y manrique
P87	el pajarillo	yaraví	montes y manrique
P87	el desprecio	triste	montes y manrique
P88	el celoso	yaraví	montes y manrique
P88	amor forastero	triste	montes y manrique

P89	la soledad	yaraví	montes y manrique
P89	luzmila	vals	montes y manrique
P90	la mano blanca	canción	montes y manrique
P90	los sentimientos	yaraví	montes y manrique
P91	el suspiro	yaraví	montes y manrique
P91	la paloma	marinera	montes y manrique

This is a provisional list. I have not accessed the 78 rpm discs and the blue cards.

There are 182 recordings divided in:

41 *yaravíes*, 31 *tristes*, 31 *marineras*, 23 *canciones*, 20 *valses*, 9 *tonderos*, 7 *polkas*, 8 *theatrical pieces*, 2 *mazurkas*.

Sources:

• Spottswood, Richard, *Ethnic Music on Records. A Discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced in the United States, 1893 to 1942* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), t. IV, 1853; 2126-2129; 2232.

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APPENDIX III
VICTOR TALKING MACHINE 78 DOUBLE DISCS
(Recorded in 1913)
Marketing Genre: Spanish (Peru)

MATRIX	CODE	NAME	MUSICAL GENRE	PERFORMERS	INSTRUMENTS
B-13071	65305	luz y sombra (Luis Duncker Lavallee)	vals	victor orchestra (1)	
B-13074	65305	mariposas José Libornio))	vals	victor orchestra (1)	
B-14030	65626	el carretero	marinera	victor orchestra (2)	
B-14031	65626	ay chinita	triste	victor orchestra (2)	
B-13010	65625*	himno nacional del peru		banda rodríguez - victor band (3)	
B-13469	65625*	invernal valse (J. Libornio)	vals	victor orchestra (4)	
L-216	65627	chalaca	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-263	65627	fuera los chinos	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-217	65628	la barranquina	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-264	65628	al trote	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-145	65629	huaynito	baile indígena	a. gomez morón (8)	guitar
L-155	65629	victoria	vals	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-147	65630	germina	vals	hermanas gastelú (8)	guitar***
L-167	65630	giralda (Miguel Almenerio)	polka	estudiantina chalaca (11)	
L-151	65631	lucía	vals	hermanas gastelú (8)	guitar***
L-320	65631	la alondra	vals arequipeño	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-152	65632	napoleón	vals	estudiantina chalaca (9)	
L-179	65632 69006^	respuesta de bolognesi (Rogelio Soto)	episodio de la guerra del pacífico	soto - cobián (17)	with cornets
L-154	65633	galli	vals	estudiantina chalaca (9)	
L-207	65633	mi dulce encanto	polka	ramírez – monteblanco (6)	guitar**

L-158	65634	el pobre	vals	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-186	65634	los cachacos de lima (N. Tapia)	marcha	banda de la escuela correcional de lima (10)	
L-162	65635	rosas y claveles	polka	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-191	65635	marinera num. 1	marinera	banda de la escuela correcional de lima (10)	
L-163	65636	cuando yo salgo a pasear	polka	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-199	65636	el suspiro	canción	herencia- capoxi (16)	guitar**
L-169	65637	entra zamba	marinera	estudiantina chalaca (11)	
L-202	65637	jorge chavez	vals	suarez – espinell (16)	guitar**
L-174	65638	rayo de luz	vals	ramírez – monteblanco (17)	guitar
L-180	65638 69006^	asalto de arica	episodio de la guerra del pacífico	soto – cobián (17)	with cornetas
L-179	65639	perlas preciosas	vals	ramírez – monteblanco (17)	guitar
L-302	65639	el traicionero de amor	yaraví	escobedo – nuñez (18)	quenas, guitar*****
L-195	65641	las delicias	vals	suarez – espinell (16)	guitar**
L-201	65641	el sueño	canción	herencia – capoxi (16)	guitar**
L-203	65642	sin consuelo	vals	suarez – espinell (16)	guitar**
L-231	65642	de lambayeque a chiclayo	tondero	cobián – díaz (13)	guitar***, cajón
L-214	65643	llorar por una ilusión	vals	ramírez – monteblanco (6)	guitar**
L-304	65643	triste corazón	yaraví	escobedo – nuñez (18)	quenas, guitar*****
L-229	65644	la paisana	marinera	estudiantina lima (13)	
L-273	65644 69007^	margarita	vals	farfán – miranda (19)	guitar**
L-233	65645	la alondra	vals	cobián – díaz (13)	guitar***, cajón
L-319	65645	soledad (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (20)	guitar*****
L-241	65646	el despreciado	mazurka	suarez – espinell (21)	guitar****
L-335	65646	el carnaval	pasacalle arequipeño	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****

