Leaving Behind Ways of Knowing: *Hatun Yachaywasi* (1993) by G. Juan Vilca

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Gervasio Juan Vilca's *Hatun Yachaywasi* plays on the biblical parable of the prodigal son, but the sin he commits is purely epistemological. Produced by Puno's theatre group Yatiri in 1993, the play's title means "Gran casa del saber" in Quechua and is a phrase typically used to describe the Western university or a place of adult higher learning (Ramos-García 45).[1] Chawpi, the protagonist and son of a rural livestock tender, is admitted to Puno's main university to study social communications, but to attend he must migrate from his rural village and leave his father and his younger brother behind. *Hatun Yachaywasi* is distinctive among Peru's twentieth-century theatre in its focus on the Puno-Lake Titicaca region and the migration of its youth. Vilca describes in his epigraph that "la migración de los jóvenes hacia las ciudades es alarmante, muchas son las causas del despoblamiento del campo; sólo los padres y los abuelos se quedan a trabajar la tierra y mantener su cultura ancestral" (47). Chawpi's choice to attend university in *Hatun Yachaywasi* is presented as an abandonment not only of his family but also of his native Andean way of life.

The play establishes a genesis, albeit putative, for rural to urban migration throughout Peru with the events of the 1969 Reforma Agraria of General Juan Velasco Alvarado. As Luis A. Ramos-García and Ruth Escudero have argued in their seminal anthology, *Voces del interior: nueva dramaturgia peruana*:

> [. . .] en *Hatun Yachaywasi* (1993), G. Juan Vilca reflexiona desde su alter ego (Román), no sólo sobre el marco de la crisis y la liquidación de las empresas asociativas de la Reforma Agraria, sino también de cómo la migración de los jóvenes a las ciudades despuebla el agro y lo despoja de herederos de su cultura ancestral.

> Irónicamente, sugiere Vilca, es de la 'Gran casa del saber' o sea de la Universidad, de donde proviene ese factor desequilibrante que atenta contra la preservación de los valores culturales en las comunidades andinas. (Ramos-García lxv)

Hatun Yachaywasi addresses how the university serves as a force for societal change in the Andes, as is alluded to in the title of the work and in the story of Chawpi's migration, but this allusion alone does not provide an explanation as to why the work weaves Chawpi's exodus from his village with the longer timeline of the Reforma Agraria. Here, I venture another reading: *Hatun Yachaywasi* does not only depict how Andean youth migrate to seek university education but rather how they seek what the university represents. Knowledge, as represented by the Western-style university in the play, is a conduit to social privilege. Other types of knowledge that do not fit into the epistemological paradigm that Aníbal Quijano calls "the intersubjective universe produced by the entire Eurocentered capitalist colonial power," such as the indigenous Andean, become devalued (171). Chawpi's exodus to Puno to attend university and his father's long feud with Emilio, his landlord, demonstrate how epistemological differences are leveraged in a formerly colonized, culturally heterogeneous society to gain higher social status and economic power.[2]

Latin American thinkers of the Modernity/Coloniality project such as Walter Mignolo and Aníbal Quijano contest this type of epistemological devaluation in their work on the "coloniality of the modern." For these critics, the roots of Western modernity and capitalism were simultaneously born of the European colonial projects of the sixteenth century and what remains of these projects has evolved through a series of cultural and historical processes to constitute the contemporary power dynamic that they moniker "coloniality" (Mignolo 463-84; Quijano 170). To understand coloniality, one must interrogate the philosophical underpinnings of the European colonial projects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The success of Europe's push to colonize depended on the propagation of a discriminatory mindset. The Renaissance period in which Europe colonized the greater part of the world was also when the academic disciplines rapidly formed and stratified themselves. René Descartes' famous *cogito ergo sum* formulation defined the rationality of the Renaissance thinker who began to harness his capacity for scientific and philosophic analysis by similarly reifying the relationship between the studying subject (the *cogito*) and the object studied (Foucault 58-60). This rationality was, according to the critics of the Mo-

dernity/Coloniality project, used to justify the control, exploitation, and differential classification of the world's denizens into ranks of racial and social superiority (Quijano 171-72).

