2017-04-01

Burial Plots: Finding Theatre in the Thanatology of Colonial North Coast Peru

Connie Ericksen
Brigham Young University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd
Part of the Anthropology Commons

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation
https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/6713

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.
Burial Plots: Finding Theatre in the Thanatology of Colonial North Coast Peru

Connie Ericksen

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

John E. Clark, Chair
Zachary Chase
Haagen D. Klaus
Michael T. Searcy

Department of Anthropology
Brigham Young University

Copyright © 2017 Connie Ericksen
All Rights Reserved
ABSTRACT

Burial Plots: Finding Theatre in the Thanatology of Colonial North Coast Peru

Connie Ericksen
Department of Anthropology, BYU
Master of Arts

Spain’s invasion of the Andes initiated a social drama unprecedented in the experience of the Andean natives. Spanish and Spanish-conscripted native chroniclers wrote extensively about Inca pageantry, spectacle, and ritual, and hastily attributed pagan belief to performances they witnessed or heard about. With equal haste, the Spanish appropriated performance as means of introducing and enforcing Christianity. In this thesis, I treat performance as the central feature of Andean Colonial transition. Performance may be viewed as an ephemeral feature of the Andean transition but fortunately, in mortuary performances (dealing with death and treatment of the body); there are many theatrical elements that survive in mortuary contexts (e.g., staging, setting, costumes, make-up, props, and choreography). Archaeology, history, and ethnographic observation together illustrate that performance has alternately established, celebrated, or subverted Andean power relations during hundreds of years. Mortuary performances are especially excellent commentaries about religious climate of Colonial Peru. In this thesis I analyze mortuary performance in Colonial and contemporary Peru. I argue that the Colonial Spanish saw performance as evidence of belief and sought to transform pagan belief to Christian belief. Ultimately, communities, religion, and performance itself were transformed; integrated and reintegrated into dynamic personal and public expressions.

Keywords: Colonial Peru, Archaeology of Performance, Social Drama, Victor Turner, Eten Peru, Dramaturge, Chapel del San Pedro de Mórrope, Chapel del Niño Serranito de Eten
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With little effort, this could be the largest section of my thesis. A list of the many ways that many people have helped could fill volumes. The idea to analyze performance, in fact, celebrate it, and extoll its power to express and influence is directly due to Jerry Chatwin, my high school band director. Mr. Chatwin knew the power of performance to transform audiences and to transform young performers. Thirty-five years later, I still look to his example as a master teacher. He taught respect for one’s audience, a genuine love for each member of the performing team, and the power of “pizzazz.” My husband, Boyd, has sustained our marriage through the “better and worst” inherent in my most recent years of university study—study towards degrees after a first bachelor’s, master’s, and career. What he could have criticized as unnecessary and selfish, he instead nurtured with interest and patience. My mom is my constant cheerleader who decisively discounts her own scholastic achievements, but never ceases praising mine. My sister, Cindy, and best friend, Lisa, have simultaneously travelled with me on the path of the “non-traditional student.” I am proud of all of us, and know I could not have done it without you both.

My academic champions include David Johnson who offered me my first “taste” with a trowel and the cultural immersion that continues to be my favorite part of archaeological field study. My first anthropology class was with Charles Nuckolls. His love of peoples and their “ways” infected me and propelled me towards my own research. Jaime Bartlett provided practical advice about what to expect from a career in archaeology. Her many “pep talks” kept me from giving up after just one semester of Archaeology 101. Cynthia Finlayson kindly encouraged and modeled what a career in archaeology looks like for a woman. Michael Searcy introduced me to the “magic” of ethnoarchaeology and encouraged me to trust my idea to bridge Eten’s past to Eten’s present. Zachary Chase convinced me early of his genuine interest in my project and consistently followed up with long chats about why it matters to understand other people, and how performance creates reality. I am grateful for the times Donald Forsyth listened and encouraged me even before I had a clear vision of how I would develop my thesis ideas. James Allison allowed me ad hoc participation in local excavation projects thereby giving me much needed field experience that would not have otherwise coordinated with my teaching schedule. In addition, in several unscheduled office chats Dr. Allison talked me off the proverbial “cliff” with counsel to budget energy appropriately between stepping-stones and end goals. Richard Talbot and Paul Stavast saw to it that I had excavation and museum experiences even when it required a great deal of their extra effort and inconvenience. I will never publish enough, or write well enough to repay John E. Clark’s investment as my graduate chair and editor. His relentless (and completely appropriate) criticism of my writing (and thinking) may not be evident in the end product, but as a thesis chair and friend, he patiently insisted that I write and think better. The friendship and help of department secretaries Evie Forsyth and Tami Pugmire blessed many a day on campus. Both have saved me from disaster by pushing paperwork and pulling strings. Scott Ure generously guided me through the process of electronic submission. I could never have done it without him. I am deeply grateful for the trust demonstrated in the grants and awards I received from BYU’s Department of Anthropology and the Women’s Studies Ella C. Jensen Fellowship.

Deepest thanks and love to my friends in Peru and to all who comprise the culture I have tried to make my own through frequent visits and through writing this thesis: Edwin John Lucero Cruz, Victor Jaime Cieza La Madrid, Lucilla Albuquerque, José Diaz Manayay and family, Dr.
Carlos Elera and all the staff at Museo Nacional Sicán. Luis Raul Saavedra and José Nolberto Neciosup Chafloque have been my faithful friends, assistants, and Peruvian guides. Both have devoted many days to my project, showing me features of Eten and Mórrope, introducing me to people and customs, conducting interviews, sending materials, and looking out for my safety and comfort during my several trips to Peru.

None of this project would have been possible without the influence of Dr. Haagen D. Klaus. Haagen took a chance on me and invited me to be a (very senior) junior colleague during two field seasons in Peru. I had absolutely no idea about Peru’s history, culture, food, traditions, geography, transportation—I knew nothing and no one! Haagen enthusiastically and patiently introduced me to everything I now love about Peru and the archaeology there. I owe to him every Peru-based idea, vision, interest, and accomplishment.

Finally, I offer a rather unconventional “shout out” to performance. All my life I have been performing, watching performances, and helping others find self-expression through performance. In performance, I experience the greatest transformations of my life.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ................................................................................................. ii
Acknowledgments ................................................................................. iii
List of Figures ......................................................................................... viii
List of Tables ............................................................................................ ix

1 Introduction. ......................................................................................... 1
   Background .......................................................................................... 2
   Some Problematic Terms ........................................................................ 4

2 Performance Theory and Mortuary Ritual. ............................................. 6
   The Umbrella of Performance Theory .................................................... 6
   Transformation and (re)Integration ......................................................... 7
   The Voice of Performance .....................................................................10
   Center Stage: Death and Burial .............................................................13
   Plot Development: Attempts to Stabilize and Standardize Belief Systems .15
   Burial Contexts Through A Theatrical Lens .........................................17
   Staging Belief and Burial ..................................................................... 21
      Preparing the Body: Dressing the Actor .......................................... 22
      Encasing the Body: Theatrical Setting .............................................. 22
      Grave Goods: Theatrical Props ......................................................... 23
      Burial Location and Pacing: Theatrical Choreography, Blocking, and Pacing. 23

3 Setting the Physical and Cultural Stage. ................................................. 25
   Natural Settings ................................................................................... 25
   Dividing the Stage .............................................................................. 30
      The Northern North Coast ............................................................... 31
      Chronology .................................................................................... 31
   Founding of Eten ............................................................................... 34
      Eten, A Tale of Three Churches ....................................................... 35
   Founding of Mórrope ......................................................................... 40
   Backstage Action ............................................................................... 41

4 Historical Contexts of Performance and Belief: Plots and Subplots ............ 44
   Showtime: Performers and Audiences ................................................. 44
      Attaching Belief to Behavior .......................................................... 45
   The Historical Narratives .................................................................... 46
      Guaman Poma de Ayala ................................................................. 48
      Father Bernabe Cobo ..................................................................... 51
   Chronicles of Performance ................................................................ 52
## 6 Live Action: Ethnographic Observations on Mortuary Performances and their Meanings

Methods And Materials .................................................. 111  
Living Stories of the Dead .............................................. 111  
Church Records ............................................................ 112  
In the Role of Audience .................................................. 113  
In the Role of Performer .................................................. 113  
Interviews ................................................................. 114  
Pictures and Video Footage .............................................. 114  
Managing the Data ........................................................ 115  

Case Studies ....................................................................... 115 
Preparing the Corpse ....................................................... 115  
Last Rites ....................................................................... 116  
Modern Performances and Dressing the Dead ....................... 117  
Death and Burial Setting and Encasing the Corpse .................. 119  
Grave Goods as Burial Props: Expanded Performances .......... 121  
Choreography and Orientation of Children ......................... 124  
An Ethnographic Observation of Choreography and Orientation 127  

Special Effects and Their Effect .......................................... 129  
Fireworks .................................................................... 130  
Animated Figures ............................................................ 130  
Smells ........................................................................ 131  
“Keeping it Real.” ........................................................... 132  

Ethnography and Interpretations ......................................... 132  
Notes From the Dramaturge .............................................. 134  

## 7 It’s a Wrap: Discussion and Conclusion ................................ 136  

The Big Play and Its Major and Minor Acts ......................... 138  
Spanish Conquest as Performance ..................................... 138  
Pan Andean Scope of Performance .................................... 139  
Regional Scope of Performance ....................................... 140  
Local Scope of Performance ............................................ 140  
Encasing the Body—Staging and Setting ............................. 142  
Discussion: Transition or Transformation? .......................... 143  
Conclusions ................................................................. 144  

References ......................................................................... 148
LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 3
3.1. Map of the northern coast of Peru .................................................. 32
3.2. Four aspects of the effigy of the young Christ, known to Eten locals as “El Niño del Milagro Eucarístico” ................................................................. 37
3.3. Art panel depicting “The Serranito” in front of the church built in his honor by Don Manuel del Castillo .................................................. 38
3.4. Art panel depicting the storm that threatened the boat and crew of Don Manuel del Castillo .................................................. 39

Chapter 4
4.1. Moche ceramic vessel depicting an anthropomorphic being playing a drum .............. 58

Chapter 5
5.1. North Coast chronology ................................................................... 74
5.2. Chimú architectural model showing a mortuary performance in the form of funerary ritual ................................................................. 79
5.3. Beads and buttons found in the fill of Unit 10 ........................................ 85
5.4. A large, embroidered textile headband covering the face and head of Burial U10 05-32 ..................................................................... 87
5.5. Unlike many other children adorned with textile caps, Burial U10 05-11 featured a cap made of a thin textile or paper that may have been painted with curvilinear designs ................................................................. 88
5.6. A frequency and percentage comparison of CNS burials clothed and not clothed .... 89
5.7. Variations in copper tack decorative designs of coffin sideboards .......... 92
5.8. Roof support and horcón configurations ............................................... 93
5.9. The stepped-pyramid altar at the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope during restoration in 2005 ................................................................. 95
5.10. A frequency and percentage comparison of CNS burials showing the infrequent use of coffins ............................................................ 96

Chapter 6
6.1. A procession for Eten’s Day of the Dead, including an effigy of Christ, a skeleton with a scythe, and a woman carrying a collection box dedicated to the memory of her deceased brother ............................................. 118
6.2. Robes, mantles, arm-badges, and lanyards being blessed before they were worn in events for Eten’s Day of the Dead ....................................... 118
6.3. One of several processions associated with Eten’s Day of the Dead. ................. 119
6.4. Jose Barrios and the picture of his deceased son, Jesús Barrios, accompanied the effigy of Christ in the procession and into the cemetery chapel ................. 120
6.5. Behind the deceased hangs a veil. .............................................................. 121
6.6. Eten’s most revered Christ effigy rests in a canopy under the image of a huaca, or earthen burial pyramid. ................................................................. 122
6.7. Bread loaves, beans, and turkey pieces on each plate for ritual meals on the Day of the Dead in modern Eten ....................................................... 124
6.8. Eten baptismal record showing symbols in the margin thought to indicate infant death. .............................................................. 125
6.9. Infant baptism record including a marginal note of later death ................. 126
6.10. Devotees pay respect to a 200-year-old wooden effigy of Christ that has just been placed on the west wall of Eten’s cemetery shrine ....................... 129

LIST OF TABLES

5.1 A chart showing CNS burial orientations by age category ..................... 109
The priest moved through his congregation holding a paper cup of holy water. With the flair of an orchestra director, he flicked his wetted fingers at everyone within his reach. It was *Dia de los Difuntos* (Day of the Deceased) in Eten, Peru, and all elements of theater were brought to bear on the day’s activities including music, dance, role-play, and this scripted use of props and choreography—a dramatic device expertly connecting audience and performer. At the touch of the water, the audience became performers themselves. Some pushed toward the priest to touch his robes, some closed their eyes in reverence, some intoned words or phrases in their native dialect. Was the flicked water unanimously received as a Catholic cleansing ritual, or did the flicking evoke a sense of *T’inka*, whereby pagans swore fidelity to the gods of the sun and the earth? The priest acted in a prescribed role, on a figurative stage, following a script in a performance intended to strengthen commitment to Christian belief about death and burial. Actual responses of the congregants were diverse.

Similar performances and similarly diverse audience responses have transpired in Peru ever since Francisco Pizarro initiated the Spanish conquest of South America in 1536. For nearly three centuries following contact, a fundamental aim of the Spanish was to abolish native religious beliefs and to transform the natives into Colonial subjects “more useful to God, themselves, and the state” (Soule 2014:91). “The Extirpation of Idolatry” (Arriaga [1621] 1968) and similar Spanish-Catholic decrees targeted native ritual practices that were understood to demonstrate
native beliefs—especially those expressed through the treatment and interment of their dead. I will hereafter call performances dealing with treatment and interment of dead “mortuary performance”.

The scene from Eten, and the stated aims of the Spanish-Catholics, highlight the fundamental themes, set the stage, and establish my role for this thesis. I act as *dramaturge*—critic and analyst of the Colonial process to determine how religion, community, and performance interacted in the Spanish-Catholic aim to transform the natives of Peru. In particular, I analyze two Colonial cemeteries in the north coast of Peru and complement my archaeological analysis with historical documents and ethnographic observations. From these three sources, I determined that a transformation did occur, but not in the way the Spanish-Catholics expected. No religion was abolished. Communities were never wholly passive “subjects.” Targeted native mortuary performances were not completely eradicated, only transformed. In this thesis I introduce the communities considered “subjugators” and the communities that they considered “subjects.” I explore the religious expressions of both communities and look for “theatre” performances of both. I show that Colonial religion became a dynamic syncretism of Catholic and native practice. Once-opposed communities came together, and their performances—designed to transform—were themselves transformed.

**BACKGROUND**

From the start, the aim of my thesis research was to understand the burials excavated from Colonial Eten’s *Capilla del Niño Serranito*. As I spent time literally in the dirt with the dead, I found myself wondering about their lives—especially about how their lives would have influenced the details I exposed in excavation. Why were some individuals buried toward the west, while others, toward the south? Why were most individuals wrapped in a simple cotton shroud, while displays in the nearby *Museo Nacional Sicán* featured individuals dressed in layers of colorful robes and adorned with all manner of metal accouterments and stone-bead jewelry?
As a budding archaeologist, I recognized that details of death indicated something about life. As an anthropologist, I knew that Andean Colonial life had changed dramatically from Andean pre-Colonial life. As a theatrical performer, I was certain that the life changes would have been both expressed in and influenced by theatrical performance. My personal experiences with archaeology, anthropology, and theatre led me to particular questions about the burials: 1. how did pre-Colonial mortuary rituals compare to those prescribed by the Catholic Church at the time? 2. Did the Spanish force the Andeans to adopt Catholic rituals? 3. If so, do post-Hispanic burials show a transformation to Catholic mores? These questions suggested to me that the interplay between Spanish and native beliefs could be seen as a long running social drama such as described by Victor Turner (1982:92) and, more specifically, that a focus on performance features in rituals would help me understand the dynamics of that drama and its outcomes. I determined to analyze burials in coastal Peru from the perspective of mortuary theory in order to evaluate the spiritual conquest of Peru by Christian Spaniards. My analysis of the Colonial aim is broad; I look at laws and decrees with Pan-Andean aims that emanated from the Colonial political-religious centers of Lima and Cuzco. In turn, I evaluate the success of the Colonial aim with a narrow focus on two north coast cemeteries, region-specific church records, and one community’s current mortuary performances.

The topic of interest and the theory chosen to address it could easily fill numerous books. I cannot deal with either of them in their complexity in this thesis. I describe the limits of my theory and data in the chapters dealing with these topics. I begin my argument and analysis with an exposition of performance theory in Chapter 2 and my application of it to Peruvian mortuary ritual. Much of this discussion sets the stage for the terminology used throughout this thesis. I attempt to operationalize general concepts of performance theory to Peruvian mortuary ritual.

In Chapters 3 through 5, I provide the details of two Peruvian cases, starting in Chapter 3 with an overview of the time, place, and circumstances in which the social drama between
conquering Spaniards and subjugated natives occurred. Following chapters move from general features to specific ones. In Chapter 4, I mine early post-conquest histories for evidence of ritual practices that had elements that may have been part of mortuary performances. In Chapter 5, I review prehistoric archaeological case studies published by Steve Bourget (2006, 2010), Haagen Klaus and Manuel Tam (2015), Izumi Shimada, Haagen Klaus, Rafael Segura, and Go Matsumoto. With an eye for theatrical features, I interpret their reconstructions of mortuary rituals. From their findings I construct a basic prehistoric burial “grammar” of theatrical elements and shared features of burial practices. These practices become the baseline of pre-Hispanic, Andean burial practices to which I compare my reconstructions of mortuary performance from the two colonial cemeteries. In Chapter 6, I consider several modern mortuary practices in Eten. I conclude Chapters 4, 5, and 6 with a summary and evaluation section called “From the Dramaturge.” As with theatre programs and playbills, the purpose of these sections is to provide a running commentary on the overall “show” or “performance. I conclude my analysis and dramaturgical commentary in Chapter 7.