L-278	65647	san pedro	marinera	banda del regimiento de gendarmes de lima (17)	
L-336	65647	las violetas	vals	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-305	65648	pecho de cristal	yaraví	escobedo – nuñez (22)	quenas; guitar*****
L-346	65648	los macarrones	dialogo cómico	ayarza – romero (23)	
B-13011	65685	quenas (Luis Duncker Lavalle)	vals indígena	banda rodríguez - victor band (3)	
B-14144	65685	llanto y risa (Luis Duncker Lavalle)	vals	victor orchestra (5)	
L-218	65805	el huevo	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-265	65805	las regiones del tormento	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-219	65806	la huachafa	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-266	65806	allégate junto a mí	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-156	65807+	virginia	vals	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-146	65807	ingratitud	yaraví	a. gomez morón (8)	guitar
L-341	65807=	¿podré cielos olvidar? (Mariano Melgar)	triste	velarde – medina (24)	guitar*****
L-148	65808()	mi lira	vals	hermanas gastelu (8)	guitar***
L-213	65808/	¡oh qué bello!	vals	ramírez – monteblanco (6)	guitar**
L-297	65808%	no temas a los rigores	marinera	suarez – espinell (14)	guitar****
L-153	65809	la de a cuatro mil	vals	estudiantina chalaca (9)	
L-198	65809~	el expatriado	canción	herencia – capoxi (16)	guitar**
L-157	65810	los dos cruceros	vals	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-185	65810<	coronel soyer (N. Tapia)	marcha (paso doble)	banda de la escuela correcional de lima (10)	
L-159	65811	mujer de mis ilusiones	vals	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-168	65811	natalia	polka	estudiantina chalaca (11)	
L-164	65812	en el silencio de la noche	vals	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-230	65812##	la cholita	marinera	estudiantina lima (13)	

L-165	65813@	la bella esperanza	canción (+)	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-276	65813#	recuerdos de arequipa (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	banda del regimiento de gendarmes de lima (12)	
L-296	65813	cuando estoy a solas lloro	marinera	suarez – espinell (14)	guitar****
L-170	65814	la limeña	marinera	estudiantina chalaca (11)	
L-253	65814	los compadres	dialogo cómico	ayarza – romero (21)	
L-316	65815	el mortal (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (20)	guitar*****
L-206	65815&	entre las flores	mazurka	suarez – espinell (16)	guitar******
L-176	65816	los dos amigos	vals	ramírez – monteblanco (17)	guitar
L-181	65816 65810^^	batalla de san francisco	episodio de la guerra del pacífico	soto – cobián (17)	cornets and drums
L-177	65817	pesar	vals	ramírez – monteblanco (17)	guitar
L-226	65817	mi cabo (P. de Monte)	marcha	estudiantina lima (13)	
L-188	65818	viracocha (C. Pacheco)	triste	banda de la escuela correcional de lima (10)	
L-204	65818	los monos	danza	suarez – espinell (16)	guitar**
L-208	65820?	el violín	polka	ramírez – monteblanco (6)	guitar**
L-173	65821--	angel de la tierra	vals	ramírez – monteblanco (17)	guitar
L-209	65821	mister gros	polka	ramírez – monteblanco (6)	guitar**
L-311	65822	el lorito	huaynito	escobedo – nuñez (20)	quenas, guitar*****
L-324	65822??	¿dónde vas? (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (20)	guitar*****
L-274	65823*	la ingrata	vals	farfán – miranda (19)	guitar**
L-303	65823*	palomita dónde vas	yaraví	escobedo – nuñez (18)	quenas; guitar*****
L-279	65824	santeña	tondero	banda del regimiento de gendarmes de lima (12)	
L-332	65824	las quejas (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-280	65825	Ferreñafe	tondero	banda del regimiento de gendarme de lima (12)	