The idea of coloniality permeates Latin American performance studies, largely due to how the concept illustrates the unequal balance of power among racial and ethnic groups throughout the region. Coloniality, here, finds its parallel in Diana Taylor's concept of the *scenario*, which is a type of space-linked *leit motif* reworked as a performative theme over a broad time period (28-29). According to Taylor, the scenario problematizes cultural issues that have had a long historical trajectory in Latin America: "no matter who stages the colonial encounter from the West's perspective—the novelist, the playwright, the discoverer, or the government official—it stars the same white male protagonist-subject and the same brown, found 'object'" (13). *Hatun Yachaywasi*, however, challenges us to interpret the racialized colors white and brown metaphorically: what makes Chawpi and his father Román "brown" and Emilio "white" are not their respective skin colors, for they are of the same racial and ethnic background, but rather the practices and knowledges they value.

Like many dramatists of the latter part of the twentieth century in Peru, Vilca addresses modern issues through a thematic and aesthetic return to the Andean.[3] According to Ramos-García, the manner in which Vilca involves Andean culture in his work was considered unique among dramatists at the time:

> La permanente búsqueda de un medio para comunicarse y compartir sus experiencias desde el ayllu andino —en el marco de la crisis y liquidación de las empresas asociativas de la reforma agraria— permite que Gervasio Juan Vilca (Karpasinca, poblado del Ayllu Choroma, Lampa-Puno, 1965) traslade a la escena nacional un alucinante imaginario telúrico poco visto en el teatro de orientación quechua-andino. (45)

However, in the fifteen years that have passed since the publishing of Ramos-García's anthology, the Andean has figured prominently as both a subject and an aesthetic mode through which Peru's dramatists have portrayed a variety of social, historical, and political issues. In addition, as Carlos Vargas Salgado notes, there is a type of "retroalimentación," or theatrical exchange between the Lima-based and the provincial theatre groups:

> [. . .] buena parte de los nuevos colectivos teatrales de la capital, ahora asimilan y filtran temáticas, textos y marcas espectaculares

> venidos de tradiciones provincianas, cuando no de grupos fuera de Lima. (55)

During the past two decades, groups like Yuyachkani, Cuatrotablas, Impulso, Maguey, Punto Aparte, Kapuli, and many others in Lima and the provinces alike have increasingly delved into the country's indigenous cultural wealth to produce works that reaffirm the Andean.

Vilca's portrayal of the Andean in *Hatun Yachaywasi* aligns with his general professional preoccupation of promoting Puno's autochthonous cultures and safeguarding their survival as the region further inserts itself into a global economy. Vilca served as mayor of Santa Lucía in his native province of Lampa in Puno as a candidate of the culturally conservative RAÍCES political group. His internationally-funded non-profit organization, Proyecto Saywa, as another example, provides workforce development for Andean migrants returning to their native villages in the Lake Titicaca region of Peru and Bolivia (European Commission). On the artistic front, Vilca directs Asociación Pukupuku, a cultural group that organizes theatre workshops throughout the country. Whereas *Hatun Yachaywasi* debuted with Yatiri, a group that Vilca joined under the direction of Amiel Cayo and other students of the Universidad Nacional del Altiplano, Pukupuku has promoted theatre in the region as one of Puno's few independent theatre groups and a member of the organization MOTIN (Movimiento de Teatro Independiente del Perú). Vilca has also worked as a television and radio producer in the Puno region. Like Amiel Cayo, Vilca has performed with Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani, the country's best known independent theatre group and has appeared in *El vestido* (2008), a short film directed by Evelyne Pégot-Ogier. Vilca's wide cultural and professional interests demonstrate that he is profoundly connected to Puno, for while he has worked on national and international projects, he remains active in Puno's artistic scene as well as its administrative, political realms.