**SOME PROBLEMATIC TERMS**

The periodization of Latin American history includes many terms and references that need clarification before proceeding with descriptions and analyses. “Colonial Era,” “colonization,” and “contact” are terms relied on in this thesis to signal the progression of the Spanish arrival, conquest, settlement, expansion, and domination. More technically, “colonization” spanned a period of approximately 300 years and can be divided into three, near-equal centuries focused on conquest, development, and independence (Schwaller 2011). “Colonists,” “the Spanish,” “conquistadors,” and “missionaries” are likewise general terms used to identify individuals or groups that arrived on various portions of the Pacific coast of South America. The individuals and groups came with a wide variety of intentions, ranging from political gain to “saving
souls.” “Catholic” may be a designation loosely attached to an explorer, a political leader, or a member of any one of several religious orders (Jesuits, Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, or Mercederians), all with different purposes under the same “Catholic” name. In contrast, the terms “native,” “indigenous,” “European,” “black,” “African,” and “Peruvian” were quickly made imprecise as ethnic and social groups intermingled. Simple systems of distinguishing inter-racial/ethnic offspring such as “mulatto,” “mestizo,” and “criollo” historically gave way to assessments based on phenotype, clothing, occupation, and domicile. Even references to “Peru,” or to “the Andes” as a particular territory with a political boundary can be misleading, depending on the time period referenced. Off and on throughout the Colonial era, Peru included portions of modern-day Chili, Bolivia, and Ecuador. In the following discussion, simplified use of these terms is avoided when specific details require distinction.
In this chapter, I describe the theories that frame my thesis argument regarding social transformation. I explain the part performance plays in transformation and why “performance” is the central concept of this thesis. Because “performance,” “performances,” and “performative,” are terms with many meanings. I specify the meanings I afford them in my descriptions. I preview some examples of Spanish and native performances from the time of early contact in order to discuss the mutual use of performance as a mode expression and as an influence. I argue that death and treatment of the physical bodies of the deceased were focal points of Spanish-Catholic conversion efforts, as well as native resistance to those efforts. In the final part of this chapter, I define theatrical terms employed in my study and tie them to elements of burial rituals and performances. I rely on these terms frequently in subsequent chapters to evaluate theatrical elements in historical narratives, archaeological features, and ethnographic observations. I preface these explanations with a consideration of society as a whole and social drama as transformation.

**THE UMBRELLA OF PERFORMANCE THEORY**

In Victor Turner’s search for universal descriptions of social transformation (1997), he outlined a series of social events he called the “social drama.” According to Turner, there are four phases of the social drama: (1) breach, (2) crisis, (3) redressive action that leads to restoration, and (4) (re)integration or renewed schism. The series begins with activities or events that initiate conflict or disruption—the breach phase. In the second, crisis phase, sides are chosen, sometimes
openly, and sometimes only in perceived dichotomy. Tension ensues as opponents attempt to
defend and protect one or the other of the sides in the crisis. The course of events at this point
leads to the third phase, when some person or group of persons initiates an event to correct,
remedy, relieve, or otherwise redress the divergence. At this point, performance emerges as a
means of achieving the correction or remedy. Roles are played on all sides of the issue at hand.
Through the activities of phase three, transformation occurs; individuals and/or communities in
the conflict either (re)integrate, or the schism is deemed insurmountable. According to Turner,
insurmountable schism is a form of breach, and the cycle of the social drama begins again.

Turner attributes particular importance to performance in his analysis of social
transformation: “every type of cultural performance including ritual, ceremony, carnival, theatre,
and poetry, is explanation and explication of life itself” (1982:11). I understand this to mean
that performance creates meaning in life as well as expresses the meaning of life. I further
equate the meaning of life with belief. With my emphasis of tying performance to belief, I deem
Performance Theory as the ideal theoretical baseline for conducting my research. This involves
three different levels of analysis: first, the interaction between the Spanish and the Andean
natives could be framed as social drama; second, performance could be tied to belief; and third,
performances dealing with death could be analyzed and understood as theatrical events.

**TRANSFORMATION AND (RE)INTEGRATION**

Transformation is the key part of social drama of interest here. Three key components
of transformation are separation, liminality, and reintegration. Each component is frequently
analyzed further in contexts of specific rites (van Gennep [1960] 2011). For example, separation,
liminality, and reintegration are associated with rites of passage in many cultures. Two iconic
eamples of rites of passage and subsequent transformation to “adulthood” involve the Satere-
Mawe Bullet Ant Glove for Brazilian boys (Bothelho 2011), and moon-symbol scarification of
Murik girls (Barlow 2013). In both examples, integration into adulthood is achieved only after adolescents have been separated from their communities, isolated in liminal spaces, and subjected to ritual initiations that symbolically “kill” childhood (Davies 2002:19). Symbolic death is a performance that transforms initiates, who then integrate into their former communities as new beings. Performance thus enacts and facilitates the transformation process. Transformation is the aspect of performance theory most relevant to interpreting mortuary performance.

Death is an important symbol in most transformation and (re)integration. But the role of death is not always symbolic. Physical, literal death also initiates many types of transformation and the accompanying separation, liminality, and reintegration. In most societies, separation of the dead from the living is effected both figuratively and literally. According to specific cultural norms, both figurative and literal separation can be immediate or gradual, permanent or temporary, necessary or optional. Separation and the social motives defining it are discussed at length by Robert Hertz ([1960] 2013). He describes lost social identity as a figurative separation of the dead from the living. He identifies revulsion, fear, contamination, and obligation as motives for literal separation. Conversely, Peter Gose (2008) and Michael Parker Pearson (2000) argue that literal separation, such as staging burials in places “apart,” expresses more about facilitating transformation than fear.

Survivors pass through their own separation, liminality, and reintegration. Death leaves living persons much reduced, broken, defective—“amputees” who are socially disfigured by the severed relationship (Hertz [1960] 2013; Metcalf and Huntington 2006). Both living and dead move through separation into liminality. Liminality suggests that individuals are not who and how they were, nor yet who and how they will become. According to the processes of transformation, each will emerge from the experience as a new being—remade. Subsequent integration or reintegration into new or former societies will be as the new entity: the transformed being.
With the anticipation of death, the body takes on a social function as a prop in a social drama. Transformation of a body from its living, cultural context to an inanimate, archaeological context is a process with behaviors that are almost law-like within specific cultures. Living communities dictate the theatrical details of how (or if) the body is made-up, costumed, and adorned. In Colonial times, these details distinguished indigenous burial practices from Spanish-Catholic practices. The interaction of indigenous people and their colonizers highlight change in these behaviors. These behaviors are part of my focus. What behaviors accounted for the acquisition, presentation, interment, use, and potential reuse of human remains? What indigenous behaviors were considered modal? How were these behaviors altered with the arrival of the Spanish to the northern coast around 1536? What taphonomic processes acted on a body? How did these processes, anticipated or observed, influence behavior of the survivors who disposed of their dead? Finally, what culturally-driven interactions with the corpses occurred after death but before burial, such as curation, mummification, etc.? And, what interactions occurred after burial such as extracting bones, comingling remains, or transport, and reburial? Colonial church records, ethnographic data, and archaeology can answer these questions about the role of lifeless bodies in mortuary performances.

**WHAT PERFORMANCE? WHY PERFORMANCE?**

Everyone is a performer. Just as we are all students because we are always learning, and just as we are all teachers because someone is always learning from us, we are all performers. We speak, and others listen or shut us out. We move and others coordinate, ignore, or recoil. We buy and sell, create and destroy, converse, express, demand, acquiesce, reach out, or withdraw, all within social circles of mutual influence. Virtually every action of life is a performance for an audience formally or informally observing and interacting. Coexistence makes performers and
audience of us all. With potential performances in every action, how can the analysis of ancient mortuary performance be made manageable?

Clifford Geertz (1973) describes the performance aspects of a wink, and with his several plausible interpretations, he isolates the singular condition I apply in this thesis: intention. For the purposes of this thesis, a performance is an action with intent to express or influence. This definition eliminates hundreds of potential performances that permeate everyday life. Performers intend to express or communicate aspects of the human experience that are bigger than, more than, deeper than, or other than, what spoken or written language can express.

At the time of Spanish contact, the natives of 16th century Peru were performers in the strictest sense of the word. They performed sacrifices to the sun and the ocean, dances for the harvest, parades with the dead, pageants in the mountains, and divinations, healings, and curses for audiences large and small (Cobo 1990; Gose 2010; Ramirez 1998; Ramos 2010). The Spanish colonists were also performers. With economic, religious, and political intention they created and destroyed, bought and sold, mandated, wrote, spoke, painted, mapped, manipulated, preached, married, baptized, killed, and buried. Misunderstandings and contentions within the ranks of the colonists themselves meant that performances constantly evolved, but a general shape of Colonial performance emerged, at least in part, as a response to performances observed in the indigenous peoples of the Andes. Andean “religion” was described by the Spanish according to “what came before their eyes” (MacCormack 1993:8). Intentional performances of the Andeans formed evidence of and gave definition to their beliefs. The intersection point of Andean and Spanish belief gave rise to what is called Colonial performance.

**THE VOICE OF PERFORMANCE**

Many publications state that the objective of archaeology is to “give voice” to people and cultures of the past (Liebmann 2008; Lima 1999; Scham 2001). In these articles particular
attention in paid to the “voice” of the marginalized—those with no recorded history, and those for whom history has been written by outsiders. Archaeologists want to interpret the expressive efforts made by those within a particular power structure and those outside it. Archaeologists often set out to answer questions such as the following: “What were these people trying to say?” An archaeological study of performance can contribute to an answer. A survey of evolving performances and the elements from which they are comprised is an outline of expression, an overview of changing attitudes within communities, and an index of a population at large.

Turner (1982) describes performance as a narrative of experience, and he defines it as “living through,” “thinking back,” and “subject perceived.” Culture itself is the ensemble of expression in a venue available to society (Dilthey and Rickman 1979). Interactive interpretation of performance forms a “hermeneutic circle,” or a spiral, with each turn transcending its predecessor, and consciously or not, altering the opinions and impressions held by performers and audiences.

In the case of Spanish contact with Andean culture, political and religious expressions—performed both by the Natives and the invaders—are known to have suppressed, distorted, idealized, promoted, or counterfeited authentic experience. But whatever the varied intention motivating performances through the Colonial Era, they became the means of expression and interpretation of belief, culture, tradition, and political and religious systems. A study of performance during this time will illustrate what the Spanish held as acceptable “voice” and help us interpret how that voice was adopted, changed, resisted, or rejected.

By way of illustration, two specific stories of performance merit recitation to introduce my theme. But first I start with an important disclaimer: there continues to be considerable controversy surrounding the validity of all accounts of Spanish-Andean contact. Accounts written by Spanish chroniclers or indigenous chroniclers were powerfully influenced by Spanish tradition and power. Furthermore, as Sabine MacCormack (2006) argues, classic Greek and
Roman tradition colored all accounts of Spanish politics, religion, and the very act of record-keeping itself. The purpose of including these stories, however, is to present two performances and listen for the “voice” expressed in each. Listening for voice, we can obtain a story, if perhaps not the story (Knapp 1996).

Accounts of Pizarro’s conquest of Peru include a scene with the ruling Inca, Atahualpa, in the town square at Cajamarca. Accounts differ on the details, but most accounts agree that there was a large gathering of Spanish and natives in an enclosed public square. The Bible was presented to Atahualpa as the word of the one and most high God. Atahualpa’s rejection of “The Word” resulted in the slaughter of the “unbelieving natives” by the Spanish with their horses, swords, and primitive firearms. Several accounts describe Pizarro as rushing on horseback toward Atahualpa, (who remained unmoved and unflustered, in spite of the threat). Atahualpa was taken hostage and later killed. There can be no disputing that this staged encounter was a performance, complete with script, theme, setting, props, and special effects. In spite of the discrepancies in the various accounts, it is obvious that the Spanish acted with intent to express and influence their captive audience.

Now for the second incident, some years after this encounter and some distance away, another performance caught the attention of Spanish scholar Antonio de la Calancha (1639). A Native named Charimingo, wanting to illustrate his connection to a power greater than the Christian God, summoned fellow non-believers and “haters of baptism” to the base of a mountain. Charimingo climbed the mountain and pronounced in a voice loud enough to be heard by the “great quantity” of those convened that he would make the mountain split in two and collapse. He kicked, a trembling ensued, and, indeed, the mountain collapsed. When the dust cleared, the mountain was half its original size, and Calancha, describing the event, attributed the whole production to Charimingo’s pact with a demon who must have revealed the exact time and place an earthquake would bring the mountain down. Specific take-away messages from
each story differ, but each of the performances includes intention to express and influence belief. There is a powerful “voice” to be extracted from each.

If we wish to interpret the voice intended by a performance, we must inventory the features and analyze their several effects. Though features of performance vary widely, all (intentional) performances are designed to evoke emotion and to communicate a message only fully realized through interaction. Interaction may be real or imagined, with an audience of onlookers, critics, or fellow participants. Performance may serve to establish conformity or resistance (and a range of reactions that fall in between), but performance is a powerful tool of persuasion. Especially in Peru’s Colonial era, when cultural cosmologies clashed, performance, (the voice of belief and the influence on belief) was a currency of power.

**CENTER STAGE: DEATH AND BURIAL**

For Native Andeans and Colonists alike, performances surrounding death, dying, and deposition of bodies were key expressions of belief. Death rituals for the Colonists were set in a Catholic religious framework, and though the rituals evolved, digressed, regressed, and contradicted themselves for more than 300 years, they were nevertheless intended to compel Christian belief in the role of the body, concept of soul, and a single God who created the universe.

Particularly in the case of elite individuals, Catholic funerals included extravagant events, ostentatious paraphernalia, and prestigious resting places. Geoffrey Baker (2008) writes about funeral ceremonies that had lavish music, including fireworks, trumpets, drums and singers employed to “boost the effectiveness of the religious rituals . . . .” Music at a funeral was thought to provide further spiritual assistance after death. Assistance was considered mutually beneficial—the living helped the dead by hastening their passage to heaven through alms, masses, and memorials. The dead aided the living with petitions for their souls and the transmission of true faith in the fight against the “infidels” (Baker 2008; Gose 2008; Ramos 2010).
Perhaps the earliest examples of the new and Spanish-approved funeral practices would have included those taking place in the political center Lima, the “City of Kings.” Lima was organized into a rigid caste system. In Lima, those of high status were buried in the yards of cathedrals or directly beneath their altars, columns, and floors. Persons of lesser status were buried in outlying fields or less auspicious areas of local churches. It would be well into the 19th century before an official cemetery, or “city of the dead,” was conceived of to provide honorable (though never equal) burial for all Lima citizens (Silverman 2002; Warren 2010). Early burials of Catholics were intended as models to the “pagans”—visual instruction as to what a life represented and a body’s place in the cosmovision of the living. Mortuary performance included a funeral mass, procession, burial, and memorials. There were also various performances associated with dying. The parish priest would visit the dying to administer last rights. An entourage of (hired) musicians would sing at the deathbed and accompany the corpse from home to church, making several stops along the way to sing responses over the deceased (Baker 2008). In the early years of colonialism, hospitals—especially monastery hospitals—were considered places of healing, consolation, and as sites of preparation (through the sacraments required) to “die well.” Hospitals thus required musical performance with regularity (Baker 2008), and they served as examples of appropriate Christian mortuary performance.

Various colonial chroniclers and modern archaeologists describe elite pre-Hispanic burials as extravagant. Depending on the region and the time frame, elites were buried in sacred mounds (Alva and Donnan 1994; Montesinos 2011), caves (Gose 2008; Quilter 2005), prominent ceremonial centers (Shimada 2004), or not buried at all, but preserved and subsequently included as ceremonial participants in festivities throughout hundreds of years (Cobo 1990; Guaman Poma 2006). Both elite and non-elite ancestors were considered as supernatural entities or forces who could intervene in the lives of their kin in either helpful or harmful ways. Interactions of the living with the dead included manipulations of entire mummified bodies or just bones, teeth, hair,
fingernails, or images of the dead present during feasting, processions, festivals, supplications, and rituals. Archaeological features analyzed in this thesis (Chapter 5) include examples of secondary burials as well as disturbed, mixed, and incomplete skeletal remains.

Some colonial and contemporary writers note the comparable practices of native and Spanish preparation, burial, veneration, and post-mortem interaction. For example, there were analogous aspects in the practice of preserving bones and accouterments of the dead. To Catholics, relics were associated with miracles; similarly, relics were considered ceremonial talismans by the Andeans. Andeans venerated ancestors almost as deities; Catholics venerated saints who interceded with Deity. In both cultures people buried their dead in sites revered and set apart for worship. In both cultural traditions, people placed offerings with their dead, either to aid their transition to heaven through Catholic alms or, in the case of native ancestors, to appease, and thereby assure the fertility of the land. Some Spaniards acknowledged the similarities between their performances and those of the natives. These people defended indigenous practices as facilitating a transition to Christianity. At the level of policy-making and enforcement, however, such comparative practices were framed as truth versus error; Christian versus pagan; veneration versus idolatry; and worship of God versus worship of the devil.