L-331	65825	mi llanto (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-314	65826???	serranito	huaynito	escobedo – nuñez (20)	quenas, guitar*****
L-330	65826	a extrañas tierras (Mariano Melgar / Jorge Polar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-190	65926 77041^	himno nacional del peru (himno 1821 – José Benarndo Alzedo)		banda de la escuela correcional de lima (10)	
L-166	65926	no siempre he de vivir penando	vals	estudiantina chalaca (11)	
L-220	65990	plaza de acho	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-267	65990	vente conmigo al mar	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-175	65991	los niños duermen	vals cantado	ramírez – monteblanco (17)	guitar
L-183	65991	batalla de san juan	episodio de la guerra del pacífico	soto - cobián (17)	cornets and drums
L-187	65992	general varela (N. Tapia)	marcha two – step	banda de la escuela correcional de lima (10)	
L-160	65992	el desgraciado	vals cantado	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-224	65993	la victoria	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-271	65993	la policía	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-225	65994	magdalena del mar	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-271	65994	de tus encantos	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-149	65995	adriana	vals cantado	hermanas gastelú (8)	guitar***
L-317	65995	si dos con el alma (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (20)	guitar*****
L-230	65996	tu separación	yaraví	escobedo – nuñez (18)	quenas, guitar*****
L-277	65996	funerales de atahualpa	triste	banda del regimiento del gendarmes de lima (12)	
L-192	65997	tondero no. 1	tondero	banda de la escuela correcional de lima (10)	
L-337	65997	crueldad (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-184	65998	escuela correcional	marcha	banda de la escuela correcional de lima	

		(N. Tapia)		(10)	
L-313	65998	la madrugada	serenata	escobedo – nuñez (20)	quenas, guitar*****
L-235	65999	lejos de mi tierra	polka	suarez – espinell (21)	guitar****
L-338	65999	amor delirante (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (24)	guitar*****
L-236	67000	carmencita	mazurka cantada	suarez – espinell (21)	guitar****
L-327	67000	el destino (Mariano Melgar))	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-252	67001	el borracho y el inspector (A. Ayarza)	dialogo cómico	ayarza – romero (21)	
L-339	67001	el mendigo	vals arequipeño	velarde – medina (24)	guitar*****
L-171	67002	las isabelas	tondero	estudiantina chalaca (11)	
L-328	67002	bella esperanza	canción	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-172	67003	curro cuchares	marcha	estudiantina chalaca (11)	
L-323	67003	la jardinera	canción	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-234	67004	gotas del rocío	vals cantado	cobían – díaz (13)	guitar**, cajón
L-321	67004	triste corazón (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-238	67005	mi ninfa	vals cantado	suarez – espinell (21)	guitar****
L-343	67005	cerro verde	huaynito	velarde – medina (24)	guitar*****
L-221	67006	el gringo	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-268	67006	cuántos años hace	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-222	67007	la malambina	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-269	67007	bella mujer	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-315	67008	el desconsuelo	yaraví	velarde – medina (20)	guitar*****
L-318	67008	el delirio	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-150	67009	adiós, adiós	vals cantado	hermanas gastelú (8)	guitar***
L-326	67009	las avecillas	canción	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-196	67010	goza goza	vals cantado	suarez – espinell (16)	guitar**
L-310	67010	la flor de la canela	huaynito	escobedo – nuñez (20)	quenas, guitar*****
L-227	67011	la iguana	tondero	estudiantina lima	

				(13)	
L-340	67011	el sepulcro	canción	velarde – medina (24)	guitar*****
L-254	67012	los dos serranos	dialogo cómico	ayarza – romero (21)	
L-189	67012	huayna capac (N. Tapia	cachaspare	banda de la escuela correcional de lima (10)	
L-242	67013	sen sen	vals cantado	suarez – espinell (21)	guitar****
L-334	67013 77036^	la ingrata	triste	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-275	67014	tengo el as, tengo el dos	vals cantado	farfán – miranda (19)	guitar**
L-329	67014	la calandria (Mariano Melgar)	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-223	67015	la colmena	marinera	almenerio – velez (6)	guitar**, cajón
L-270	67015	maría francisca	resbalosa	almenerio – velez (7)	guitar**, cajón
L-161	67016	a pasar por el teatro	vals cantado	almenerio – velez (9)	guitar***
L-333	67016 77037^	la ñusta	huaynito	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-197	67017	maría	vals cantado	suarez – espinell (16)	guitar**
L-342	67017	los pájaros	canción	velarde – medina (24)	guitar*****
L-228	67018	san miguel de piura	tondero	estudiantina lima (13)	
L-322	67018	los amigos	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-237	67019	sin fun chon	polka cantada	suarez – espinell (21)	guitar****
L-309	67019 77036^	los lamentos	yaraví	escobedo – nuñez (22)	quenas; guitar*****
L-325	67020	el retrato	yaraví	velarde – medina (15)	guitar*****
L-344	67020	entre coletas	dialogo cómico	ayarza – romero (23)	
L-239	67021	fuera los chinos	vals cantado	suarez – espinell (21)	guitar****
L-240	67021	maría latez	vals cantado	suarez – espinell (21)	guitar****

This is a provisional list. I have not accessed the 78 rpm discs and the blue cards.