Fittingly, *Hatun Yachaywasi* is set in metropolitan Puno and in the *altiplano* village that the protagonist Chawpi seeks to abandon, so the scenario is at once Andean and global. Puno might not seem metropolitan when compared to the large metropolises of the world, but as Raymond Williams holds, not all large cities can call themselves "culturally metropolitan." According to Williams, "the effective metropolis—as is shown in the borrowing of the word to indicate relations between nations, in the neo-colonial world—is now the modern transmitting metropolis of the technically advanced and dominant economies" (38). This "modern transmitting metropo-

lis" is formed both by international trade and a high confluence of artists and technology experts. These actors and factors contribute to the metropolis' collective cultural and scientific capital. Through these activities, Williams signals, the metropolis becomes both a symbol and synecdoche of the cultural modernity of the Western world and, thereby, a symbol of a type of progress characterized by a telluric Western understanding of scientific and cultural advancement (37-48).

Puno's cultural particularities are reflected in the work starting with the paradoxical nature of its title, in that, while Quechua is used to title the work and in its dialogue, its figures and symbolism draw more directly from Aymara tradition. The Puno/Lake Titicaca region is a central node of indigenous migration in the Andes and has long been a site in which Quechua and Aymara speakers from Peru and Bolivia live and trade together.[4] The Anchanchu demon in the play is one example of this cultural exchange; the Anchanchu is not primarily found in Quechua folklore but is instead a common figure in Aymara culture. Unknown to Western audiences, the figure of the Anchanchu is a product of the mythologies native to the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano. Nonetheless, his description differs wildly depending on the source. For instance, some popular and academic sources describe the Anchanchu as a shape-shifting vampiric figure, though both descriptions are very far from the being's traditional and documented representation in Aymara mythology (Fernández 120). The precise role of the Anchanchu in Aymara tradition is important to understanding how this figure moves the plot of *Hatun Yachaywasi* and provides commentary on the main character's choice to migrate to Puno for study.

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

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

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

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

> CHAWPI. ¡Anchanchu! ¿Qué haces aquí? ¿También te gusta la disco? (*Se ríe*) ¿A qué has venido? ¿Por qué me has seguido?
> *Anchanchu rodea a Chawpi.*
> CHAWPI. Seguro quieres que regrese a la comunidad, pero yo no voy a regresar, porque veo que no hay futuro para mí, mis amigos también ya no están en la comunidad, se han ido a otras ciudades. Vete, regresa a la comunidad. Déjame, yo sabré como hacer mi vida aquí en esta ciudad. (*Sale*). (56)

From this point, the Anchanchu leaves Chawpi and begins to focus on his brother Misitu. Misitu is an enigmatic figure in the play because he is mute.[5] Given that theatre necessitates an exact and sometimes parsimonious economy of symbols, any disabilities that characters have in works of performance are key to interpreting them. Moreover, the staged theatre depends greatly on dialogue to represent the inner thought processes and motivations of its characters. Therefore, when one character is mute, he becomes challenged not only physically in the play, but also in regards to the spectator's ability to sympathize and connect with him. Muteness, in short, can provide a type of Brechtian distancing in theatre. The Anchanchu demon is another mute figure. He appears on the scene and commands the full attention of the characters through his apparent ability to manipulate the senses, as indicated in the stage directions, but he does not speak or communicate verbally.

The shared muteness of the Anchanchu and Misitu symbolizes different types of "modern/colonial" disenfranchisement.[6] The Anchanchu represents a metaphysical tradition that has been devalued by the Spanish colonial project and by the propagation of Western methods of knowledge transmission.[7] *Hatun Yachaywasi*, like many other works of late twentieth-century Peruvian theatre, demonstrates that colonialism in Latin America was not solely an invasion of territories. It truncated multiple indigenous systems of thought and belief and shut off large groups of people from the sites of power in their newly organized polities.[8] The Anchanchu in *Hatun Yachaywasi* seeks to regain his venerated position by trying to influence the behavior of the various village characters in the work, including Román, Emilio, Misitu, and Chawpi. Chawpi, however, has decided to cut off his ties to the village and its traditional Andean practices to build a better future. In short, he chooses to forget his village customs and legends as he finds them both useless and detrimental to the life that he would like to live in the city. The Anchanchu, therefore, no longer has any hold on him.