**PLOT DEVELOPMENT: ATTEMPTS TO STABILIZE AND STANDARDIZE BELIEF SYSTEMS**

Though some shared similarities have been described, native mortuary performance varied widely from region to region, and many belief systems were represented. One can only imagine the mix of messages reported to church leaders in Lima and Cusco from the missionaries in outlying areas and developing dioceses. It would have been difficult to summarize indigenous beliefs from the variety of observed specifics, much less define an organized, monolithic native “religion.”

Through most of the Colonial era, the political and religious climate of Peru was unstable, and characterized by native rebellions and uprisings. The most notable of the rebellions were
those of Tupac Amaru I (1572) and Tupac Amaru II (1780). Spanish political and religious leaders and subordinates were often at odds with each other. Church doctrine was declared and rescinded. Christian practice morphed and evolved according to the rule of viceroyes and bishops.

The unstable Catholic religious climate necessitated church councils to repeatedly clarify doctrine and to direct suppression of pagan practices. There was a confusion of political loyalties, religious loyalties, and the overt markers by which people determined loyalties of either kind. There were indigenous allies to the Christian cause and Spanish who were sympathetic to the indigenous cause. Some Catholic leaders initiated grand projects of native social development, missionary work, political progress, and “utopian” planning (Soule 2014).

Regardless of the confusion of political loyalties, overall, and eventually, the Spanish declared war on indigenous beliefs and instituted policies for their eradication (Brosseder 2014; Gose 2008; MacCormack 1993; Ramirez 1998). The Spanish, exercised in battling “contrary beliefs” in the Old World during the Inquisition and persecution of the Moors, attached well-worn labels to the existing and continuing mortuary performance of the natives such as “idolatrous,” “pagan,” “corrupt,” and “deplorable barbarity.”

Almost universally, Spanish attempts at eradicating native beliefs focused on practices surrounding death and burial. Specific elements of mortuary performance such as staging, theme, props, costumes, setting, music, dance/movement/choreography, and special effects were targeted. Suspect and punishable were expressions of ancestor worship or veneration of places or things believed to be transformations of those already dead. Indigenous practices such as preserving the dead (in whole or part), placing bodies in ceremonial spaces, death rituals, and events commemorating deaths were expressly forbidden. Ironically, indigenous performances were replaced by Catholic practices that were arguably very similar, such as burials in a church, last rites and masses, and annual memorial services. Legal debates between Spanish authorities
and hechizeros (sorcerers) resulted in forms of performance that were new and highly regarded by the natives. The written word, as prepared for court documents, was one of these.

The indigenous response to forced religion and acts of eradication has alternately been categorized as conversion, renewal/restoration, adaptation, rebellion, resistance, or syncretism. I have yet to explore these terms in this thesis, but without question, the domination of the Spanish violently and irrevocably changed the powerful Inca Empire and the outlying societies that may have functioned somewhat independent of Inca rule. In large measure, the pan-Andean change was orchestrated, perpetuated, and substantiated by the intentional manipulation of mortuary performances.

At this point, I shift my focus from details of past performances to definitions of performance terms in the present.

**BURIAL CONTEXTS THROUGH A THEATRICAL LENS**

In this thesis, I consider mortuary performance as theatre, and employ theatrical terms to identify different aspects of it, beginning with the word theatre itself. Theatre is a term used generically to identify sites, stages, and settings—places of action or observation. There are theatres of war, theatres of operation, and lecture theatres. In the context of this work, however, I reserve the term to represent a branch of art, a discipline, or a genre, rather than a place. Edwin Wilson and Alvin Goldfarb (2012:7) call theatre “the lively art” and distinguish it from other art forms by one characteristic particularly salient to the theme of belief, expression, and influence: the live relationship between the performer and the audience.

Following Wilson and Goldfarb (2012:12–15) the six essential elements of theatre are as follows: audience, performer, script/text, director/producer, performance space, design elements. I specify the meanings of these terms as they are used in the following chapters.

*Audience* is a person or persons who observe a performance.

*Performers* are those who present themselves, with intention, in roles or represent characters
in dramatic or comedic action. In the most formal sense, the performer is considered an actor who employs poise and authority to create a character convincingly. Within the craft of acting, many skills are practiced. While I do not think it necessary in this context to describe the professional training available to actors, it is useful to consider one training aspect well known in the world of theatre: Constantin Stanislavski’s (1989) Importance of Specifics. According to Stanislavski, it is never enough to express emotion in vague, amorphous ways. Rather, with very specific actions that cue the audience to appropriately interpret the scene. An actor may pretend to feel angry, but an angry expression is more readily perceived with an action. Angry action might be to throw a rock; anxiety might be expressed with a twist to a handkerchief or a jangle of keys. Performers are encouraged to identify and utilize such concrete activities (Wilson and Goldfarb 2012:100) because concrete activities are considered powerful corollaries of emotion. Performers look for ways to clearly express their emotion (contrived or genuine) and evoke the emotive reaction of their audience.

Script or Text forms the blueprint of a production. It provides the structure for how the performance will progress. Although some performances are unrehearsed and without formal script or text, each will undoubtedly follow a subconscious script directing observers to the focus, or point of view. The intended influence of a presentation or performance can found in its script. Script supplies the underlying message of the performance and prepares all other elements to contribute to that message. Historically, texts were intended primarily to teach. When only a few people could read or write, the early Christian church organized presentations to teach illiterates about the Bible and organized productions that taught religious stories (Wilson and Goldfarb 2012:51). In prehistoric, non-Christian cultures, performance texts also presented and reinforced cosmologies (Classen 1993; Dover et al. 1992; Urton 2013).

Director or Producer is the person who plans and coordinates all theatrical elements. The director rehearses the performers and oversees the integration of design elements to culminate
in a performance that meets the objectives of the script. The role of director has only recently been defined (since the nineteenth century, Wilson and Goldfarb 2012:120), but it is reasonable to assume that for every public performance, one or more persons would have been tasked with organizing the structure, focus, pace, and coordination of that performance.

*Space* is a general term to identify the location where performers and audience come together. Spaces typically include a stage, an observation area, and locations to accommodate performers’ costume changes, entrances, and exits—though these details vary widely.

The *proscenium stage* can be thought of as the picture frame of the performance action, with the audience facing one-way to view it. The stage itself is typically raised above the audience level to increase visibility. “Wings” to each side, and the “fly loft” above the stage allow for entrances and exits and for dramatic changes to actors, sets, and scenery. The *thrust stage* allows for audience on three sides of the action, offering a sense of intimacy to the audience as viewers “wraparound” the action. The thrust stage is traced back to religious presentations by the Greeks who arranged a semi-circle of spectators at the base of a hill around an altar. The hill provided a backdrop for the action as well as a place for changing costumes (Wilson and Goldfarb 2012:142). Varieties of the thrust stage include a platform set on wooden trestles with a curtain at the back, and a platform built at the open end of courtyard so patrons at inns could observe from their balconies. *Arena stages* are also referred to as circles or theatres-in-the-round. In an arena stage, the performing space is in the center with seats or spectator space on all sides. The arena is known for providing an unconscious communion between performers and audience, an intimacy not usually possible in other stage settings. Wilson and Goldfarb (2012:149) argue that the earliest religious and ritual observances in all parts of the world were held in some sort of circle theatre. Finally, a fourth type of stage is called *created space* or *found space*. These terms simply describe a theatre set in a place that is not ordinarily established for performances, such as street corners, public parks, cathedrals, or churches.
In all forms of stage and space one must consider *aesthetic distance*, which is the physical or psychological separation or detachment of the audience from the action. In many performance formats, the separation is established by a physical boundary that is sometimes enforced by theatre staff or security personnel. In other instances, an implied separation adds an interesting element to the performance tension and development.

*Design elements* include scenery, setting, costumes, lighting, sound, and props. Each element of design contributes to the tone and style of the production. Characters, texts, and space direct the focus of spectators, but the visual and aural elements establish the production time and place, tone, style, and sense of realism or imagination. Set design employs elements of line, mass, composition, texture, and color. Costume design includes make-up, wigs and hairstyles, masks, and accessories and similarly employs line, shape, color, fabric, and accessories. Lights, sound, smell, and props are sometimes considered special effects that enhance the dramatic experience, but each can also be used in its natural or recognizable context to add realism. In the modern sense, design elements are employed by design. In a broader, pre-modern sense, design elements may have been an unintentional part of a performance that resulted in heightened audience response and sense of focus.

*Plot* is a term essential to understanding the title of my thesis. It is literary term used to describe a sequence of events that make a drama.

The final term used in this study is *dramaturge*. Technically, this is a staff member of a theatre or theatre company who selects, edits, or interprets scripts and texts. Specific assignments may be to prepare program notes or serve as liaison with authors and playwrights. In contemporary usage, “dramaturge” represents a viewpoint from which several inter-related academic fields (including sociology, anthropology, political science, and philosophy) analyze stages or regions and the social roles enacted in them (Benford and Hare 2015). *Dramaturgy* can be defined as the study of how people accomplish meaning through interaction (Brissett
and Edgley 2005). From the perspective of a dramaturge, in the following chapters I analyze how Colonial interactions were used to accomplish meaning, influence belief, and effect transformation in performers and audiences.

STAGING BELIEF AND BURIAL

A simple web search confirms that the concept of funerals as performance is widely recognized. Ethnic tradition is manipulated through funeral ceremony in Indonesia (Yamashita 1994). Death is referred to as a dance in Tamberma Funeral Performances (Blier 1981). Objects and iconography are analyzed for their theatrical effectiveness in the staged funeral of the Duke of Wellington (Garlick 1991). The festive and ephemeral aspects of burial spaces are the subject of a book analyzing the burial of three Spanish leaders of seventeenth century Peru (Foy 2013). In a textbook chapter titled “Death as Theater” (Turner and Edgley 2009), each theatrical detail of an American funeral is analyzed: backstage activities such as preparing the corpse and limiting the audience, pre-show organization such as designing the set with backdrop, props and scenery, and the final performance, including the greeting, music, movement, script, lights, and other forms of “stage talk” (Ulsperger and Paul 2002). “Stage talk” is said to set a mood and enhance perception that the funeral director and mortuary personnel effectively represent and highlight the beliefs of those in attendance. In many ways, this case study parallels the ethnological observations of mortuary performance in contemporary Eten, Peru.

In describing the construction of a “good death”—one that maintains and promotes the continuity of one’s identity, heritage, and legacy, Leichentritt and Rettig (2001) divide “death” into several dramatic episodes. They identify the script, scenes, theme, stage (or action area), actors, and method, thereby characterizing death as a process-oriented phenomenon (2001:94). Their work emphasizes that prescribed norms and rituals of death and dying are strongly influenced by religious traditions.
In the case study describing a “good death,” belief takes the stage. Death, dying, and funerals are viewed through elements of theatre. In a similar way, in this thesis, I view archaeology, historical narratives, and ethnographic observation through elements of theatre. In particular, I correlate four elements of theatre with elements of burial actually observed: 1. Preparing the Body: Dressing the Actor; 2. Encasing the Body: Theatrical Setting; 3. Grave Goods: Theatrical Props; 4. Burial Location and Pacing: Theatrical Choreography, Blocking, and Pacing. These terms of correlation, and the many theatrical terms I defined earlier, are used in subsequent chapters to describe mortuary performance in the specific contexts of Colonial and contemporary north coast Peru.

Preparing the Body: Dressing the Actor

In theater, actors are chosen based on their ability to perform roles convincingly. The actor has tremendous responsibility to deliver the message of the show; however, many others are responsible for helping her do that effectively. Somewhat of a prop herself, she will be dressed, coached, directed, and decorated. Every detail of her presentation will be scrutinized and refined to match the director’s vision. All elements of sight and sound are nuanced to further the intended message of each moment. In the case of a burial, the corpse itself is an actor. As a central character in a dynamic drama, the corpse is nuanced in specific ways to convey a specific message.

Encasing the Body: Theatrical Setting

In broad theatrical terms, encasing the body is comparable to the element of “setting.” As applied to burial analysis, the concept of setting starts small with a coffin, or lack thereof, and expands to include each detail surrounding the burial, such as the sepulcher and the confines of the church, cemetery, house, or cave. In theater, the setting is carefully designed to target all the senses and evoke a calculated response from the audience. As a subcategory of “spectacle,”
settings create the world and atmosphere of the event for the audience’s experience (Adair-Lynch 2016). The job of a set designer is to consider the shape of the stage and elements of texture, lighting, background music or sound, color, sheen, and even smell to create desired environments. Words describing ephemeral concepts such as “mood,” “effect,” “emotion,” “sense,” and “being caught up” are common theater jargon used by producers as they aim to express and incite specific attitudes through setting.

Grave Goods: Theatrical Props

In archaeological terms, grave goods can provide information about the mourners, the deceased, and the cultural context of the burial of the deceased. Similarly, in theatrical terms, props provide the audience with information about the scene before them. (“Props” is short for “property”: any object used for a production that is not a permanent part of the scenery or costumes [Wilson and Goldfarb 2012:168].) Props can be as large as furniture pieces or as small as a pin, but combined with other stage elements, they clarify time, place, and the character of the actor; they provide context. In theater, a property designer creates all props that are necessary to bring the world of the play to life. Those who plan and place grave goods, or plan the absence of grave goods also design. In the pre-Hispanic sense, grave goods were thought to be functional: objects were used by the deceased in the world of the dead (Klaus 2008:457). In contrast, European Catholic mortuary tradition included flowers, but usually, little else.

Burial Location and Pacing: Theatrical Choreography, Blocking, and Pacing

The word “choreography” typically brings to mind the movement of dance. In burial contexts, movement does not seem a relevant feature of analysis. In theater, however, choreography actually refers to all body gestures and is the designed and directed use of the body to further the message of the scene. Furthermore, choreography is often combined with the term “blocking.”
Blocking is the pattern or arrangement of performers’ location in relation to each other or to the stage space (Wilson and Goldfarb 2012:125). Considered together, choreography and blocking are tremendously apt for burial contexts. The location of Colonial burials within Catholic chapels is significant. The location of each grave and the arrangement of bodies and body parts in graves are also significant. The choreography of human remains can tell us a great deal about the deceased and about those who placed them in their graves.

The success of any dramatic production is based on its ability to draw and captivate an audience. Generally, a production is designed to include alternating episodes of emotional tension and release. The sense of tension and release is created through manipulation of all theatrical elements previously discussed: “The [designer] introduces various stresses and strains in the form of conflicts; sets boundaries and outer limits, such as how many characters participate, how long the action lasts, and where it takes place; and, calculates dynamics—when tension increases and slackens” (Wilson and Goldfarb 2012:52). In theatre, this feature of design is called “pacing.” There are also pacing features of burials. In this thesis, the archaeological descriptions of burial timing such as “primary,” “delayed (or prolonged) primary,” “secondary,” and “mass (or simultaneous)” will be considered terms of pacing. Simply put, burial timing determines (1) how long the action of mortuary performance lasts, and (2) how many characters “participate,” (or how many are included, as in the case of mass interments). Some bodies appear to have been subject to special treatments thought to facilitate separation of soul from body or “soul transfer” (Huchet and Greenberg 2010; Klaus 2008:535). This facilitation is also an aspect of pacing. In later discussion, I consider burial choreography and blocking as “body orientation.” I compare theatrical pacing to the timing of body deposition and post-burial exhumation.

To summarize, in this chapter I have reviewed the terms of theory and theatrical description. In the next chapter, I introduce the geographic, ecological, and cultural “stage” where the theory and terms will be applied.
Setting the Physical and Cultural Stage

An understanding of the geography, climate, natural resources, and cultural history of the Andes is critical for my arguments in follow chapters. Thus, I present an overview of these topics first. After my general descriptions, I focus on the northern north coast of Peru and recount the particular events that lead to the construction of the two Colonial churches I studied there. It may appear that this chapter digresses from the topic of theatre, but this is not the case. I consider the land as the stage for the social drama recounted in following chapters. The details of the set and the backstory provide context for my dramaturgical analysis.

NATURAL SETTINGS

Peru is a land of geographic contrasts. A practical geographic reference is the world’s longest continental mountain range—the Andes. The Andes run along the western edge of South America, extending essentially north-south from tip to tip. Modern-day Peru includes the central third of this mountain range: the Pacific Ocean skirts the country on the west, and the equator touches Peru’s northern extremity. The combination of these three prominent features—high mountains, proximity to the equator, and the flanking Pacific Ocean border—creates one of the most dynamic environments on earth.

The mountains are divided into three broad but distinct ecological zones based on vertical position: the quechua (2,400–3,000 m above sea level), the suni (3,300–3,910 m) and the puna (3,910–4,340 m). The extreme differences in elevation can be compact. In some parts, distinct
produce and farming techniques are separated by as little as 30 vertical meters (Brush 1982; Klaus 2008; Shimada 2004). For millennia families and communities have farmed in different ecological zones in Peru to bolster their efforts to be self-sufficient and to minimize the risk of crop failures due to the diseases, frost, or hail specific to each zone (Bolin 1998:17). Treeless moist grasslands, fertile basins, and permanent snow and glaciers combine to encourage human interaction along a vertical axis.

Where the mountain range gives way to the Andean foothills, the yunga (densely wooded valley or slope) prevails. This zone is characterized by year-round sunshine and warmth ideal for cultivating a wide variety of foods and for producing resources such as exotic bird feathers, gold, medicinal plants, and timber. Most importantly, this region includes the riverheads—the largest and highest points of rivers that feed secondary rivers, streams, and man-made canals to irrigate coastal valleys. The yunga zone, with its “Maximum Elevation Canals” (MECs) forms the eastern boundary to the coastal zone. Above the MEC, in the rising mountain slopes, cultivation depends on yearly rainfall; below, in the rainless coastal region, occupation and cultivation hinge on irrigation (Shimada 2004).