There are 159 recordings divided in:

47 *valses* (included 2 *valses arequipeños*, 13 *valses cantados*, and 1 *vals indígena*) 24 *yaravíes*, 19 *marineras*, 10 *resbalosas*, 9 *canciones*, 8 *polkas* (included 1 *polka cantada*), 7 tonderos, 6 *marchas* (included 1 *paso doble*, 1 *two-step*), 5 *tristes*, 5 *huaynitos*, 9 *theatrical pieces* (4 episodes of the War of Pacific and 5 *diálogos cómicos*), *3 mazurkas* (included 1 *mazurka cantada*), 2 National Anthem, 1 *serenata*, 1 *pasacalle arequipeño*, 1 *danza*, 1 *baile indígena*, and 1 *cachaspare*.

The names of the perfomers are:

Oscar Andrade (instrumentalist of Almenerio-Velez, Cobían-Díaz and Hermanas Gastelú duo: guitar).
Manuel Almenerio (vocalist: tenor vocal).
Justo Arredondo (instrumentalist of the duos Herencia-Capoxi; Suárez-Espinel; Almenerio-Velez; Ramírez – Monteblanco; and Farfán – Miranda guitar).
Luis Capoxi (vocalist: baritone vocal).
Cobían.
José S. Cobían (speaker).
Díaz.
Mariano Escobedo (instrumentalist: quena).
Eduardo Espinell (vocalist: baritone vocal).
Farfán.
Hermanas Gastelú (vocalists: soprano and contralto).
Alejandro Gómez Morón (instrumentalist: guitar).
Pedro Herencia (vocalist: tenor vocal).
Angel Medina (vocalist: baritone vocal).
Miguel Miranda (vocalist: tenor vocal).
Domingo Nuñez (instrumentalist: quena).
Ramírez.
Monteblanco.
J. Olaza (instrumentalist of Cobían-Díaz and Almenerio-Velez duos: cajón).
Manuel Reynaga (instrumentalist of Suárez – Espinell duo: guitar).
A. Ayarza / L. Romero (comic dialogues).
Emilio Sirvas (instrumentalist of Velarde – Medina and Escobedo - Nuñez duos: guitar).
Rogelio Soto (speaker).
Guillermo Suárez (vocalist: tenor vocal).
Rafael Velarde (vocalist: tenor vocal).
Vélez (vocalist: baritone vocal).
N. Tapia (conductor – Banda de la Escuela Correccional de Lima).

Estudiantina Chalaca:
Justo Arredondo (instrumentalist and leader: bandurría).
Pablo Valenzuela (instrumentalist: guitar).
Vélez (instrumentalist: guitar).
Miguel Almenerio (instrumentalist: bandurria).

Estudiantina Lima:
Maestro Aníbal (instrumentalist and leader: bandurría).
Justo Arrendondo (instrumentalist: bandurría).
Vélez (instrumentalist: guitar).
Valenzuela (Instrumentalist: guitar).

Symbols:

*	It is not include in the *Catálogo* 1914
**	Justo Arredondo
***	Oscar Andrade
****	Manuel Reynaga (see Martínez, Manuel Acosta Ojeda, 41)
*****	Emilio Sirvas
******	Valenzuela

#	"65812" in *Catálogo* 1914
##	"65819" in *Catálogo* 1914
()	"65808" in *Catálogo* 1914. Without a number in *Encyclopedic…*
@	"65813" in *Catálogo* 1914. Without a number in *Encyclopedic…*
+	"65807" in *Catálogo* 1914. Without a number in *Encyclopedic…*
?	"65820" in *Catálogo* 1914. Without a number in *Encyclopedic…*
<	"65810" in *Catálogo* 1914. Without a number in *Encyclopedic…*
~	"65808" in *Catálogo* 1914
=	"65809" in *Catálogo* 1914
--	"65815" in *Catálogo* 1914
&	"65819" in *Catálogo* 1914
??	"65820" in *Catálogo* 1914
???	"65821" in *Catálogo* 1914
%	"65826" in *Catálogo* 1914
/	"65822" in *Catálogo* 1914