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

> Lo que importa es que has ingresado al *Hatun Yachaywasi* [universidad], y allí aprenderás muchas cosas, porque aquí en el campo no nos enseñan bien. Todo lo que he aprendido se los [sic] debo a mis padres y abuelos, en la escuela sólo he aprendido a leer y escribir mi nombre. (49)[9]

Román does not know about or understand the world of letters that Chawpi will enter when he begins his studies at the university. In fact, he seems to think that because so many students and faculty come from the university

to study the agricultural practices of small farmers that Chawpi instead possesses a more valuable and profitable knowledge than those of the cities:

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

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

Similar to the character of the *opa* in José María Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*, Misitu's muteness exposes him to an inordinate amount of abuse. Emilio and even his brother Chawpi enact their frustrations on Misitu without fear of repercussion as he cannot speak, read, or write.[10] His inability to communicate verbally dehumanizes him in the perspective of many of the characters in the play. For instance, Emilio, the landlord and chief of the land company, Choroma, for which Román also works, refers to Misitu as a "thing":

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

Hence, the budding friendship between the Anchanchu and Misitu and the disappearance of both at the end of the play is hardly puzzling. Neither have a place in the village any longer; the Anchanchu no longer receives his tributes and Misitu is treated inhumanely. Misitu, therefore, leaves the village, following the lead of Chawpi and other family members before him who are only mentioned in passing in the dialogue.[11]

The Anchanchu's repeated appearance throughout *Hatun Yachaywasi* aids in anchoring the work thematically in the southern Peruvian Andes, but also provides commentary on the social issues presented in the play. The "joker" character developed by Augusto Boal in his work with the Arena Theater of São Paulo serves as an apt parallel for what the Anchanchu does in *Hatun Yachaywasi.* According to Boal, the "joker" character is not so much a character as it is a function. The "joker" affords the spectators a moment in the play to look critically at the work instead of being completely

absorbed by the realism they see on the stage. He can interact with the spectators and perform whatever action the characters cannot without disrupting the realism of the play. In Boal's words:

> [. . .] all the theatrical possibilities are conferred upon the 'Joker' function: he is magical, omniscient, polymorphous, and ubiquitous. On stage he functions as a master of ceremonies, *raisonneur*, *kurogo*, etc. He makes all the explanations, verified in the structure of the performance, and when necessary, he can be assisted by the coryphaeus or the choral orchestra. (182)

However, for such a character to perform such a function, his "outlook [. . .] must be that of the author or adaptor which is assumed to be above and beyond that of the other characters in time and space" (182). The Anchanchu, therefore, takes on a minor directorial role in the performance of the play and guides the work in pivoting between drama and direct social commentary. In a way, the "joker" of *Hatun Yachaywasi* provides a paradox for the spectators to unravel; the speaking characters on the stage comment directly on social issues through their dialogue, while only the mute Anchanchu enjoys unfettered access to the abstract levels of meta-commentary through movement and mime.

In redirecting the spectators' attention from the realism of the play, the Anchanchu also redirects their empathy. Empathy and its placement are key concerns in the aesthetic of Bertolt Brecht, which Boal adopted in developing his "joker" character. Boal describes empathy in theatre as a unique species of psycho-political exchange:

> [. . .] empathy is the emotional relationship which is established between the character and spectator which provokes, fundamentally, a delegation of power on the part of the spectator, who becomes an object in relation to the character: whatever happens to the latter, happens vicariously to the spectator. (102)

Brecht's theatre attempts to end this theft of power by subsuming the characters' subject-hood, i.e. the representation of his/her emotions, desires, and motivations, to the portrayal of the work's subject (110). In this manner, character-building ceases to be central to the play and the characters become objects of study within the larger social concern depicted in the work.