The arid coastal region is essentially rainless, though there are exceptional occurrences of torrential rainy seasons attributed to the El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) countercurrent. Although the coastal river valleys have little elevation difference, environmental distinctions can be extreme depending on proximity to alluvial plains, soil composition, and fluctuations of river output. Over 40 river valleys dissect the coastal regions as mountain rivers wind toward the Pacific Ocean. The north coast includes 14 of those river valleys. Fertile, wedge-shaped production zones are associated with the river tributaries which, depending on the seasonal rainfall of the adjacent highlands, produce one or more harvests annually. In the North Highlands of Peru, the rainfall peaks in March and essentially stops in May. In the highlands farther south, the peak rainy season is January and February.
The north boundary of the north coast is the Sechura Desert. The southern extremity of this desert is marked by a stretch of sand dunes and mountains that juts out toward the ocean. Izumi Shimada (2004) analyzes the interplay of altitude and latitude along Peru’s western extremity and notes that the vast environmental differences created by steep gradients reaching close to the Pacific in the south, and the more gradual slope and the wider stretch between mountain and ocean found in more northern transects. On the north coast, Andean foothills are lower, farther inland, and broken up, essentially providing humid air and the moderating influence of the Pacific to larger swaths of agricultural land. These valleys are further blessed with the water of large perennial rivers that create thick, fertile alluvia. Though slight, the relative difference in gradient within the coastal valley is crucial to determining water management. Overall, the northern half of the north coast offers highly favorable conditions for irrigation and large-scale cultivation. Most of the large-scale and complex pre-Hispanic Andean cultures seem to have emerged there (Cupisnique, Mochica, and Chimú) and in the Lake Titicaca region (Pucará, Tiahunaco, and Inca). Other favorable conditions of the north coast include the mild, sunny climate and potential seaports. The Spanish quickly recognized and exploited both the natural features and the large native population accustomed to provide labor tribute under powerful pre-Hispanic polities. By the late sixteenth century, the north coast was one of the most economically active regions of the entire Viceroyalty of Peru (Ramírez 1986).

Some have characterized coastal Peru as a treeless, monotonous, repetitive arid dessert, interrupted by triangular, irrigated bottomlands, but actually, the north coast boasts a wide range of resources and microenvironments. Llamas, gold, ores, colorful feathers, and seeds considered medicinal and magical are typically attributed to the highlands or jungle, but they are found in appreciable quantities on the north coast as well. The semitropical thorny Poma forest is located in the central La Leche Valley, and the Chaparrí and Colán forests are farther north. Together
they house birds of all varieties and colors, pumas, anteaters, fox, deer, and boa constrictors. They also provide a wealth of resources that have been utilized and developed by people over the last 11,000 years (Klaus 2008:114).

The cultural and climatic importance of the Pacific Ocean to Andean peoples cannot be overemphasized. Air masses and ocean currents form complex and dynamic pan-Pacific phenomena that influence weather, agriculture, and economy. The cold Peru (or Humbolt) Current moves slowly from Antarctica along the western shore of most of South America. This current is the longest cold current in the world. It warms gradually as it moves from its southern extremity to the northern tip of coastal Peru where it veers west and loses definition. The interaction of the cold water and the warm air generates a range of weather effects laterally and vertically. The cloud cover that characterizes a winter day in Lima dissipates as it follows the current northward. In Chiclayo, on the same day, weather will likely be warmer, sunnier, and drier. The cold current and its attendant cloud cover tend to keep coastal temperatures stable, in spite of the proximity to the equator. Peruvian coastal deserts are not the stereotypical hot, dry deserts of other climes. They are relatively clammy and damp (Shimada 2004:45).

A complex relationship between the cold current and warm southerly winds creates a biotic richness of aquatic plants and an impressive array of shellfish, sea animals and birds. Though Peru accounts for only a fraction of the global sea surface, in the 1970s it produced 22 percent by weight of all fish caught throughout the world (Idyll 1973). The high volumes of fish support large populations of sea birds that feed on them. In turn, the feeding results in large quantities of another important by-product: guano. Deposits of guano are prominent features on the coast and offshore islands. Because it is rich in nitrogen and phosphorus, guano is an excellent natural fertilizer. There is evidence that guano has been mined since pre-Hispanic times and mining intensifi ed in the Colonial Era (Shimada 2004:46).
Coastal and highland inhabitants of the Central Andes attributed symbolic significance to *Spondylus*, *Strombus*, and *Conus* shells before and after the Spanish Conquest as they represented life-giving water. Some contexts associate them with oracles. In other contexts, shells are modeled in ceramics and depicted as cargo. Shells have been excavated from high-status ceremonial contexts, and *Strombus* shells have been, and are even today, sometimes modified for use as trumpets (Shimada 2004:46).

Cultural activities and a range of natural phenomenon also exerted a catastrophic influence on the landscape, environment, and peoples of the north coast. Ripple effects reached to distant locales throughout South America and around the world. Principal among the natural forces is the event of El Niño. El Niño is so named for its occurrence along the Peruvian coast around Christmastime. Though El Niño varies from year to year in strength and duration, severe events can have a devastating impact that is first and usually most strongly felt along the north coast. El Niño begins as a massive body of warm water originating near the Galapagos Islands and running southward in contrary direction (and contrary temperature) to the cold, northward moving Peru Current. Though not fully understood, the simplified explanation of El Niño’s effect is that the warm water and warm coastal air combine to create less than typical wind, disrupting the normal inversion that holds moisture in the clouds until they reach the mountains. Additionally, offshore convection cells move inland already heavy with moisture that hits the arid coast with thunderstorms and torrential rain. Widespread flooding and mudslides disrupt travel, contaminate potable water, severely damage constructions—both ancient and modern—and leave behind deposits of sediment that bury fields or sometimes, entire villages. The warm water also affects the balance of marine life and causes the death or disappearance of cold-water organisms and introduces warm water species in their place (Shimada 2004:49).

Deforestation is a documented problem that is widespread on the Peruvian coast. Indigenous species of trees were used in pre-Hispanic times for lumber. Columns and beams of Mochica
houses required as many as two-dozen tree trunks. Charcoal fuel to heat smelting furnaces also consumed massive amounts of hardwood fuel. The heating and cooking needs of the population contributed to the widespread depletion of the indigenous trees in pre-Hispanic times. With the arrival of the Spanish, the misuse of forest resources only got worse.

Finally, the tectonic activity of the Andes is another natural phenomenon producing (mostly) negative, long-term effects on north coast Peru. Earthquakes and tsunamis are two natural disasters related to shifting landmasses, but more subtle and gradual changes are also known to have broken irrigation channels, altered ground slopes, isolated fields from irrigation water, and exposed sand beds that were once underwater (Shimada 2004:51).

Though the natural events and environmental misuses briefly outlined above are cast in a negative light, indigenous responses to them show their resourcefulness and resilience. It is likely that the locals utilized llama dung as a replacement fuel for the depleted forest hardwood. Also, preserved charcoal in ceramic kilns and smelting furnaces shows small diameter branches and indicate conscious culling from larger limbs (Shimada 2004:53). The modern practice of storing sacks of grains and rice beneath the sand is thought to be a pre-Hispanic technique developed as a result of shifting sand dunes and sand sheets. Likewise, traditional technologies of net fishing and farming seem to have reemerged in consequence of recent El Niño events as well as the reintroduction of indigenous crops better suited for rain-soaked lands (Shimada 2004:52).

**DIVIDING THE STAGE**

Building on the preceding broad view of the Andean environment I now present details relevant to the archaeology of concern here, starting with the cultural division of the north coast into northern and the southern segments. It is not known when, where, or why this cultural bipartition emerged. Haagen Klaus (2008:107) suggests some possibilities, including differing access to resources—specifically arable land, regional divisions of Cupisnique tribes or chiefdoms, language
or dialect differences, or the distinction between the monumental platforms built in the open and those against cliffs and hill summits. What is certain is that a pre-Hispanic division existed on the north coast, with a cultural fluorescence roughly proportional to specific environmental features that favored the northern north coast at least between AD 900–1375 (Shimada 2004).

The Northern North Coast

Generally, the northern sector of the north coast is dominated geographically by the Lambayeque Valley Complex (Figure 3.1) though the Jequetepeque Valley to the south is also an extensive region. The Lambayeque region comprises five contiguous valleys between Mótupe and Jequetepeque, inclusive. In his chronology of Moche expansion and fluorescence, Shimada calls the Lambayeque Valley Complex the “heartland” of the Moche V, attributing to the valley a concentration of the north coast’s most favorable environmental aspects (2004:57).

The topography of the valley complex is ideal for irrigation. About AD 1000–1200, the five river valleys were integrated into a single inter-valley system encompassing about a third of the total population and cultivatable land on the Peruvian coast (Kosok 1959:64, 1965:147). Geography and irrigation seemed to favor the northern sector against the effects of tectonic uplift and a pan-Andean drought that brought massive sand movement from the Pacific Ocean. The sand mounds pinched off sectors of land and initiated the abandonment of the southern cultural center in the Moche Valley (Shimada 2004:119).

Chronology

The pre-Hispanic cultures of the north coast were intimately connected to local environmental features. The abundant land and sea resources supported a succession of powerful, autonomous polities. These included the Moche and Chimú and their antecedent cultures known as Cupisnique, Salinar, and Gallinazo. Detailed chronologies of these cultures are available
elsewhere (see Klaus 2008; Shimada 1995). In this thesis, I refer to pre-Hispanic cultures and their practices to set the scene for arrival of the Spanish and to portend Spanish reaction to the Andean features, artifacts, rituals, and traditions.
The division of north coast cultures into the northern and southern cohorts results from many years’ research and debate by archaeologists. Proposed distinctions are not universally agreed upon even today and they certainly were not evident to the Spanish. Susan Ramirez (1998:9) laments that the Spanish conflated various groups of Andeans into a largely undifferentiated mass of “Indians.” My intent, in this thesis mirrors that of Ramirez: to offset the Cuzco-centered view of the rituals and beliefs of the native peoples of the north coast. With her work, Ramirez underscores the gradual process of conquest and the accommodation and resistance of north coast regions under Spanish rule. The objective of my work is to illustrate how mortuary performance also underscores those gradual processes of conquest and accommodation on the north coast.

North coast cultures represented millennia of accommodations to physical and social environmental circumstances. Moche phases I–V gave way to the rise of the Sicán—composed of three or more cultural traditions and ethnic groups representing the ultimate fluorescence of in situ Lambayeque Valley Complex development. Middle Sicán culture collapsed as a consequence of a strong El Niño event followed by a 30-year drought. Late Sicán culture has not been studied in depth, but around AD 1375 the southern sector of the north coast gained ascendancy in the form of Chimú expansion into the northern zone. The Chimú Kingdom established the largest pre-Hispanic coastal state of Andean History (Klaus 208:164). The “heartland” Lambayeque Valley Complex proved a treasure to the imperial Chimú who exploited the agricultural production and labor to support the growing population at the empire’s capital, Chan Chan. Eventually, the Chimú came into contact with the Inca state and were defeated around the year AD 1460. Control of lands specifically designated for hunting, fishing, lumber, and mining had significant impact on life in the north coast after being incorporated into the Inca province. The Inca labor tax system, (mi’ta) resettled the established, specialized communities—parcialidades—to distant regions, but, ultimately, the impact of the Inca was limited in the north
coast (Klaus 2008:164–165; Ramirez 1990:532). Inca rule was relatively short before the arrival of the Spanish, and north coast culture was highly organized and deeply entrenched.

Despite major cultural changes experienced over thousands of years, local north coast populations mainly continued to exhibit continuity with their local heritage (for a discussion of the huge discontinuities, see Shimada 1990). Ethnic markers that crystalized in the first few centuries AD persisted until Spanish contact and are specifically evident in the archaeological record at Capilla Niño Serranito. These markers are among the various mortuary performance features that are the focus of this work.

FOUNDING OF ETEN

Along the northern coast of Peru are two towns that, according to local lore, branched from was a pre-Hispanic fishing village called Atîm. With a variety of spellings, references to the village appear sporadically in regional narratives, both published and unpublished. Whatever the official name, the archaeological site attributed to Atîm is rich with Colonial and pre-Colonial history. Here a Spanish mission was organized, then a Colonial reducción (an Indian community set up under ecclesiastical authority), a Catholic doctrina (doctrinal settlement, similar to a parish), and finally, the two towns known today as Puerto Eten and Ciudad Eten. It is generally held that the two towns were founded sometime between 1750 and 1760, after the Colonial-period reducción of Santa María de Magdalena de Eten was abandoned. The population of the reducción split. Some people moved 1 km to the south where fishing continued to be the main livelihood. Others moved slightly inland, about 1.5 kms to the northwest. Passersby frequented the original site, and a sanctuary there was used for religious gatherings and commemorations, but there were no permanent residents. Colloquially, the site is referred to as simply Eten.

The earliest local church records date back to 1630 (Peru, Catholic Church Records, 1603–1992; pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1951-23315-2730-73). With some analysis, the records provide a
general outline of the site’s evolving church identity. Entries refer to the area variably as Ethen, Pueblo Ethen, Doctrina de Ethen, Eten de la Doctrina de Nuestra Santa María Magdalena, and finally, by the contemporary town names, Puerto Eten and Ciudad Eten. All references fall within a subset of larger religious assemblies known as parroquia and doctrina. To this date, I have not found in the historic record any explanation for the variation in references to the same place and no note of official changes from one status to the next. Early and slight variations in spelling and identity may simply reflect preferences of the scribes or priests making the entries. A valuable future project would be to examine the archival records to see whether there are actually date-specific shifts in the way the community was referenced. Such an analysis would perhaps clarify the evolving role of the Colonial church in Eten.

Original manuscripts of church records are housed in the library of Parroquia Santa Maria Magdalena de Ciudad Eten and are digitally archived on Familysearch.org as “Catholic Church Records: Lambayeque: Eten: Parish: Santa María Magdalena” (https://familysearch.org).

**Eten, A Tale of Three Churches**

Between Puerto Eten and Ciudad Eten, and approximately 500 meters from the shoreline of the Pacific Ocean, stands the ruin of the Capilla del Niño Serranito (CNS). CNS is a mid-colonial era church. Its history is couched in local lore. The most detailed and consistent narrative begins in 1773 with sea captain Manuel Castillo, who is said to have been a resident of nearby Lambayeque. In September of that year, while returning from a successful business voyage to the Magellan Straights, there arose a terrible storm that lasted several days and threatened the loss of ship, cargo, and crew. The captain is said to have recalled the miracle of 1649 when the Divine Niño appeared in the Eucharist at the Church of Santa Maria de Magdalena de Eten. With this miracle in mind, he offered up a prayer to the Divine Niño and begged for the end of the storm. Granted a miraculous intervention, he promised to build a church to commemorate and
honor the Christ Child. Some narratives recount the subsequent appearance of a child in typical Andean dress walking along the beach or among the waves. Others narratives do not describe an apparition, but all versions credit the Divine Niño with the immediate calming of the storm and the captain and crew’s miraculous escape from danger. Castillo kept his word, and within four years, the Capilla del Niño Serranito was constructed. To this day, the community celebrates the miraculous intervention of the Christ Child with a pilgrimage to the sanctuary on September 16th of every year (Araujo 1949; Jacinto 1987; Rodolfi 1999). Numerous carvings, art panels, narratives, and effigies are dedicated to the story (Figures 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4)

While we do not know the exact date of its construction, the extent of its use, or whether or not the Catholic Church recognized the chapel as consecrated and holy, we do know that the chapel served as the final resting place for nearly 300 individuals. The excavation report of the 2010–11 field season inventories more than 280 burials and includes many points of discrete data that can be analyzed as features of mortuary performance. The importance of this edifice to my thesis is both in the large sample of Colonial burials and the profound respect for the edifice evidenced today, and reverence that dates back hundreds of years.

Haagen Klaus (2012) has determined that the Chapel del Niño Serranito (CNS) was the third in a series of three churches that served the Colonial congregations of Eten. It is believed that the sequence of construction began with a mission church, then with the Church of Santa María de Magdalena de Eten (CSMME), and concluded with construction of the Capilla del Niño Serranito. The 2010–11 archaeological field seasons included excavation at the Eten site with CNS the primary subject. Trench 1 and Units 2, 3, and 4 demonstrated that CNS was superimposed over the remains of earlier Colonial period constructions and domestic occupations (2012b:1). Klaus concludes that CNS and the immediate locale included three occupational phases evident in (1) the visible surface ruins of CNS (modified at least once), (2) domestic late pre-Hispanic and Early Colonial artifacts, and (3) a mortuary population under the floors and
Figure 3.2. Four aspects of the effigy of the young Christ, known to Eten locals as “El Niño del Milagro Eucarístico” (The Child of the Eucharist Miracle), “El Niño Serranito” (The Child of the Mountains), or simply “El Serranito” (Little Mountain Boy). The effigy was donated to the Parish of Saint Maria Magdalena in 1928 and stands inside the modern church today. A) Effigy dressed for Easter Festivities circa 1930; B) Painted effigy without added clothing; C) Effigy in Clothing on the morning of Day of the Dead; D) Effigy after the Day of the Dead procession and Mass. Photos courtesy of José Nolberto Neciosup Chafloque.
Figure 3.3. Art panel depicting “The Serranito” in front of the church built in his honor by Don Manuel del Castillo. In gratitude for calming a storm and preserving his boat and crew in 1773, Don Castillo funded the construction of the building and left it to the care of Franciscan Priests in 1778 (Chafloque 2015c). Photo courtesy of José Nolberto Neciosup Chafloque.
Figure 3.4. Art panel depicting the storm that threatened the boat and crew of Don Manuel del Castillo. The caption says, “It is one of the miracles of the Christ Child that upon invoking His name, one of the devotees, Don Manuel de Castillo, aboard a ship that was going to sink during a storm was saved and to show his gratitude he had the church of the miracle built in 1778.” Other art panels are hung alongside this one and tell the story of other appearances. Photo: Courtesy of José Nolberto Neciosup Chafloque.
walls constructed previous to building the Capilla del Niño Serranito. Local tradition holds that there was an early Colonial presence in the Eten area marked by the construction of a mission church. Available evidence suggests that remains of this mission church lie under the ruins of CNS. Though there are no verifiable dates for construction and use of the mission church, architectural remnants of the second structure, the Church of Santa María de Magdalena de Eten (CSMME), are nearby. The construction date traditionally accorded this building are the early 1600s. Excavation at CSMME included recovery of nearly 240 Colonial burials. Between the time of the earliest Spanish contact in the early 1530s and the construction and use of the second church in the early 1600s, we can infer that the first (mission) church was constructed sometime in the late 1500s and would have been the most important site for the earliest Colonial burials from the Eten area.