(+)	"La Bella Esperanza" is mentioned as a *vals* in *Catálogo* 1914
^	Offered in different cataloges with different codes
^^	Not clear which is the cataloge number – see note in *Encyclopedic…*
□	Not included in *Catálogo* 1914

(1) Recorded in Camden (New Jersey, U.S.), 04/03/1913
(2) Recorded in Camden (New Jersey, U.S.), 11/04/1913
(3) Recorded in Camden (New Jersey, U.S.), 03/25/1913
(4) Recorded in Camden (New Jersey, U.S.), 06/20/1913
(5) Recorded in Camden (New Jersey, U.S.), 12/03/1913
(6) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/11/1913
(7) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/15/1913
(8) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/05/1913
(9) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/06/1913
(10) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/09/1913
(11) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/07/1913
(12) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/17/1913
(13) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/12/1913
(14) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/18/1913
(15) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/23/1913
(16) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/10/1913
(17) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/08/1913
(18) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/20/1913
(19) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/16/1913
(20) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/22/1913
(21) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/13/1913
(22) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/21/1913
(23) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/25/1913
(24) Recorded in Lima (Peru), 09/24/1913

Sources:

• "Browse Matrix Numbers," *Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings* <http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix> (2 Nov. 2010).

• *Catálogo Discos Víctor. 1914.*

• *Catálogo Discos Víctor. 1915-16.*

APPENDIX IV
VICTOR TALKING MACHINE 78 DOUBLE DISCS – ORTHOPHONIC RECORDS
(1928)

CODE	NAME	MUSICAL GENRE	PERFORMERS	IINSTRUMENTS
81804	si atendieras a mis ruegos	yaravi	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitar
81804	paloma enamorada	tondero	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajón
81805	la fe	triste	salerno y gamarra	guitarras
81805	la jarra de oro	marinera	saez y hnos. ascuez	piano and cajon
81806	pregonero	marinera	saez y hnos. ascuez	piano, guitars, cajón n
81806	jorge vilches	yaravi	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81807	amor solicitado	marinera	saez y hnos ascuez	piano, guitarras, cajón
81807	idolo	vals	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81808	radio	vals	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81808	el jilguerillo	yaravi	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81315	los cazadores	triste	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81315	un gringo en globo	tondero	saez y hnos. ascuez	piano, guitars, cajón
81316	serenata leguia	vals	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitars
81316	jugador nocturno	marinera	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajón
81317	por las mujeres	huaynito	medina, carreño	guitarras
81317	el alguacil	marinera	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajon
81318	china chola	lomera	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitars
81318	sepulturero	vals	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81319	el piurano	tondero	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajón
81319	la hoja desprendida	vals incaico	medina, carreño	guitars
81426	chongollapana	triste	salerno y gamarra	guitars

81426	el chiclayano	tondero	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajón
81427	si dos con el alma	triste	saez y hnos. ascuez	violin, piano, guitars
81427	china de a peso	tondero	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajón
81428	el lambayecano [It was played in the silent movie "La Perricholi"]	tondero	saez y hnos. ascuez	piano, guitars, cajón
81428	el ladron	yaravi	salerno y gamarra	guitarras
81429	la ley o huayruru	resbalosa	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajón
81429	dia del pasado	vals	salerno y gamarra	guitarras
81430	mis quejas	huaynito	saez y hnos. ascuez	violin, piano, guitars
81430	tranquilidad serena	vals	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81555	el desesperado	vals	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitars y piano
81555	las chinas	marinera	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajón
81556	el choclito	huaynito	medina y carrillo	guitars
81556	mis golondrinas	cancion	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitars
81557	recuerdo mio	vals	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitars, violin, piano, clarinet
81557	lampara maravillosa	marinera	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajón
81559	luis pardo	vals	medina y carrillo	guitars
81559	nido vacio	cancion / estilo	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitar
81724	san caturino	marinera	salerno y gamarra	piano, guitars, cajón
81724	sedienta paloma	yaravi	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitars
81725	paloma ingrata	one – step	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitars, piano
81725	julia	vals	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81726	quitar la vida	marinera	salerno y gamarra	guitars, piano, cajón
81726	el odio	vals	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81727	las penas	triste	saez y hnos. ascuez	guitars
81727	el viajero	tondero	salerno y gamarra	guitars