As the play moves from one location to another in short, loosely connected scenes, the Anchanchu darts from location to location along with it, but the other characters remain more closely tied to the spaces they occupy in the play. Chawpi is the only other character who inhabits multiple

spaces, both the city and the countryside; like a pendulum, he swings back and forth between his native village Santa Lucía and Puno. Thanks to the play's constant change of place through multiple short scenes, we see how *Hatun Yachaywasi* becomes ". . . la crónica melancólica del despoblamiento agrario en el Perú de fin de siglo y de la disolución del alucinante imaginario telúrico quechua andino" (Vallejo). Movement and change characterize the work's structure and aid in depicting its central social concern.

In *Hatun Yachaywasi*, Emilio and Román become avatars for the differing layers of Andean society and, in true Brechtian fashion, the conflicts held in the micro-universe of the play are meant to spill over into our larger one. By focusing on two characters who remain in the village after their family members have long left in search of better fortunes, the play connects the socioeconomic and cultural issues facing small, provincial towns in the Peruvian Andes in a more contemporary, globalized age with the policies of the 1969 Reforma Agraria. The Reforma, and the legacy of General Juan Velasco Alvarado in general, it should be noted, is not a commonly critiqued subject in Peru's contemporary theatre. *Hatun Yachaywasi*, therefore, offers a rare, non-propagandistic theatrical perspective on the outcomes of this legendary governmental undertaking.

With the Reforma Agraria, General Juan Velasco Alvarado sought to usher in a new era of economic justice for many of Peru's provincial poor and to prepare the country for an agricultural export economy. Velasco Alvarado had hoped that a drastic plan of agrarian reform would modernize Peru's agricultural sectors, quell the sporadic peasant uprisings throughout the large land holdings of the country, and halt the tide of rural migrants flooding the large cities of Peru in search of economic progress. The process of expropriating land during the Reforma Agraria did not start with Velasco, as previous Peruvian governments had enacted measures to weaken the hold of the hacienda on the economies of provincial Peru. Rather, the Reforma accelerated this process through the establishment of agricultural collectives supported with state-funded modern equipment. In the span of ten years, Velasco's legislation expropriated 15,826 large land holdings, dividing nine million hectares into smaller, government-subsidized land cooperatives (Mayer 20).

The play makes clear reference to the power struggles that ensued following this legislation through Emilio and Román's enduring conflict as members of the Choroma land cooperative. Velasco and his compatriots envisioned the peasant farmers returning to their Inca traditions of commu-

nal farming, but the endeavor resulted in "three hundred thousand families [getting] some small plots of land, which they had to take forcibly from the cooperatives into which they were pushed" (Mayer 33). What began as an attempt to build modernized agricultural micro-economies in the provinces to benefit the agricultural peasant class in an increasingly export-based market economy became a land grab made possible by the dictatorship's bureaucracies. For many critics, the poor administration of the 1969 Agrarian Reform prompted the mass migration of Andean Peruvians from the provinces starting in the 1970s and continuing to the present day. This large-scale migration contributed to the rapid evanescence of Andean traditions from the countryside and, as has been noted in the playwright's epigraph, is one of the critical themes of *Hatun Yachaywasi*.

Hatun Yachaywasi, however, does more than paint a pessimistic landscape of the Andean countryside after Velasco's Reforma Agraria. It dramatizes a type of knowledge/experience transmission by depicting how the political struggles borne of this epoch have become imprinted on future generations. The work first brings Emilio and Román's feud into frame through Chawpi and his admittance to the university in Puno, the provincial capital. Chawpi decides to study Communications to "[. . .] decir su verdad al Emilio [. . .]" (52). He believes that university study will allow him to curtail Emilio's abuses of power in the Choroma land cooperative. Interpreting his decision structurally, Chawpi intends to challenge the landlord's knavish behavior from the higher societal position of the college graduate instead of at a level he currently occupies beneath him as the son of one of his tenants.