Occupation periods represented by excavated burials from the CNS (and mission church) cover several centuries. A CNS burial from Unit 2 (U2-61) included artifacts generally attributed to the Chimú or Chimú-Inka period (late pre-Hispanic). Other burials found beneath the structure and outside its perimeter are thought to be intrusive; they date to the 19th century. Potentially, burials recovered from CNS and its immediate surrounding area provide a record of mortuary performance that span more than 400 years.

**FOUNDING OF MÓRROPE**

Mórrope is a town located 803 kilometers north of the Peru’s capital city, Lima. Compared to Eten, Mórrope is 50 kilometers farther north and slightly more inland. Modesto Rubiños, a priest in Mórrope (1782) described the region’s history in terms of a water myth. According to Rubiños, the founding of Mórrope was based on a pre-Hispanic event involving three children who discovered a water hole eventually named Murrup—later pronounced “Mórrope” by the Spanish (Modesto Rubiños 1782 [1936]:292–293). As a colonial interest, Mórrope’s location
at the end of a pre-Hispanic route between Lambayeque and Piura may have been the strategic motive prompting its early evangelization. Throughout the Colonial period, Morropaños used mules to transport goods and information across the 150 kilometers of open Sechura Desert (Klaus 2008:333). Excavation at Mórrope centered on the site of a Colonial chapel, Capilla de San Pedro de Mórrope. The excavation recovered no physical evidence of pre-Hispanic occupation, thus lending strength to the idea that the town was a Colonial creation. In 1536, a population figure of 698 was recorded for the town. This population coincided with the arrival of the first Catholic priest.

Because Mórrope was deemed an interesting combination of indigenous and Catholic burial practices, and because bioarchaeological analysis suggested an unusual persistence of indigenous dietary, health, and subsistence features, Eten and Mórrope were paired as potential research parallels (Klaus 2012).

Mórrope and the nearby town of Pacora may have been politically linked. The construction of their chapels was more or less simultaneous. A thorough overview of Mórrope’s colonial history and importance are presented in Klaus’s (2008) doctoral dissertation and not rehearsed here. Some results of his excavation are considered in the following chapters.

**BACKSTAGE ACTION**

In the following discussions of religion in Colonial Peru, Eten, Mórrope and sometimes the wider north coast, will be considered “outliers.” The distinction between center and outliers is important; most theories of Peruvian conquest are based on chronicles written by Spanish scribes or indigenous translators who observed populations under direct Spanish rule. As pointed out by Klaus (2012) outlines several lines of evidence to characterize the population as ethnically Muchik (or Mochica) throughout changing political climates—including that of Colonial times. He cites burial ritual as a primary, enduring feature that signaled persistence of local identity—
even in the context of intense interaction with Inca groups that immediately preceded Spanish conquest (2008:154–156). Second, the northern coastal region was far separated from Cuzco and Lima, the two political centers from which Colonial laws and decrees originated. Standard colonial practice set up indigenous leaders as puppets under Spanish rule. Legal cases specific to the north coast describe the abundant misunderstandings that resulted from differences in language and social tradition. Provincial leaders were left to interpret Spanish decrees according to their limited experience with European styles of government (See Ramirez 1998; Soule 2014). Third, initial contact with the north coast provinces was very early, and perhaps originally characterized as much by missionary fervor as political strategy (Tibesar et al. 2013). Attention allotted to religious “zeal” and the regional “scripts” that resulted from it also demonstrate that the north coast differed from more central colonial populations. Since my argument deals with transformation through theatrical performance, those differences—especially differences relating to death and burial—will be valuable study aspects.

The north coast was eventually included in every facet of the central Spanish regime, particularly as the Spanish recognized the human and natural resources of the north coast region. But just as the north coast was slower (or almost excepted), in transitioning to Inca influence (Ramirez 1998:3), it was also slower in its acceptance and adoption of Spanish political influence. On the other hand, the region, and Eten itself, is considered exceptional for its early embrace of religious aegis and practice. Franciscans established a small presence at Mórrope and Pacora as early as 1536. There followed the construction of several comparatively massive churches from 1552–1559, such as the one in Ferreñafe, Lambayeque, and a convent and chapel in Chiclayo (Mendoza 1985). As previously noted, in 1649, Eten was the site of three miracles that are formally recognized by the Catholic Church. The events of 1649 are among a limited number of Eucharist Miracles of the World (Instituto San Clemente 2006) and continue to be celebrated locally every year.
Sincere concern for the physical and spiritual neglect suffered by the Indians characterized the leadership of Jaime Marínez Campañón who, almost two hundred years after initial contact, was designated as Bishop of Trujillo (Soule 2014). His foremost concern was to improve the lot of the Indians (Soule 2014:6, 50–51). His utopian vision was guided by an interest in local resources, local initiative, and local circumstances. He adopted the European rhetoric of urbane civility and economic utility, but he strove to think of “imperatives” as “improvements” in an effort to better suit local needs. His works, as well as the regional church records of the era, exhibit a zealous commitment to two objectives: the growth of the church through missionary schools (founded with limited success in several north coast communities, including Lambayeque) and native participation in the full rites and ordinances of the church.

Though it can be argued that the north coast was situated far from the locus of Spanish colonialism, this region was the pre-Hispanic center of several cultural and political strongholds. The socio-political evolution of any region is in many ways a consequence of its geographic and environmental setting. This overview of the land, its features, and its prehistory sets the stage for a more detailed historical overview. That is subject of the next chapter.
In this chapter, I summarize historical narratives written in the early years of Andean Colonization. The narratives describe the varieties of native performances that greeted the Spanish on their arrival to the Andean world and the early years thereafter. I argue that these performances influenced Spanish assessments of native “religion.” I discuss some aspects of Colonial Catholic doctrine and how the Spanish aim to abolish native beliefs directed rules/scripts of Catholic mortuary performance. In my closing comments I summarize the theatrical elements of these early historical narratives and describe the Spanish aim as if it were a theatrical plot.

**SHOWTIME: PERFORMERS AND AUDIENCES**

By the time the Spanish arrived on the shores of South America, indigenous performance had been evolving for thousands of years. Performance was a dynamic phenomenon and a consistent part of a total Andean social drama before it came under European influence. Andean conceptions of deity, human society, and of cosmic order were articulated by observances connected to the agricultural calendar, the Sun, and cults of ancestors (MacCormack 1993:13). Observances reflected Andean reality and perceptions of reality in a series of phases and layers. Inca myths and cults grew from pre-Inca myths and cults. Inca observances receded and fused with pre-Inca observances that had endured (MacCormack 1993:6). Archaeological excavations in the Andean area have revealed thousands of pre-Hispanic burial sites and numerous burial patterns from different times and locations. These sites and patterns suggest a variety of
religious observations and mortuary performances. Practices emerged, shifted, and receded based on changes in location, economics, belief systems, political power, and natural disasters. Archaeologists have categorized specific instances of changed patterns as social expansion and (re)development (Alva and Donnan 1994; Alva Meneses 2008), destruction, demise, or violent appeasement (Jennings 2008; Klaus et al. 2010).

The mortuary performance traditions of the Spanish conquistadors also had a long and complex history based in first-century Christian attitudes of impurity toward the dead. These attitudes became linked to notions of resurrection and eternal salvation and were reflected in specific elements of Catholic mortuary performance. Cemeteries became associated with churches, and burial within them was based on certain standards of religious observance of the deceased. Christian cemeteries thus served as theatrical stages with particulars of setting and choreography determined by segregation into areas of preferential and less-preferential burial locations. Church altars were situated on the east end of the building, in the direction of the rising Sun and of Christ’s anticipated Second Coming. Burial locations for priests and parishioners were choreographed to parallel (church) life “location”: priests near the altar, the focal point of devotion; parishioners further back where congregations gathered.

Attaching Belief to Behavior

In addition to plunder, exploitation, and other forms of hostility inflicted on the natives of 16th century Peru, the Spanish went to war on indigenous beliefs (MacCormack 1993). What was so threatening about indigenous belief as to initiate 300 years of mandates, laws, and punishments? In fact, as newcomers to the scene of a non-literate society, with perhaps hundreds of non-Spanish languages and dialects, how did the Spanish even learn about the beliefs they so readily labeled as “pagan?” What did the Spanish see that evidenced belief? Conquistadores made their
judgments based on their interpretation of behavior: they saw action—ceremony, ritual, and presentation that they perceived as expressing belief. In short, they saw performance.

Spanish practices were also based on belief. Idealized Spanish burial practices followed five basic characteristics that were connected to Christian beliefs (Jacobi 2000:26–27). First, the entire body must remain intact to be resurrected and rejoined with the eternal soul. Second, pre-burial ritual dictated that the dead be washed, anointed, and wrapped in a white textile. Third, symbols of Christianity, such as the Cross, were to be placed with the dead. Fourth, burial was to take place in consecrated ground so as to be close to God and be protected from evil. Fifth, burials were to be oriented on an east-west axis, within the socially determined zone of the cemetery.

These five characteristics of Christian burial may be considered a script that guided Spanish mortuary performances. The script dictated theatrical elements of costuming, props, setting, and choreography. The mortuary performance was designed to express belief, to educate the pagans, and to reinforce doctrine.

THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

Early colonial chroniclers described some pre-contact mortuary traditions. The information they provide needs to be used with some caution. Chroniclers have been accused of prejudice, bias, ignorance, illiteracy (or, at the very least, unfamiliarity with conventions of written language), and limited exposure to and experience with the vast array of Colonial and native traditions. Additionally, most of the reported events were from Colonial centers—locations far removed from the small villages of northern coastal Peru. It was from these political centers, however, that Pan-Andean policies were conceived and legislated.

I focus here mainly on the writings of Filipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (ca. 1535–after 1616) and Father Bernabe Cobo (1582–1657). Both men wrote chronicles that have been criticized as inauthentic, inaccurate, and biased (Chang-Rodríguez 2010; Fiengo-Varn 2003; Moore 1991;
In spite of these criticisms, however, their “breadth of vision” and “intellectual energy” make it hard to imagine our knowledge of Andean societies without them (Moore 1991:736). Guaman Poma (2006:99 [1613]) repeatedly criticized Spanish corruption and brutality, as well as Indian superstition, idolatry, and paganism. Based on his travels over several decades, Guaman Poma recounted specific examples of performance which he claimed were motivated by forces of power and influence on the Spanish side, and (alternately) conversion, resistance, or submission on the native side. Guaman Poma was a self-appointed assistant to the King of Spain. Because he was an indigenous person who served in roles of interpreter, chronicler, illustrator, and legal representative, his perspective has been called “unparalleled” (Frye 2006). Of several works cited in this chapter, the writings and sketches of Guaman Poma are paramount. His work may be criticized, but his written and illustrated descriptions of performance immediately antecedent to Spanish contact cannot be dismissed. His work was a performance in its own right, and he established a voice worthy of consideration when assessing the clash of indigenous and Spanish beliefs and performances.

I also rely heavily on the writings of Father Bernabe Cobo. Cobo’s entries describe native dress, festivals, and burials in a tone sometimes objective and dispassionate, but other entries are laden with moral judgments and accusatory language. The examples I draw upon here offer late precontact and early Colonial examples of performance elements that were seen as representative of belief. Associated with paganism, these practices were what Colonial Spanish Catholicism aimed to alter (at the very least) or eradicate.

Because both of these chroniclers focus their accounts on the Inca legacy, they do not describe in any detail the non-Inca performance traditions of outlying areas, including the small villages of the northern coast that are the focal point of this thesis. It would be inappropriate to attribute Inca customs—especially elite Inca burial customs—to the Trujillo, La Libertad, and Lambayeque (northern coastal) regions of late pre-contact times. In the north, Cupisnique,
Moche, Sicán, and Chimú cultures preceded the Inca and thrived there from 1500 BC to AD 1400. It is generally argued that although the fluorescence of these cultures had passed, the Inca had not established significant presence in the north by the time of the Spanish arrival. There were however, complex architectures and rich non-Inca burials in the north coast. Some of these were described in documents that reached political centers. The descriptions contributed to greed and looting, and interpretations of belief that influenced Pan-Andean eradication policies. For interpretation of precontact belief and performance in these regions, I rely largely on compilations published by modern writers—Peter Gose (2008), Gabriela Ramos (2010b), Susan Ramírez (1998), and Sabine McCormack (1993). Their research has produced detailed overviews of death and burial practice before and during the Colonial era.

**Guaman Poma de Ayala**

Guaman Poma was born in Peru between 1535 and 1550, a discrepancy of 15 years that would have made a huge difference in the world he encountered as a young boy. He claimed to be of royal descent—his mother an Inca princess and his father’s father a commander in the Inca Empire. The beginning of colonial influence in Peru was Pizarro’s contact with Atahualpa in 1532. This event initiated 15 years of war and confusion. Born within 15 years of this event, Guaman Poma would have been subjected to the devastation and loss of his parents’ world of privilege. By 1550 the Spanish royal government had been established in Lima, and survivors of the war would have been adjusting for good or ill to the reality of their subjection. Whatever the exact year of his birth or his heritage, his copious works —written in a mixture of Quechua and Spanish—include accounts of the world’s creation, historical eras of his native land, harsh reprimands of friars, priests, overlords, African slaves, idolatrous natives, and bold reform suggestions addressed directly to the King of Spain.
Guaman Poma sketched and wrote about many kinds of performances. His works established a solid link between performance and belief in the very locations where authority was based on religious privilege (Cuzco and Lima). Even his accounts of secular interactions suggested attitudes of religious superiority. His phrases comparing Spanish and natives used language heavy with bias: native idolatry versus Christianity; sloth and superstition versus “righteousness.” Equally, however, he decried the injustice, brutality, and thoroughly un-Christian treatment of the indigenous population by those professing to act in the name of God. From the perspective of his own Catholicism, Guaman Poma connected belief and performance through nearly 1200 pages of text.

According to Guaman Poma’s account, the first generation of Andean Indians, the *Wari* *Wiracocha* worshipped God as had Isaiah and Solomon. They plowed the earth as had father Adam; they wore leaves and straw mats for clothes; and their burials were simple, without ceremonies or idolatries whatsoever (Guaman Poma 2006:25–27[1613]). With the account of the first era of the Inca, however, descriptions shifted from the biblical parallels that described the *Wari*. The first Inca ruler was said to have descended from the sun and from a mortal mother in a pact with demons who talked to mountains and stones. Guaman Poma described the brilliance of apparel and adornments worn by the first Inca and his immediate successor: feather visors in bright colors, and ear plugs that distended their earlobes and made them “big ear people.” He further described fine blouses with gold stripes, leg bands, and a ceremonial ax in the right hand and decorative parasol in the left (Guaman Poma 2006:36–39). In the same biased tone used to extoll the virtues of the first generations, Guaman Poma offered his criticism of the first Incas.

Guaman Poma (2006:25–38) described a shift from righteousness, peace, longevity, industry, and God-worship to idolatry, error, demon-worship, incest, deceit, fratricide, and laziness. He correlated this shift to (1) colorful, aggrandized clothing styles, (2) ceremonial props such as axes and parasols, (3) jewelry and accouterments symbolically empowering the elite, (4) and
the “aberration” of mummifying the dead and worshipping mummified ancestors (2006: 27 footnote 48). Perhaps Guaman Poma intended to link intimidation by the empowered elite to a shift in social attitudes regarding class distinction. His examples connected specific elements of performance (such as color) on one side, with power, prestige, and influence on the other. Interestingly, current research supports such a connection. Color has been analyzed through cultural contexts as an intentional prompt (Birren 2013; Eckstut and Eckstut 2013; Kandel 2012).

One of the most frequent symbols discussed by Guaman Poma is the cross. His first reference included a traditional Andean story that in the time of Cinche Roca, Inca, one of Christ’s original apostles, St. Bartholomew, was commissioned by the Holy Spirit to take the gospel to Peru. He placed the Holy Cross of Curabuco in Callao and baptized an Indian (Guaman Poma 2006, 2004:92). He attributed several miracles to this cross and others. He identified the power of the Curabuco cross to prevent arson of the church to which it was attached (Guaman Poma 2006:128). In another reference, Guaman Poma admonished women to arm themselves with the cross and to pray the “Our Father” and the “Hail Mary” that they might be delivered from enemies, evil, flesh, and the demon (2006:50).