81728	el desprecio	marinera	saez y hnos. ascuez	piano, guitars, cajón
81728	pesares	vals	salerno y gamarra	guitars
81749	la resbalosa	marinera	chavez y abarca	guitars and requinto
81749	la miraflorina	marinera	chavez y abarca	guitars and requinto
81749	yuyay chincachejj	(Keshua)	estudiantina duncker	
81748	pacha paccary	(Aymara)	cataila y catari	guitars, charango
81748	cacharpari	(Keswa)	estudiantina duncker	
81740	tusuy pasñita	huayno	orquesta internacional	
81740	los carnavales	aire puneño no. 1	orquesta internacional	
81747	la maldicion	cancion	salas y marroquin	guitars
81747	las sampoñas que se van		estudiantina duncker	

This is a provisional list. We have not accessed the 78 rpm discs and the blue cards.

There are 57 songs divided in:

13 valses (included a *vals incaico*), 12 *marineras* 7 *tonderos*, 5 *yaravíes*, 5 *tristes*, 4 *huaynitos* (included a *huayno)*, 3 *canciones* (included a *canción-estilo*), 2 *keshua*, 1 *aymara*, 1 one-step, 1 *lomera*, 1 *resbalosa*, 1 *aire puneño*, and 1 song without a denomination

Performers:

Augusto Ascuez, Elías Ascuez, and Alejandro Sáenz.
Antonio Salerno and Carlos Gamarra.
Leopoldo Medina, Juan Carillo, and Giordano Carreño.
Chávez and Abarca.
Cataila and Catari.
Salas and Marroquín.
Estudiantina Duncker.
Orquesta Internacional.

Sources:

- "Música Peruana," *La Crónica* (September 23, 1928), 20
- "¡Gran Suceso! Primer lote de discos nacionales de grabación ortofónica," *La Crónica* (August 10, 1928), 5
- "Discos Victor," *El Comercio* – morning edition (December 17, 1928), 1

APPENDIX V
VICTOR TALKING MACHINE 78 DOUBLE DISCS - FIESTAS DE AMANCAES 1930

CODE	NAME	MUSICAL GENRE	PERFORMERS	INSTRUMENTS
30045	el cachaco galante - 1	dialogo cómico	carlos revolledo / antonia puro	
30045	el cachaco galante - 2	dialogo cómico	carlos revolledo / antonia puro	
30046	triste añoranza	yaravi **	jose c. martinez	guitar [?]
30046	china chola como no	tondero **	jose c. martinez	guitar [?]
30047	arza huamanguina	marinera	estudiantina tipica ayacucho	harp, quenas, guitar, charango
30047	achachau	huayno	estudiantina tipica ayacucho	harp, quenas, guitar, charango
30048	a ti	muliza cerreña	conjunto musical cerreño (jauja)	guitars
30048	palomita blanca cuculi	cashua	conjunto musical cerreño (jauja)***	guitars
30049	la cuzqueñita	yaravi	cuarteto de camara incaica****	violin, quenas, piano
30049	los andinos	huayno	cuarteto de camara incaica	violin, quenas, piano
30098	la veguera	marinera	lirica tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolinas
30098	mi corazon esta alegre	tondero	l. cerna / a. pechón	
30099	repucha warochirana	huayno	conjunto musical de paria kaka	
30099	semblanzas andinas	muliza y huayno	conjunto musical de san jeronimo de tunan	harp, violins
30100	aires lambayecanos	marinera	lira tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolins
30100	la choza	triste	lira tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolins
30101	el chifatay	marinera	lira tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolins
30101	tu me robaste la flor	triste	l. cerna / a. pechón	
30102	esperanza	yaravi	duo de quenas y piano	quenas, piano
30102	pumacahua	huayno	duo de quenas y piano #	quenas, piano
30147	condemaita	danza incaica	conjunto musical acomayo	
30147	crueldad	yaravi	salas y marroqui ##	
30148	el cautivo	rueda tarapaqueña	jorge hernandez	guitar
30148	ave sin nido	yaravi tacneño	jorge hernandez	guitar