Chawpi's admittance to the university does not go unnoticed. Emilio ensures that Chawpi must return to the village only a few days after he is scheduled to move to Puno on suspicion of writing salacious graffiti that insinuates the landlord's involvement with multiple ladies in the village. At first, Chawpi refuses to meet with the landlord but is urged by his father, Román, to do so out of fear of repression. Emilio has no verifiable evidence that Chawpi is guilty of spray-painting the rock outcrop on the outskirts of the village, but becomes enraged when Chawpi openly defies him and his authority by playing dumb to mock him:

> CHAWPI. [. . .] (*Cambiando de sentido la conversación, pregunta*) A propósito, ¿qué decía la escritura?
>
> EMILIO. (*Furioso*) Horrible y vergonzante. En plena carretera principal. Con letras grandes, dice con rojo "Emilio con Florenti-

> na". . . más abajito con negro "Emilio versus Santuca". . . ahora dime, ¿quién ha escrito eso, tú o tu cuñado? ¡Contesta!
>
> CHAWPI. (*Se ríe*) Ninguno de nosotros, a mí tampoco me gusta escribir tonterías de esta naturaleza. Incluso ignoro el lugar de esa escritura. (58)

Knowing that he cannot concretely blame Chawpi for the graffiti, he redirects his fury in the next scene at a meeting of the land cooperative. Emilio speaks to the audience as though they are the *comuneros* of Choroma and metes out collective punishment for Chawpi's defiance, remarking that because of it "[. . .] ustedes como buenos socios de la empresa, no deben educar a sus hijos, porque salen malcriados. No respetan a sus mayores, basta con acabar su primaria" (58-59). Emilio then orders Román to leave Choroma and give up his flocks and his cabin:

> EMILIO. [. . .] (*Señalando a Román*) Ahhh, tú . . . mañana mismo me lo entregas la majada y te quedas sin trabajo por culpa de tu hijo, de paso me desalojas la cabaña, te puedes irte donde tú quieras a trabajar, *nishaykin, paqarin pacha ripuy uywayta saqiykapuway hinaspa ama kutimuq* [te estoy diciendo que me lo dejes mis ganados y después te vayas mañana mismo y no vuelvas nunca].
>
> ROMÁN. A malas o a buenas yo siempre me quedaré aquí. Además quién eres tú para que me trates de esa forma; recuerda que soy socio de la empresa y tú eres un simple empleado, nosotros te hemos contratado para que no mueras de hambre. Ahora nos pagas mal, malagradecido. *Allin mikhusqa kanki ñuqayku kaqtiykun* . . . [Gracias a nosotros estás bien alimentado . . .]. (59)[12]

Here we witness a curious exchange in Quechua that reveals the racial politics in the southern Peruvian Andes. Emilio addresses Román in Spanish but repeats himself in Quechua to make himself clear to his former tenant. Even though the play has established that Román can speak Spanish, for the two characters have already had many exchanges in this language, Emilio uses Quechua to condescend to Román in this public meeting. Román, noting this condescension, counters Emilio using the same language the landlord used to insult him.

Like many Peruvians of the middle and upper classes in the southern regions of the country, Emilio is of a similar ethnic composition to those he considers beneath him socially. He speaks the same indigenous language that he associates with the lower peasant classes, but, in his perspective, he has advanced in society, and they have not. As Marisol de la Cadena has sig-

naled, it is one's *habitus*, or one's socially determined expression of cultural identity, which provokes discrimination in the Andes (25, 162).[13] Emilio no longer considers himself an "indio," regardless of the fact that Choroma's *comuneros* know him to be one of them, and he makes sure to distinguish himself from them through language, by establishing a protocol for using Quechua only for commanding his subordinates so as to mark his cultural superiority.