Symbolic qualities were also described for clothing and accouterments. Guaman Poma wrote that jewelry, mirrors, cooking pots, shawls, and ribbons were sent from one Inca to his bastard brother as gifts intended to taunt, mock, and defame him. Guaman Poma (2006:44) wrote that these were all gifts for women thus attaching symbolic meaning as well as telling us a great deal about culture-specific gender roles.

Guaman Poma wrote of “human drums”: bodies of traitors and rebels whose frame and skin were made to look alive by their dress in ethnic-style clothing, stomachs beat upon as a drum with the ruler’s own hand. Teeth of rebels were made into beads. Skulls were used as drinking cups, and some bones were made into flutes (2006:62–63). According to Guaman Poma, to these
practices, the Inca later added feast days, idolatries, sacrifices, selection of virgins, and other demonic ceremonies (2006:57).

Finally, Guaman Poma expressed many opinions about the traditions surrounding death, dying, and burial—mortuary performance. In a section about the first laws of the Incas, we read a decree that all should bury their dead in their own vaults, not in their houses, and that burial should be according to “natural customs,” that is, accompanied with food, drink, clothing and utensils (2006:61). Murder—especially attempted assassination by poison, sorcery, or venom—would condemn the killer to death by being hurled from a cliff. Though pre-dating the Inca regime, death on a cliff or promontory point is evidenced at several archaeological sites (Bourget 2001).

**Father Bernabe Cobo**

Father Bernabe Cobo was born in Spain but began his secondary education in Peru in 1596, at about 20 years old. Because he pursued a religious education and was trained as a Jesuit, his works are criticized for the clear bias of a seventeenth-century priest. The Bible is represented as his absolute truth, and all behaviors observed and reported are either justified or condemned according to Bible standards. There is no suggestion in Cobo’s writings that Inca “nature deities” were imagined or construed of simple superstition; but rather, they are portrayed as authentic manifestations of supernatural power, and therefore condemned as evil (Hamilton 1990:xviii). As with other chronicles, these judgments are according to Cobo’s personal interpretations, but they were part of an overall impression that influenced the Spanish view of indigenous belief.

Cobo compiled a history of Peru based on his personal interviews with descendants of the Inca elite, and with reference to other manuscripts, chronicles, accounts, and treatises on Inca religion (Hamilton 1990). His extensive reference to a report on Inca religion by Juan Polo de Ondegardo is, in fact, credited with preserving information that would otherwise be lost. A summary of Polo de Ondegardo’s investigation is available, but the original manuscript has
disappeared. The manuscript was considered the most “extensive and systematic record of Inca religious beliefs and practices made by anyone” (Rowe 1990:vii).

CHRONICLES OF PERFORMANCE

In this section I refer back to the theatrical terms introduced in Chapter 2 and attempt to match them to native practices mentioned by the chroniclers. Gestures, clothing, and accouterments, and hairstyles were features of the indigenous “actors.” Props, music, staging, and the preparation of bodies for burial were elements of mortuary performance. With these examples, I hope to provide at least a general model of what the Spanish judged as native performance, and a general model to which to compare native practices from the north coast.

Physical Acting: The Use of Voice and Body Gestures

In a chapter titled “The false religion that the Indians had,” Cobo (1990:3–10) summarized the extreme sacrifices made by the people “blinded by the devil.” All that was harvested, all items made, whatever “they were assigned” including their own children, were offered as a sign of devotion and worship. Furthermore, these human sacrifices were presented without any sign of sadness; they were obliged to do it with gestures of happiness and satisfaction (Cobo 1990:8). Cobo’s description attached belief and emotion to the gestures. All of daily life—travel, work, communication, and celebration—was imbued with worship. Devotion was expressed in ritual and ceremony with very deliberate and physical acts. Prayers or supplications were made with heads and bodies lowered in gestures of humility. Arms were stretched out with palms up. Kissing sounds were made, and then each supplicant would kiss his own fingertips. When such prayers were offered to the supreme gods—Thunder, the Sun, or Viracocha—the hands were covered with metal gauntlets. Cobo notes that kneeling as a sign of veneration was never done.
When passing shrines and graves of honored ones, respect was shown with physical acts—small-scale performances:

... they threw a quid of chewed coca, maize, and other things [to the holy place], asking that they be allowed to go by in peace, be relieved from the tiredness of the journey, and be given strength to finish the journey. When they drank, they would wet their fingers with the *chicha* in the tumbler from which they were drinking. Then they would spatter the *chicha* toward the Sun, or toward the earth, or toward the Fire; in doing this they would pray for peace, life and contentment. The way they had of making solemn declaration was also a religious act. They would touch the Earth with their hand and look at the Sun. This was their way of swearing to the truth of their statements by these two gods, the Sun and the Earth, which were among the major gods that they worshiped. (Cobo 1990:119)

Currently, a similar practice in the Andean highlands involves flicking drops of water into the air with the thumb and forefinger. In modern contexts, this gesture is considered a ritual toast—*T’inka* (Bolin 1998:235). The tactile gestures of wetting fingers, spattering *chichi*, and touching the earth while looking to the sun add physicality and *performance* to an otherwise internal, unobservable sense of commitment, devotion, and duty. Studies establishing the relationship between internal, emotional initiation of external, demonstrative expression have strengthened a variety of sociological arguments (Haley 1984; Hochschild 1979; Maróthy 1993), as well as arguments that claim a kinetic component in memory (Glenberg 1997; Shepard 1984).

A qualitative connection of belief, emotion, and devotion with ritualized gestures, including or directed at specific items or places, formed the crux of Turner’s (1970) seminal analysis of the Ndembu in Africa. Turner connected gesture with expression to say that ritualization is “to make
visible, audible, and tangible beliefs, ideas, values, sentiments, and psychological dispositions that cannot directly be perceived” (1970:50). Whatever the actual intent of the Peruvian natives, Cobo’s description makes clear his interpretation of the gestures of sprinkling *chichi*, glancing at the sun, and touching the ground. He saw them as ritual devotion, a physical expression of worship and fidelity: performance, expressing belief.

**Costuming: Cloth, Color, Texture, and Style**

In Chapter 2, I identified clothing styles, colors, and accessories as devices of performance, especially in association with the preparation of a corpse for burial. Cobo’s descriptions of those performance devices are worth emphasizing here because he fully delineated types of fabric and their appropriation according to status. Plebeians wore course, ordinary, dull-colored wools. The finest, softest, thinnest wools were selected to be dyed and crafted into clothing for kings and great lords. Feathers of excellent colors, velvet-like texture, gloss, splendor, and exceptional beauty were patterned into brocades that adorned royal tapestries and ceremonial garments (Cobo 1990:224–226).

Clothing played a significant role in the advancement of young boys to “knighthood.” At their knighting ceremony, the boys received special loincloths or breaches, a helmet, ear ornaments, and diadems of feathers in silver and gold. Ear piercing was an honor and an act that initiated earhole distention—a marker of men on the service of the Inca. Sheep (what the Spanish called llamas) and ceremonially dressed effigies were presented to the knights and ritually sacrificed and burned to lend strength to those newly “pierced.” “Important” Indians played ceremonial drums at these events and wore long red tunics trimmed in white and overlaid with a complete skin of an animal. The skin was adorned with gold rings in the ears and a type of sequins on the paws. (Cobo 1990:132–134).
Cobo described a ritual exchange of clothing at the event of marriage. At the home of his intended wife, the groom placed a sandal on her foot—a wool sandal on her right foot if she was a virgin and a sandal of grass if she was not. Later, at the home they shared together, the wife presented her husband with a colored tunic, a headband, and a metal broach or pin (1990b:205–206). In an ethnography of a modern-day society in the high Andes, Inge Bolin (1998:114–116) describes a similar ritual exchange of clothing. She categorizes the exchange as a symbol of equality and continuing solidarity.

**Costuming: Hair and Hairstyle**

Hair and hairstyle—in life and death—were elements of performance directly related to belief. Because hair was thought to contain the essence of one's life force, natives associated their hair with honor and considered it a disgrace to have it cut (Arriaga 1621; Carmichael 1995; Cobo 1990). Colonial judges knew of the association between hair and honor and often exploited it. Natives who committed serious crimes were often sentenced to a haircut. Noble natives were described as having a thin band of fabric wound around the head that kept their hair above and off the forehead (Cobo 1990:185). Mourners covered their heads as part of ritual lamentation, and sometimes widows were known to cut their hair to demonstrate the depth of their sadness (Cobo 1990:250). Because human hair was considered so sacred, it was an extremely valuable gift. In archaeological contexts, hair is often found in bundles or pouches that accompany the dead (Paul 1982), and human remains often include hair in braids, tresses, or styles that appear to be deliberately fashioned (Carmichael 1995:173; Donnan 1995:123; Verano 1995:190).

**Props: Objects that Complete the Scene**

The majority of Cobo’s chronicle focuses on his observations of Inca festivals. Beginning with the first festival, *Capac Raymi* (previously described as part of the initiation of young
boys to “knights”), Cobo narrates many significant festivals, ceremonies, and rituals as they pertain to each month in a twelve-month calendar. Objects associated with the events include food, clothing, and beverage in all manner of symbolic vessels and forms. The presentation and sacrifice of llamas are the prominent and consistent performance elements of all the festivals recounted. As a ritual offering, the animals become a prop as did their blood, skin, hair, and entrails, which were cut or burned to add drama to the event. According to Cobo, the ritualistic cutting and burning tied together concepts of life, death, fertility, harvest, nature, and the gods who regulates all of them. The Sun, Moon, Thunder, Water, and Fire were subjects of veneration, and every huaca, (holy place) and object was offered some sacrifice. It was held to be a bad omen if any huaca was left out of the ritual offering. An omission brought fear of an angry huaca that would eventually visit the Inca with punishment (Cobo 1990:155).

Though the Indians were not known to have a word for the Christian concept of “God,” they frequently used the names “Viracocha” and “Pachamaya” for that which they considered the creator of all things and the entity superior to the many subordinate gods in their cosmology (Gose 2008). Statues crafted as effigies in the form of a young human boy were said to represent the creator and were found in the Temple of the Sun at Cusco and at other sacred places. Certain festivals included the public display of the statue of Viracocha as well as other idols and figures of adoration. The statues were dressed in the symbolic clothing and were outfitted with ceremonial accessories such as staffs, headdresses, axes, mitres, mantels, or shafts (Cobo 1990:27).

**Music: Song, Dance, and Instruments**

Cobo describes music in the form of singing, dancing, and playing instruments as the primary performance component in a variety of social activities. Specific dances and songs correlated with specific festivals. At the most solemn annual festival, called *Capac Raymi*, a specific dance (*taqui, called guari*) was performed over and over at designated moments in the event spanning
several days. The dancing was accompanied by a song with words and the playing of a large seashell (1990a:130). In Cobo’s description of the guari, episodes of dancing are punctuated with other choreographed movements and activities designed to prepare young men for service to the Inca. Fathers and relatives whipped young initiates on their arms and legs with dance-like gestures and shouted admonitions that the boys be faithful in serving the Inca. To give offerings to the huacas, large gatherings of people would make a procession and then dance specific dances in response to specific offerings. (1990:131–134).

Capac Raymi also included communal promise of fidelity to the Inca, a ritual intensified by the playing of four large drums that were said to belong to the Sun (Cobo1990:133). Drums were also a featured instrument in a dance specified for farmers and involving farming implements. Dances to represent wars included drums and weapons. A dance specified for the Inca was restricted to those of royal lineage and is described as solemn, dignified, and accompanied by the tune of a large drum (Cobo 1990:245). Cobo declared that the drum was the most widely used instrument and described drums of three sizes, all typically constructed with llama hide stretched over a hollowed log (Cobo 1990:243). An interesting complement to these several descriptions of drums in Inca tradition is found in Moche ceramic vessels. Fine line iconography on these vessels shows that the prominent use of drums occurred more than 700 years before Cobo’s descriptions (see drawings in Olsen 2002:48–49). Moche ceramic vessel depictions also include anthropomorphic and birdlike figures that play frame-type drums with a single stick, or use a single hand or both hands on drums of various shapes and sizes (Figure 4.1). The drumming figures represented include a fanged deity, animals, grimacing and deformed humans, and skeletal beings (Olsen 2002:162–167). From these depictions and his ethnographic research of modern-day curaderos or shamans, Olsen (2002:165–167) theorizes that drums played a vital role in the transformation of humans to birds. Birds symbolized magical creatures that served as messengers of the gods and traveled with ease between the heavens and the earth.
CHRONICLES OF DEATH AND BURIAL

In chronicles devoted exclusively to death and burial, Cobo (1990:246–252) offered salient observations of performance, specifically mortuary performance. His interpretations provide valuable context for understanding the reactions of the colonists and the colonial policy makers in Lima and Cuzco. Cobo’s description of the general practice of ancestor veneration provides symbolic associations. He detailed the care and treatment of corpses and gave instances of his own physical and emotional sensations. Though he represents an “audience of one,” his responses to what he observed provide a glimpse into the performer-audience relationship overall.

Figure 4.1. Moche ceramic vessel depicting an anthropomorphic being playing a drum. Photo: https://p3.liveauctioneers.com/18/1281/544638_2_1.jpg.
Stages and Settings for Burial

Cobo observed two types of tombs: those underground and those above ground (Cobo 1990:246). Generally, tombs were square vaults of varying sizes. The deep vaults below ground and a great variety of above-ground vault styles corresponded to the varied geography of the plains, sierra, and coast. The typical vault style of the sierras was above-ground towers (or chullpas). The towers were narrow like chimneys with low doors that faced east. The above-ground tombs of the northern coast are described as medium-sized hills. Cobo described the building materials used for the chambers and towers as earthen or stone and the materials that filled in and covered the chambers as rocks, slabs, or earth.

Dressing the Actor: Preparing the Body

Great care was taken in “embalming” the elites such that the bodies did not deteriorate nor give off any foul odor (Cobo 1990:39). Further treatment included adorning the bodies, wrapping them in cotton, manipulating the limbs to be seated or making gestures. One body was described as so well preserved and adorned that it looked alive: the face full, the complexion naturally glossy, and the artificial eyes opened as if they were looking about. Cobo attributed the effects to artistic care of the body at the point of death. In this instance, he reported seeing calabash rinds under the skin of the cheeks that kept the visage tight and glossy. On special occasions, bodies were further manipulated onto pallets or litters and taken throughout the village to “visit” other dead, to eat, drink, offer counsel, make requests for music, food, dance, or to receive offerings from their devotees (Cobo 1990:41–43).

Performing Eulogies: Musical Narratives

Death was accompanied by designated periods of mourning that varied according to the status of the deceased. Mourning included songs with a dramatic range of pitch and a wailing timbre.
Songs had words and melodic contours specific to the life story of the departed, and with lamenting, groaning, and sighing, his deeds would be recounted (Cieza de León 1998; Ramirez 1998).

Early Spanish chronicler Juan de Betanzos (1996 [1557]) based his work on interviews with Inca descendants alive in the early 1550s. He told how Inca Pachacuti ordered relic statues made of the first seven Incas before him. Retainers and cloistered women were assigned to care for and guard each of the statues and to create songs praising their deeds and accomplishments. These songs were considered the official history of their rule and reign, and the songs were ordered sung at special occasions and especially to retain the history of the royal line. Later in his own life, Pachacuti used song to bolster his own reputation and to embolden his conquering armies. He would commission compositions of his own military exploits, and the troops would enter cities singing about the successful expeditions already taken (1996:128–129).

Pachacuti’s grandson, the Inca Huayna Capac, was said to have toured his kingdom visiting the ruling houses of former Incas and learning their stories through their deed-songs. Both Pachacuti and Huayna Capac, then, relied on song to aggrandize themselves and the line of Inca they followed. Additionally, song institutionalized worship and education and was a medium in a multigenerational process (Tomlinson 2007:130).

**USING RELIGION TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE**

At the point of European contact with the natives of Peru, formal religion was not the primary motivating factor behind the overthrow of Andean traditions and social organization. Pizarro and his men were on an expedition of conquest. Above all, they sought power and riches. Conquistadors followed a self-serving pattern, with loyalty to neither man nor God. The role of the Spanish Crown was to issue license to embark on the journey, to add legitimacy to the business funded primarily by private parties, and, eventually, to send royal representatives to wrest control of government from the conquerors. Pizarro (or the company Friar, Vicente)
initiated religious controversy to justify the original attack on Inca Atahualpa, but Pizarro was not known as a religious man. Those who followed Pizarro and initiated reforms in the name of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–1581) also did not act in the interest of religion. Toledo established the rule of law in Peru and made concerted effort to eliminate the last vestiges of Inca influence. He killed the puppet-ruler Inca Tupac Amaru and extended royal power beyond the established political centers (Frye 2006:xvi–xxi).

Though personal faith did not motivate political leaders, none were above exploiting religious themes to further their purposes. Toledo initiated policies to create reducciones (European-style villages with a church at the center) that relocated thousands of Indians to central locations. Commerce was restricted to local exchange in place of interaction that had sustained populations of the seaside, foothills, and highlands for hundreds of years. Peter Gose (2008) identifies Francisco de Toledo’s objectives of reducción as elevating the way of indigenous life, including public order, sanitation, governance, and Catholicism. Toledo’s instruction to inspectors implicated Spanish encomenderos (indigenous political authorities) as offering insufficient religious instruction. He cited sorcery and idolatry as the greatest impediment to the new social order (Toledo 1986:135). Subsequent leaders and representatives of state and church lamented the failure of reducción for the loss of revenue. Some of the representatives explained the failure as a consequence of greed and immorality of native overseers (curacas), Spanish middlemen (corregidores), and fewer laborers to draft to the silver mines (Gose 2008:135–139). It was the evolving “doctrine of circulation of grace through heaven, earth and purgatory” (Gose 2008:125), however, that put the teeth in the colonial concept of reducción. Eventually, reducción came to prescribe burial place and practice. On this point, we see the greatest Spanish force and the most enduring native resistance.