30149	sonccuiman	yaravi	estudiantina tipica ayacucho	harp, quenas, guitar, charango
30149	huaichaucha	huayno	estudiantina tipica ayacucho	harp, quenas, guitar, charango
30150	perasperascha	huayno	estudiantina tipica ayacucho	harp, quenas, guitar, charango – with chorous (quechua)
30150	adios pueblo de ayacucho	huayno	estanislao medina	harp
30151	me caso	monologo cómico	carlos revolledo	
30151	el amor, la mujer, y el triangulo	monologo cómico	carlos revolledo	
30152	fue un sueño	yaravi	cuarteto de camara incaica	violin, quenas, piano
30152	maipiracc – cuchillo	huayno	cuarteto de camara incaica	violin, quenas, piano
30197~	de cinco a ocho	tondero	lira tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolins
30197~	la chongollapana	yaravi	lira tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolins
30198~	no hay mujer que no quiera	tondero	lira tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolins
30198~	bajo el parral	yaravi	lira tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolins
30199~	el firmamento	tondero	lira tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolins
30199~	que buena laya chinito	marinera	l. cerna / a. pechon	
30200~	la pacobana	marinera	lira tipica chiclayana	guitars, violin, mandolins
30200~	amor de zamba	tondero	l. cerna / a. pechon	
30201	las negras huelen a ruda	tondero	jose c. martinez	guitarra
30201	pleito en una fonda de chinos	escena cómica	rogelio soto	
30196	munahuanqui	huayno	conjunto musical acomayo	
30196	pajarillo cautivo	yaravi	salas y marroqui	

This is a provisional list. We have not accessed the 78 rpm vinyl discs and the blue cards.

There are 44 songs divided in:

10 *yaravíes*, 9 *huaynos*, 7 *tonderos*, 6 *marineras*, 5 *escenas cómicas* (included 2 *diálogos cómicos*, 2 *monólogos cómicos*, and 1 *escena cómica*), 2 *tristes*, 1 *muliza cerreña*, 1 *cashua*, 1 *muliza* and *huayno*, 1 *danza incaica*, and 1 *rueda tarapaqueña*

Sources:

- "La sensación en Lima es la llegada de los nuevos Discos "Víctor" nacionales grabados en esta ciudad durante las "Fiestas de Amancaes," El *Comercio* - morning edition - (November 8, 1930), 1.

- "¡El más sensacional éxito del año! Segundo lote de los nuevos discos nacionales VICTOR (…)," *El Comercio* – morning edition (December 23, 1930), 13.

- "¡Sigue el más grandioso y sensacional exit de Música Nacional Peruana! Tercer lote de los nuevos discos nacionales "VICTOR" (…)," *El Comercio* – morning edition (January 22, 1931), 1.

- "Un éxito indiscutible "VICTOR". Cuarto lote de discos nacionales VICTOR," *El Comercio* (February 10, 1931), 1.

- Provisional list - *Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings* (*EDVR*).

**	The advertisement says that they are "criollo songs of a picaresque character."
***	Music from the department of Junín.
****	Félix. F. Castro, Andrés Izquierdo, Justo P. Morales, and Luis Esquivel.
#	L. Esquivel, A. Izquierdo, y J. P. Morales.
##	They were born in Arequipa.
~	This code has been found in a provisional list - *EDVR*

APPENDIX VI
AQUÍ ESTÁ CAÑETE
Cumbia
(Eladio León, 1928)

Compare Tinguillo se fue ar muladá,
compare Tinguillo se fue ar muladá.
Coje trapito pa remendá,
coje trapito pa remendá.

Compare Tinguillo, qué queré comé,
compare Tinguillo, qué queré comé,
coma o no coma, canero a re sé,
coma o no coma, canero a re sé.

Amaneca, no amaneca, quiero amanecé.
Anocheca, no anocheca, quiero anochecé.
Quiero amanecé. Quiero anochecé.
Quiero amanecé. Quiero anochecé.

Neguito chiquitito con tu cuerpo menearó.
Si quiere saca mantega yo te preto mi pero.

¡A tirala lá…. A tirala lá, a tirala…. lá!
Samba de mi mayorá.

The last two verses of the mentioned *cumbia* can be read in other *festejos* recorded years later such as *Negrito Filomeno*.[1]

Source:

- "Del concurso musical. Un maestro de aires costeños," *La Prensa* – morning edition (June 13, 1928), 12.

[1] One sample of *Negrito Filomeno* can be listened in the CD *Los Morochucos. Evocación de la Patria Vieja.* IEMPSA, compact disc IEM-00577.