Emilio's Quechua exchange with Román, however, demonstrates that, instead of occupying the role of a supreme managerial authority, Emilio's authority depends upon the agreement of the same *comuneros* he lambasts. He is their equal partner in the cooperative. The *comuneros* had only suspected him of corruption and misuse of company funds until this point, but his abuse of power in this scene turns the group against him until he drunkenly admits to Román that he acquired the funds for his children's schooling by stealing from the company in a bar. But contrition is not his motive, for he then applies an exclusionary philosophy to justify his grift: "Lógico, es eso, si es posible mis hijos deben de estudiar en el extranjero, y si es posible sus hijos de ustedes no deben de estudiar" (64). Whereas it may seem that greed is what motivates Emilio's crimes, the colonial consciousness that hierarchizes certain ways of life and knowledge systems over others drives his prejudice and fuels his sense of privilege. He steals because he feels entitled to steal. And yet, he must hide his theft because he knows the true source of his power, even though he denigrates it and is not that far removed from it.

Chawpi's rejection of his native culture while studying in Puno mirrors Emilio's actions even though he initially sought to gain education to fight the landlord's abuses. First, he removes his indigenous village clothing upon arrival in Puno in favor of a more modern, Western style of dress. Rodrigo Benza notes that Chawpi's change of dress reflects what many indigenous, provincial Peruvians do to avoid discrimination upon migrating to the cities:

> Hay una necesidad de negar el origen para no ser discriminado. En este sentido, el sociólogo e historiador Nelson Manrique plantea que 'las diferencias culturales exteriores— como el uso de las lenguas nativas y vestimenta típica— han sido erosionadas'. Y lo siguen siendo. Por ejemplo, algunos padres quechuahablantes ya no quieren que sus hijos aprendan quechua porque no quieren que sean discriminados. Esta obra representa una realidad del campo llena de desamparo, abuso, abandono y de una perspectiva de futuro casi

> nula, sobre todo para los jóvenes de las comunidades campesinas. (18)

Here, again, one must consider the logic of how certain ways of knowing the world are valued above others when, as Román scolds Chawpi, his new Western-style apparel is inferior to his indigenous dress in protecting him from the cold of the *altiplano*:

> ROMÁN. (*Mira la forma de vestirse de Chawpi*) ¿Kayri? [¿Y esto?] ¿Y esto? Ya no hay sol, ya es tarde. ¿Esto te va a proteger del frío?
> CHAWPI. Es que allá en Puno no hace frío.
> ROMÁN. Cómo no va a hacer frío, ¿maytaq, wayta casacayquiri? [dónde está tu casaca de bayeta].
> CHAWPI. No te pases pe' papá, como crees que voy a andar con una casaca de bayeta en la ciudad.
> ROMÁN. ¡Cómo que no! (*Tose y cae al piso*). (66)

Chawpi does not apply himself as a student at university and spends most of his time partying and socializing with friends. He takes to writing pamphlets and selling them in the streets to make money to eat, having wasted the money his father gives him on partying and drinking. One could deduce that he feels so compelled to engage in the university's social scene because of his place as a cultural outsider. For instance, when Chawpi first meets his fellow students, they laugh hysterically at his indigenous name. They also use slang words, such as "jermitas" (young ladies), "choche" (dear friend), "manyas" (do you understand?), "cachimbo" (freshman), and "brother" (brother), all of which demonstrate a shift in register that coincides with Chawpi's new residence in Puno (55) and conveys the multi-layered use of language in the Andes. Whereas Chawpi would speak with his father in Quechua and with the word choice and syntax of the southern Peruvian Andean dialect of Spanish, at university he must conform his speech to the standards of the metropolitan capital Lima, which exercise an out-sized influence on the speech patterns of the rest of the country through media.