When considering the “church” the Spanish brought with them, it is important to bear in mind that (1) due to their long history of fighting back the encroaching belief systems of the
Jews and Muslims (Moors) on the Iberian Peninsula they came to South America predisposed to suspect and battle idolatry and paganism (Gose 2008; MacCormack 2006; Schwaller 2011); (2) Spanish church and state were conflated, making it difficult to separate mandated objectives to acquire land, wealth, and power, from saintly objectives to acquire converts (Schwaller 2011; Soule 2014; Tibesar et al. 2013); (3) and, there was tremendous dissention within the ranks of the Spanish colonists from the moment of first contact that persisted through the period of Spanish rule. The dissention surfaced among the original conquistadors, as well as later bishops, viceroys, governors, and the native leaders they appointed. At the local level, difference of opinion regarding administration of the church would have had significant influence on what was taught, what was required, and what was tolerated of the Indians.

It would be a gross generalization to say that solely religion separated natives from colonists. Native behavior and belief is difficult to define as “a” religion at all; however, cosmological beliefs motivating burial places, social structure, economics, ceremony and ritual, and the role of the individual in life and death were at the very center of the 300-year conflict. Beliefs about who and what constituted superior forces, who merited the wealth of the land, who should be obligated to work, how resources were to be distributed, and how structure, law, and order were to be maintained were eventually appropriated by and attributed to the Catholic Church. In the turbulent beginnings of Colonial rule, a system of Catholic churches was spread and staffed by friars. Villages were dismantled and reconstructed around chapels. Traditional native practices of tribute, offerings, and reciprocity were distorted into obligation and law (Gose 2008; Ramos 2010b; Ramirez 1998). Spanish ethnicity came to be equated with religion: Spanish-Catholic, or Catholic-Spanish. Those vying for power in the Andes were all too eager to incorporate religion into their statutes when it could be wielded as a weapon of dominion.

From the native point of view, the pervasiveness of formal religion elicited a wide range of formal and informal responses. Based on summaries of colonialism written by other authors
(see Gose 2008; Klaus 2008; MacCormack 1993; Ramos 2010b; Schwaller 2011), I have organized the range of native responses to Christianity into four general categories: Restoration, Conversion, Accommodation, and Resistance or Rebellion. Ironically, each type of response was scrutinized and interpreted at the time it emerged and through the hundreds of years since.

**Restoration**

Belief in Spaniards as “ancestors” justified and explained some native willingness to acquiesce to the terms of conquest. From this perspective, the arrival of the Spanish was anticipated and awaited (Gose 2008). Christianity as a “restoration,” was another perspective held by some natives. There were precontact stories of visitor gods, apostles (Gose 2008; Guaman Poma 1615) and a statue of a woman with a child in her arms that could heal and bless (Tibesar et al. 2013:100).

**Conversion**

Conversion was another response to Christianity. This attitude saw a new cosmology comprised of a single, powerful, crucified, and resurrected God. This new God was approachable through sacraments, new forms of worship, and strict obedience to commandments forbidding traditional idol worship.

**Accommodation**

Closely related to conversion was the native reaction of accommodation. Those accommodating the new religion were “converted” to the degree that they were acceptable Christians and protected from church discipline, but their behavior suggested a blurred division between their traditional performances and the Catholic parallels. For example, ancestor worship accommodated veneration of Catholic Saints, *huacas* accommodated churches, cathedrals, and
other sites hallowed by the erection of a cross. The precontact time and labor tribute to the Inca was paralleled by the demands of labor and resources to the *encomenderos* of the new regime.

**Rebellion and Resistance**

Other common responses to the church were open rebellion, covert rebellion, or resistance. Accounts of orchestrated revolts pepper the history of Colonial Peru, some led or bolstered by Indians with emotions ranging from disgruntled to enraged. Less hostile resistance was expressed by *foresteros*—Indians who refused to be confined in their *reducciones* and made their whereabouts difficult to trace.

**IN THE WINGS: NON-INCA TRADITIONS AND NON-CENTRAL LOCATIONS**

Besides the Inca, there were other cultural traditions at work in the Andes of the 16th century. It was reports of the “Inca,” however, that focused the aim of Spanish politics and religion. The mix of reactive and proactive policy over nearly 300 years demonstrates that the Spanish based their interpretation of indigenous belief on what they categorized as “native.” Native beliefs were assessed and “catalogued” from watching the Inca. Native practices were documented throughout central and southern Peru, especially in the regions closest to Cuzco and Lima. Outlying areas, particularly those of the northern coast, were thought to have practices that both paralleled and diverged from those attributed to the Inca. The political reach of the Inca extended into the northern coast as early as the mid1300s – 1400s—well before the arrival of the Spanish (Doig 2007; Lumbreras 1974; Olsen 2002). It is generally believed, however, that at first European contact, the northern region maintained some Moche (AD 100 – AD 1350) characteristics overlapped with those of the foreign domination of the Chimú (AD 800 – AD 1476) (Doig 2007; Klaus 2008; Ramirez 1998).
Perhaps because outlying provinces had less political and economic potential, or perhaps because access and management were more difficult, initial contact and early interaction between the polities of the northern coast and the Spanish were characterized by an evangelical bent. At the execution of Inca Atahualpa in 1533, Franciscans were at hand, possibly having instructed and comforted the imprisoned ruler before he died. Soon afterward, as Pizarro’s expeditionary force advanced south to Cuzco, two friars remained to care for natives, and one of those is said to have moved northward to work among the natives of Lambayeque (Tibesar et al. 2013). Adding to this account, Franciscans of the earliest decades of the conquest were thought to concentrate mostly in the north, in the valleys of Trujillo, Cajamarca, Lambayeque, and area of Chiclayo (Tibesar et al. 2013). Eventually, political directives narrowed the wanderings of friars from entire regions to specific provinces, and in 1557 it was deemed more beneficial to the instruction of the Indians—imperative to implantation of Christianity—that parishes be organized and watched over by permanent groups of friars (Tibesar et al. 2013:47).

Doctrina is a word that loosely translates to “parish.” For a variety of socioeconomic, political, and religious reasons, administering a doctrina was a thorny charge. Relegating doctrinas to religious orders meant a loss of jurisdiction, title, and revenue to the bishops and their local equivalents. Even so, it was clear that clergy were too scarce to staff the Indian parishes. Franciscan superiors were reluctant to accept the responsibility of the doctrinas in perpetuity, and in some cases, they withdrew friars from outlying areas so they could resume the routine of convent life and refortify their faith through silence, labor, and prayer. It was the administration (without advisement) of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1570 that finally pronounced and confirmed the Franciscan charge of the northern doctrinas and initiated the concentrated effort and the increased hope of the missionaries for a Christianized congregation (Tibesar et al. 2013:47–50). At the time of early missionary work, the names of regions, valleys, vicinities, doctrinas, and repartimientos were rather confused, but it is clear that from about
1533 on the northern provinces of Trujillo, Cajamarca, and Lambayeque were counted among the *doctrinas*. Specifically in the vicinity of Chiclayo, the original *doctrinas*: *Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Chiclayo*, *Magdalena de Eten*, and *San Miguel de Farcapa* were retained by Franciscans (Tibesar et al. 2013:63). A religious inventory of 1548 counted only three Franciscan convents: Cusco, Lima, and Trujillo (Tibesar et al. 2013:22). The inclusion of Trujillo among the earliest colonial convents is further evidence of an early religious influence that extended to the north coast.

I emphasize the preponderance of early and presumably earnest religious interest in the north with one intent: to separate performances and reactions founded in fear from performances and reactions founded in faith. My research questions and answers hinge on “explanation and explication” of life through performance. The general “religious” practices of the natives as they were observed and interpreted by the Spanish lead the Spanish to establish (and constantly regulate) performances intended to transform belief—to “convert.” The Spanish universally sought to shape (supplant, augment, or eradicate) performance, but the methods, motives, and intensity of shaping varied greatly. Instructions from colonial centers were likely issued with universal intent that they be universally applied. The actual application of instruction in the northern coastal regions and the native response and reaction to the instruction differed. In the outlying regions, initial contact, and indeed the whole of colonialism varied from that in the centers of Spanish rule. Some of the differences were in the character of the outreach and contact; some were due to the regional differences in indigenous religious practice.

**NOTES FROM THE DRAMATURGE**

The small sample of pre-Hispanic and colonial-period performances just recounted includes stories from a variety of locations and times in order to justify a few generalizations about indigenous performance traditions and the beliefs attached to them. Sweeping generalizations
and assumptions of this sort used to categorize Peru into one overarching essence have been termed *lo andino*. When discussing patterns of behavior, symbolic systems, and perceptions of specific regions, *lo andino* analogies do not apply. Furthermore, summaries here adopt an etic perspective. My own opinions have encroached upon and mingled with those expressed by colonial (indigenous and Spanish) chroniclers and those who base research on them. Even on-site reporting makes an interpretive leap when it deigns to represent others’ beliefs. The crucial point, however, is that the Colonial Spanish (and natives) also interpreted, generalized, assumed, and stereotyped belief based on performance aspects they saw and heard about. Based on their interpretations, conquistadors imposed European and Christian practices on native peoples and instigated policies of eradication against native beliefs and practices. For my purposes in this thesis, uncovering actual belief is less important than identifying perceptions of belief held by performers and audiences of Spanish and natives.

It is not difficult to imagine the alternating roles of performers and audiences in the examples mentioned above. The roles of director/producer could be attributed to Pizarro, Toledo, and Inca Huayna Capac, in turn. Plots and subplots are evident in Spanish aims to eradicate paganism and native responses of rebellion, conversion, and accommodation. Stage and setting are elements featured in Cobo’s passionate critique against venerating dead ancestors. Veneration is a form of attention, a focused reverence or awe. Performance studies explain the effect stage designs have on audience attention. Size, shape, physical environment, and proximity (accessibility to dramatic action) are features most important to capturing audience attention and focus (Wilson and Goldfarb 2012:130–155). Relevant to colonial burials, I argue that those features (particularly the proximity and accessibility of the above ground tombs described by Cobo) were designed to impress an audience and accommodate the performances of those who lived in the era of their construction. Expression and influence was also achieved by the use of such things as
clothing, color, gesture, and sound. “Special effects” were created by dark and light, wind, fire, and smoke.

At the time of contact, performance was a huge force expressing and solidifying belief. Both Indigenous and Catholic performance traditions were imbued with symbolism and appeals to the senses. In the next two chapters, I present archaeological and ethnographical data that furthers my argument concerning the pervasiveness of performance, the theatrical elements in it, and its power to express and influence.
5 Archaeology: Methods and Findings

In this chapter I tie together the emphases of Chapters 2–4. In Chapter 2, I outlined the components of social drama and described the specific stages related to death and treatment of the body. These involved breech, crisis, and attempts at redress via mortuary performance as processes generally applicable to death and interment. I discussed the concept of transformed identities as a consequence of redress and a form of integration (or reintegration). In this chapter, I review the work of archaeologists who consider transformed identities a prominent theme in prehistoric burials from the coast of Peru (Shimada et al. 2015:149). In Chapter 3, I described the geography and cultural chronology of the northern coastal region. In this chapter, I bring the focus back to the north coast, beginning with pre-Hispanic burials from sites in La Leche Valley. I then narrow the focus even more to the colonial cemeteries at Mórrope and Eten. In Chapter 4, I reviewed post-conquest accounts of ritual mortuary performance as a prelude to the pre-Hispanic mortuary performances inferred from archaeology, the topic of this chapter. In this chapter, I clarify differences and similarities between mortuary performance in pre-Hispanic burials and Colonial, Catholic-influenced burials. History, archaeology, and ethnography (the topic of Chapter 6) are considered together in the final chapter evaluating the success of the Spanish aim to transform the natives of Peru into docile Catholics.
EXCAVATED THEATER

I interpret mortuary performance in this chapter through excavated burials. Four observable categories of burial features are analyzed. These categories are based on Christopher Donnan’s (1995:122) work and as augmented by that of Haagen Klaus (2008:447–480): (1) preparation of the corpse (including specifics of clothing and accouterments); (2) encasing the corpse (including specifics of coffin construction and decoration, funerary chambers or burial setting); (3) quantity and quality of grave goods; and (4) location (including specifics of skeletal orientation, position, articulation, and occurrence of disturbed burials). Each of these burial features correlates to a theatrical performance feature.

In theatrical terms, preparation of a body compares well to securing and modifying a prop for a production, or attending to an actor in the role of dresser or costume designer. Encasing the corpse is reasonably combined with the preparation of funerary chambers. Both compare to modifying a prop, designing and building a stage “set,” and planning the placement of everything within that set. Grave goods are comparable to props on a stage—items placed within the set. In the following descriptions, location is considered in terms of burial surroundings, orientations of the buried bodies, proximity relative to natural features and other bodies, and body positions. Location of a burial is analogous to stage choreography, blocking, and dramatic pacing.

Data for this chapter come from excavations at Chapel del Niño Serranito (CNS) and the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope (CSPM) and from published research by Klaus (2008:532–535), and Shimada and his coauthors (Shimada et al. 2015). As in preceding chapters, I provide meanings of terms critical in following discussions before engaging with specific cases.

CLARIFYING TERMS OF INTERMENT

In this section I review various uses of the term “orientation” in archaeological literature. Generally the orientation of burial layout is considered its cardinal direction. For my purposes,
I connect orientation with theatrical choreography and require more details about the body’s position in the ground. After discussing the ways orientation is documented in archaeological data, I review a Christian orientation tradition and propose standardized terminology for orientation and other descriptors of body position in a grave.

Among archaeologists there are discrepancies in the manner of recording burial orientation. Standards for recording orientation of burials are not available or discussed in most texts describing methods of archeological excavation and data collection (e.g., Barker 1997; Burke et al. 2008; Renfrew and Bahn 2012). Jane Buikstra et al. (1994) argue for a common grammar to describe skeletal remains in order to create complete, standardized data sets. Though the forms provided in their manual are comprehensive, they too fail to address how this feature should be recorded. One example of very detailed attention to burial orientation is found in Burial Terminology: a Guide for Researchers (Sprague 2005). Several sections are devoted to clarifying the terms “position,” “orientation,” “alignment,” and “facing.”

In Catholic tradition, burials are described as facing east so that the resurrected dead may rise toward the rising sun. This description places stationary feet of supine burials at the east, and the rising head at the west, thus east-west, or E-W. Unfortunately, confusion ensues when designation of general axis is expressed as north-south or east-west, and then is paired with designations of the body layout and the cardinal point where the head lies. In most cases, writers specify the axis as north-south or east-west and then follow with clarification such as “with the head oriented to the south.” In following discussions I distinguish a north-south axis from a north-south orientation. Buikstra specifically mentions the importance of which way the body lies and represents it by naming the position of the head first. In this thesis, I draw from data consistently naming the head position first and feet second. This manner of reference correlates with the Catholic tradition mentioned above—as if the feet designate the direction of the gaze. “Gaze” or “face” can be further complicated by the fact that the heads of some deceased
individuals appear to have been intentionally manipulated/turned to face to the right, left, or down. A head facing down is generally paired with the full body in prone position, but there are secondary burial examples of a supine position, with the cranium face-down. The direction of the face may be an important subset of the “facing” or “gaze” feature. Ethnographic examples indicate that the direction of gaze is a symbolic and calculated feature of mortuary performance (associated with theatrical choreography, as explained later). These same ethnographic examples suggest that two features may be at work separately: the cardinal orientation of the head and feet, and the direction of the symbolic “gaze,” or the direction of the face. All burial data I entered into Excel (from CNS) specified the orientation of the head and the direction of the face separately. Though the direction of the face might be a calculated feature of each burial, archaeoanthropological research shows that the final resting position of the head and orientation of the face is a function of decomposition, burial environment, coffin space, and more (see Klaus 2013 for discussion of archaeoanthropology). The head of a corpse may roll to the left or the right, or tip back or forward, or it may have been intentionally manipulated to those positions. Future work might profitably focus on the direction of the face in burials while considering all the possibilities mentioned above; I did not address this question in this project.

Admittedly, privileging direction of gaze is an interpretive bias. In the world and in the early pre-contact Andes, burials are found in positions that seem unrelated to direction of gaze, (e.g., body extended, but face down, body flexed in fetal position, and/or disarticulated). In the context of immediate pre-Colonial and Colonial burials, however, gaze is an important consideration. For consistency, and to follow the protocols used in data forms from Mórrope and Eten, the first word (or letter) of the reference will be understood to represent the location of the head, and the second word (or letter) to represent the feet. So, for example, an individual placed in a S-N orientation would have their head in the south, and feet in the north. I describe such an individual
as “facing” north. Patterns of burial and notable exceptions to body position, layout, orientation, and bone articulation are discussed in the following sections.

MINOR PLAYERS: PRE-COLONIAL BURIAL PATTERNS

To understand changes in native mortuary performances brought by Spanish conquerors, one must first understand native practices before the Spanish appeared on the scene. Thus, I begin analysis of burials with a brief summary of native practices that preceded contact. In particular, I describe the intensely theatrical burial patterns of pre-Colonial central and northern coastal Peru. To make discussion manageable, I limit the sources I reference to those which emphasize theatrical elements in their interpretations of the archaeology. I focus on the archaeology most likely to have been geographically and culturally relevant to the burials I studied at Mórrope and Eten and I reference only a fraction of the literature that could be cited. My objective is to provide a general overview of pre-Hispanic practices rather than a synthetic analysis of them.