The play powerfully portrays the phenomenon of mass migration when Emilio ends up sharing the same fate as Román. Emilio's obsession with the acquisition of material wealth becomes tempered by the reality that hardly anyone able-bodied is left to work the land. Chawpi returns to the village to find Román ailing, and that Misitu has disappeared. The play does not resolve whether Chawpi suspends his university studies to help his sick father or if he returns to Puno. It instead ends on a pessimistic note, depicting his village as a barren wasteland in the process of depopulation due to migra-

tion and the roaming Anchanchu, who darts in and out of the play in search of ritual human tributes to repay the debt he believes the villagers owe him for their "progress." *Hatun Yachaywasi* exploits this apocalyptic final scene by ending in chorus:

> CANTAN TODOS. Justicia
> tanta injusticia
> en tu nombre
> se comete injusticia. (*Bis*)

Pathways to progress for the indigenous can weaken traditional ties to family and community when structures or institutions from outside, governmental or non-governmental alike, play an outsized role in dictating their shape. In the case of *Hatun Yachaywasi*, Velasco's Reforma Agraria sought to spark new forms of prosperity by reorganizing agricultural production, but along the way left much behind.

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Notes

[1] This is Gervasio Juan Vilca's own translation of the meaning of the title of his play.

[2] I use the term "heterogeneous" in the spirit of Antonio Cornejo Polar's heterogeneity, which is what results when drastically divergent and conflicting visions of the world inhabit the same territorial space but fail to form a harmonious national culture (Cornejo Polar 159). Unlike hybrid culture, in which the differences between ethnic groups diminish through sustained contact over time, in a heterogeneous nation space the differences between groups remain contentious and racial miscegenation does little to bridge the gaps.

[3] This development is best outlined in Luis A. Ramos-García's introduction to *Voces del interior: Nueva dramaturgia peruana*, pp. xvii-lxxix.

[4] See Amy Eisenberg's *Aymara Indian Perspectives on Development in the Andes*, Chapters 1 and 2, for an outline.

[5] The name Misitu might be familiar to those who have read *Yawar Fiesta* (1941) by José María Arguedas. In this novel, Misitu is the legendary bull that the villagers of Puquio bring for their festival. Any connection between the bull Misitu and the Misitu of Vilca's play is debatable.

[6] I've rendered "modern/colonial" as an adjective for what the Modernity/Coloniality project problematizes.

[7] The arguments of the Modernity/Coloniality project regarding the European colonizers' superimposition of their Western epistemological traditions upon the supposedly more primitive native populations of the Americas are ironic if one considers what Michel Foucault identifies as the foundation of Europe's modern system of knowledge production: "To us, it seems that sixteenth-century learning was made up of an unstable mixture of rational knowledge, notions derived from magical practices, and a whole cultural heritage whose power and authority had been vastly increased by the rediscovery of Greek and Roman authors" (35).

[8] Refers to Walter Mignolo's concept of the "colonial wound" in *The Idea of Latin America*.

[9] While Vilca translates his Quechua terms/phrases using brackets, he uses rounded parentheses for his stage directions. This is a note to prevent confusion, as I use rounded parentheses to define terms in my essay.

[10] An *opa* in the Peruvian Andes is a mentally challenged or mute person.

[11] My reading of the Anchanchu in *Hatun Yachaywasi* conflicts with what some may describe as the mythical creature's nature. For example, Gerardo Fernández Juárez offers a detailed description of the seductive and destructive powers of the Anchanchu and compares the creature to the *saxra,* or *saqra* in Quechua (121-28). The *saqra* demon, however, is never perceived as entirely good nor bad in the folklore of various Andean groups. The *saqra* is a mischievous and impish figure in popular performance tradition throughout the Andes. The Anchanchu, as portrayed in Vilca's play, is not a completely evil figure either. See Gisela Cánepa Koch's (1998) study, *Máscara, transformación e identidad en los Andes: la fiesta de la Virgen del Carmen Paucartambo-Cuzco*, for more discussion of the role of the *saqra* in Andean popular tradition.

[12] This play debuted at the V Muestra Regional de Teatro Peruano held in 1993 in Puno. It is unknown if the play has been performed in places that are mono-lingual Spanish speaking in Peru. One assumes that translation aides would exist in these circumstances. The act of not providing such an aide, however, may serve a political, declarative purpose. It would demand the audience face what they may not know and, thus, produce a Brechtian *Verfremsdungeffekt*.

[13] See Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984) for a more detailed discussion on the concept of *habitus*.

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