In my overview I condense the work of Klaus (2008), Klaus and Tam (2015) Shimada et al. (2015), who have published thorough summaries of central and north coast archaeology. My consideration of pre-Hispanic periods proceeds chronologically from oldest to youngest. I refer only to the ceramic and architectural sequences of the Cupisnique (1000–200 BC), Salinar (400–200 BC), and Gallinazo or Virú (200 BC–AD 700) cultures (Quilter 2013) until discussing the extraordinary mortuary performances evident in the Moche culture (Figure 5.1). It is within the Moche culture, that Sipán and Sicán tombs are found. These tombs were the primary subjects of a cross-contextual, diachronic, and multidisciplinary study conducted by Shimada et al. (2015). In my overview, they also get the majority of the attention.

The Cupisnique are best known from their art. Depictions of felines and spider entities holding decapitated human heads are associated with lush plant growth. Stirrup-spout vessels are decorated with human-like faces on their left sides and the feline or spider faces on their right
sides. These asymmetrical depictions have been interpreted as representing the transformative powers of a shaman to facilitate communication between earthy and supernatural realms (Burger 1995; Elera 1998). Cupisnique mortuary performance is inferred from the style and iconography decorating resplendent metal and ceramic elite burial goods at the monumental site of Kuntur Wasi in the Cajamarca highlands. Large-scale ceremonial centers include design features of stage and setting, such as inset stairways, rectangular forecourts, and elaborate colonnades (Burger 1995). Of 24 Early Cupisnique burials, flexed and semi-flexed bodies were typically positioned with the hands over the face and placed in simple oval pits located in domestic dwellings. No single body orientation was practiced (Elera 1998)

*Salinar* ceramic style differs from Cupisnique style with its emphasis on reddish, oxidized wares. Because there are traces of “fortifications” associated with the Salinar time period (400 –
200 BC), archaeologists argue that Salinar may represent a process of dynamic, possibly warring, interaction with indigenous Cupisnique descendants in the lower valleys (Klaus 2008:123). A number of distinctive stone mace heads are commonly assigned to Salinar times. The mace heads were elaborately carved but show chips and other signs of use, perhaps adding to the argument for a Salinar warrior ethos (Quilter 2013:175). The 21 published Salinar burials from the Moche and Virú Valleys show that most bodies were placed on their sides in extended positions, sometimes with the knees slightly flexed (Donnan and Mackey 2011).

*The Gallinazo* peoples maintained a chiefdom-level society with several notable ceremonials-civic centers. Gallinazo burials suggest widespread use of extended body position. Bodies were disposed of in simple pits under the floors of domestic dwellings, cemeteries, and inside platform mounds (Klaus 2008:185). Gallinazo styles persisted through Moche times and beyond. It is hypothesized that the Gallinazo represent the biocultural roots of the Moche and Sicán societies (Klaus 2008:126). The Moche culture and the burial patterns associated with it form a category set apart from its predecessor, as discussed in the next section.

**MAJOR PLAYERS: THE MOCHE AND THEIR ASSOCIATED BURIAL PATTERNS**

Shimada and his associates studied diverse burial contexts at multiple sites within the central and northern coastal regions. The three principal field study sites were Pachacamac (a preeminent religious-pilgrimage center at the mouth of the Lurín Valley on the central coast), Sicán (six monumental, multilevel platform mounds in the middle of La Leche Valley on the north coast), and Huaca Sialupe in the lower La Leche Valley. These regional studies provide a vital dimension to the analysis of Colonial impact in Peru’s northern coast. Interpretations of the studies suggest patterns, or grammars, of mortuary performance that were associated with the Muchik tradition (Klaus 2008:532).
One of the core features of the Muchik tradition is burial orientation on a north-south axis, with the head at the south (S-N). Less frequent are east-west and west-east burial orientations, although such orientations have been explained as important for facing the Pacific Ocean or for facing the Andes mountains (Klaus 2008:352). Painting the face or other parts of the body red was another pre-contact practice. Evidence of red paint is noted in several Andean burial contexts (Buikstra 1995:236; Donnan 1995:123; Klaus 2008:533; Verano 1995:203). Burials of two principal personages at Huaca Loro East and West tombs in Sicán, respectively, furnish instructive cases of body preparation. Corpses in these tombs were painted in cinnabar, outfitted with gold pectorals, nose clips, and then wrapped. After they were positioned in the center of their respective burial chambers, each was dressed in a mask, headdress, and a pair of false arm-gloves. The individual in the East Tomb was in a seated, cross-legged position, and inverted so as to represent his rebirth (Shimada et al. 2015:114). Body ornaments and status symbols included four layers of semiprecious stone bead pectorals and a gold *tumi* (knife with a crescent-shaped blade and rectangular handle). The preservation and location of these items suggest that each body was tightly wrapped in layers of shrouds at the time of interment, or perhaps, during the preceding curation process (Shimada et al. 2015:116). The principal personage in the West Tomb was encircled with a cluster of at least 111 crude, unfired, miniature globular vessels. The vessels exhibited a great deal of variation, including the depth and size of finger impressions. Furthermore, a pile of surplus clay mixture was found with the vessels. The surplus clay and the finger impressions in the vessels suggest that most of the miniatures were made expediently and individually in situ, “perhaps by each funeral attendee as a personal and final offering to the principal personage before the Central Chamber was sealed” (Shimada et al. 2015:117).

This summary of Muchik burial patterns includes features of body preparation, burial encasing and setting, and grave goods. Bodies were wrapped in shrouds—sometimes layers of shrouds. They were adorned with paint and jewelry and accouterments that were modest or
extravagant, based on the status of the buried personage (see Shimada et al. 2015:109, table 3.1). Grave goods were not only located in burials, but production of grave goods in situ is inferred from evidence of workshops near huacas and cemeteries (Shimada et al. 2015:108,110). There was a clear preference for underground burial, and settings for elite and commoners were in, or near, huaca mounds (Shimada et al. 2015:108). Location, shape, and audience proximity were important features of huaca form and function. Using the feature of shape, the Wari (AD 500–1000) materialized the sacred by attributing human characteristics to temples, tombs, and certain objects. Human-like facial features are implied in models of buildings, textiles, and ceramic effigy vessels (Cook 2015:301–305). Size, shape, and proximity/accessibility were also important features of D-shaped shrines excavated south of Cuzco. These structures appear to have been miniature mortuary houses and places of various ritual practices. Anita Cook (2015:309) believes that the models represented mortuary houses with interiors too small for more than a few people. She suggests that large audiences viewed ritual activities from adjacent plazas outside and in front of the mortuary houses. Capstones on cist tombs in the shrine were removable thus making possible an ongoing interaction with the dead buried in tombs. Similarly, surrogate tombs are described by Shimada et al. (2015:130) as miniature models of tombs in the nearby Uhle Cemetery. In the spring, people would come to the surrogate tombs to renew spiritual bonds and to leave offerings to their kin represented by the surrogate tombs (Shimada et al. 2015:132).

Interactions between the Muchik living and dead were of two types: (1) Pre-Primary Interment Activities, and (2) Post-Interment Offerings and Rituals (Klaus and Tam 2015; Shimada et al. 2015). Pre-Primary Interment Activities were treatments of the individual from death “until interment or other formal disposition of the corpse, as well as other related activities up to that point in time (e.g., sorrow, remembrance, vigil, and purification)” (Shimada et al. 2015:110). Particularly for deceased elite of the Peruvian coast, curation and delayed primary burial were relatively common. Delayed primary burials are evident from fly larvae casing found
in earlier Moche burials. It has been suggested, however, that fly infestation may have been a natural result of delayed travel to the burial place, or intentional delay in order to conform to a specific calendar. Independent support for the interpretation of intentional fly infestation comes from Colonial folklore of the Lima Highlands. In folklore, the Huarochiri dead were intentionally infested with fly larvae during a five-day, pre-interment ritual. In this ritual, the flies were thought to facilitate the liberation of the life force from the hard, dry, permanent body parts. The concept of the “good dead” who have undergone this separation extended to the veneration of the cleaned bones.

Examples of Pre-Primary Interment rituals involving clay-vessel offerings were mentioned above. At Middle Sicán elite burial sites, deposits of clay vessels numbered in the hundreds for a single tomb. If the number of miniature vessels was indicative of attendees, a minimum of 120 attendees for the ritual interment seems plausible (Shimada et al. 2015:117). In addition to body curation and ritual offerings, Shimada et al. (2015) describe preparation of funerary bundles and food offering as Pre-Primary Interment Activities.

The results of archaeology in coastal Peru suggest many and varied Post-Interment Activities. Shimada et al. (2015:148) organize them into three categories: (1) “Periodic visitation and associated rituals,” such as setting fires on or near burial sites, feasting, libations, and food offerings; (2) “Construction of surrogate tombs and/or funerary bundles,” such as subterranean chambers, funerary bundles, and vessels or models used as surrogates; (3) and “Alterations of the Corpse, Associated Bundles, and Tombs” such as the removal, transfer, or re-wrapping of whole corpses, or selected elements.

**CHIMÚ-INCA EMPIRE**

Mortuary performances of the Inca were summarized in Chapter 4 in my overview of early-Colonial chronologies. My limited discussion of the Chimú Kingdom here focuses on a set of
remarkable artifacts from an intrusive Chimú burial at the site of Huaca de la Luna. The artifacts consist of carved miniature figures depicting a funeral ritual. The figures are elaborately carved from wood, inlaid with shell, and stitched with thread onto their bases to preserve the relative positions of each of the objects (Figure 5.2). In the architectural model, a ceremony takes place in the patio inside a Chimú royal compound. The objects of the ceremony are a male and two female mummies. The mummies are offered chicha (beer) and music—of the 26 figures in the plaza ceremony, seven play musical instruments. Depicted are three large side drums flanked by musicians with some sort of horns—large tubes held horizontally and blown from the middle.
Jerry Moore (2006) analyzes the scene in terms of the implied soundscape created by the placement of musicians in the three corners of the patio. Judging from the size and shape of the instruments, Moore (2006:67) suggests that drumbeats would have created overlapping fields of sound. Because other phases of the ceremony took place outside the patio and were processions lead by a single musician, Moore argues that different soundscapes were associated with different phases of the Chimú ceremony.

**FINDING MEANING IN THE PERFORMANCES**

Pre-Hispanic mortuary activities of the central and north coast share some patterned theatrical elements. In Cupisnique ceramics, the theme of transformation is shown as communication between the human and the supernatural world. A similar plot may be represented by the intentional fly infestation of a corpse, intentional opening of burials, the removal of skeletal elements, and secondary burials. One of the long-lasting and widespread aspects of Andean cosmology is a metaphor of the dead as the source of fertility (Klaus and Tam 2015:293). The “fertile dead” may be an idea that motivated delayed burials: after the fleshy parts of the body rotted away, bones remain as metaphorical seeds. Gathering and replanting bone “seeds” might have been the meaning behind collective or isolated secondary burials. With seed planting, the living might direct the power of the dead to ensure fertility. Inclusion of human bones among the Moche reflected the belief that the recently deceased needed a guide for a safe journey to the world of the dead (Klaus and Tam 2015:294). Concepts of “good” and “bad” death are associated with proper release of the anima from the body, and the power to make the transition to a new status or journey to another world (Shimada et al. 2015:154).

**A PRE-HISPANIC BURIAL SUMMARY**

To summarize the re-Hispanic burial styles discussed above, I refer to what Klaus (2008:532) termed the “Traditional Mochica Burial Grammars.” His summary includes N-S orientation (with
a few E-W and W-E orientations attributed to facing the Andes mountains and the Pacific Ocean respectively), and the use of red face cloths. With Shimada and other coauthors (2015:148), Klaus emphasizes “grammars” of living-dead relationships (primarily referencing Moche burials) and divides them into two categories (2008:221): (1) Pre-Primary Interment Activities including (a) curation and mummification of the corpse, (b) corpse preparation including defleshing, and cinnabar application, (c) funerary bundle preparation, (d) food offering; and (2) Post-Interment Offerings and Rituals including (a) periodic visitation and associated rituals, (b) construction of surrogate tombs and/or funerary bundles, and (c) alterations of the corpse, associated bundles, and tombs.

If specific features of pre-Hispanic mortuary performance are important representations of belief, it is especially important to look for their absence or presence in the mortuary performances scripted by the dominant religion of the Colonial era. Finding the absence or presence of those features is the task for the rest of this chapter. My presentation compares theatrical features of these cemeteries side by side rather than all the features of one site at a time.

THE COLONIAL CHAPEL-CEMETERIES

At this point in my argument, I move from a review of the pre-Colonial burial sites in the northern coast to two Colonial burial sites located in that same region. Excavations at the cemeteries at Mórrope and Eten revealed very different burial styles. Comparisons of burials at the two cemeteries, and between them, and burials of preceding cultures shows an interesting performance dynamic that I summarize in my concluding chapter.

Mórrope Archaeology

The Chapel of San Pedro was established as early as 1536 and is part of the San Pedro de Mórrope Architectural Complex comprised of a church, a chapel, and a convent. Survey,
restoration, and archaeological study of the chapel began in April 2003 and was directed by Cesar Maguña of ICAM (Instituto Americano de Conservación y Restauración) of Chiclayo. The Chapel had also been named to the World Monuments Watch list of 100 most endangered archaeological sites on Earth. Exploratory excavation included five small and two large test pits placed in various locations in the nave, and two small test pits exterior to the Chapel. Klaus was invited by Maguña to participate in the study of burials and skeletal remains in July 2003. A three-month season in 2004 was co-directed with archaeologist Manuel Tam (Universidad Nacional de Trujillo) to document exposed burials, coffins, and their contents. It was evident at this time that the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope contained an intact colonial mortuary population in an excellent state of preservation (Klaus 2008:347–353). Tam and Klaus co-directed the large-scale excavation of the nave, sacristy, and atrium of the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope during a 14-week excavation season that ran from June to September 2005. Twelve units were excavated, and the remains of at least 867 individuals were recovered and documented. Burials were designated by unit number, year of excavation, and the order in which they were identified in the excavations.

Burials and features were recorded using standard protocols, including data collection forms. Data were collected on a burial’s three-dimensional provenience, coffin construction, decoration, cardinal orientation, grave goods, clothing remains, and taphonomy. In this regard, the data points required by Klaus parallel the categories proposed by Donnan (1995) and can be analyzed with their performance corollaries (described in Chapter 2). Klaus analyzed skeletal and dental remains of 1,048 individuals from the Chapel’s 15 late pre-Hispanic (ca. AD 900–1532) and Colonial Period (AD 1536–1750) burials (Klaus 2013; Klaus and Tam 2009a,b, 2010, 2014; Klaus et al., 2009; Klaus in press). Hypotheses specific to health outcomes, mortuary rituals, and biological distance were tested (Klaus 2008:353–355). In this thesis, Klaus’s burial data from the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope are applied to the research question regarding colonial
mortuary performance. In every case, Mórrope data, photographs, drawings, and summaries are from Klaus (2008). Their interpretation through the lens of theatrical performance is mine.

**Eten Archaeology**

Research at Eten is part of a long-term regional study of bioarchaeology and mortuary archaeology of Colonial Lambayeque initiated to study the regional variability in the biocultural responses to conquest. Field excavation began in the fall semester of 2010 with a group of students from Utah Valley University led by Haagen Klaus and co-directed with Peruvian archaeologist Rosabella Alvarez-Calderón. As a member of the research team during two consecutive years, I participated in excavation and lab analysis of burial contexts. Interpretation of excavation data presented here derives from the official site report prepared by Alvarez-Calderón and Klaus.

The immediate terrain of Capilla del Niño Serranito is windblown sand with dunes and knolls typical of a windy and dry climate. At the nexus of five ecotones, Eten is situated in an environment that serves both to preserve and threaten archaeological remains. The arid coastal sand maintains the structure of the buried bones, cloth, wood, and grave goods remarkably well; however, the nearby river drainage is subject to infrequent but devastating floods precipitated either by unusually high rainfall in the Andean highlands or local (and rare) rain. Coastal rainfall is infrequent enough that the local infrastructure is ill equipped to respond, and there are histories of utter devastation to local houses and public structures. Other challenges to the preservation of materials are a very high salt content in sands, and a high water table.

In preparation for excavation, the CNS site was extensively photographed and mapped, first with traditional plane-table techniques and later refined using a Total Station. The CNS structure is a simple rectangle oriented roughly on a north-south axis. The maximum width is 16.5 m,
and the maximum length is 48.2 m. The surface area of CNS was divided into five excavation units. Objectives of the sampling strategy were to produce representative samples of burials, and to evaluate stratigraphy and geomorphology from the north, center, and south quadrants of the nave. A central datum was set at the extreme NE corner of the nave, and from that a relative datum was set in the NE corner of each unit. Unit depths and horizontal measurements were included for each documented burial. Soil color data were based on the Munsell Soil Color chart. Bone recovery included a basic inventory and preliminary cleaning. At the end of each field day, the bones were taken to the field house and stored until later weeks when they could be studied more thoroughly in the lab. Standard documentation for each skeleton required four to eight worksheets: skeletal inventory (visual and statistical), long bone measurements, dental inventory, dental health data, age, and sex estimations; and one to three other sheets used exclusively for recording details such as cranial deformation, evidence of trauma, or pathological conditions (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Duday; 2009; White and Folkens 1999, 2005).

Multiple data sheets describing each burial were summarized into one burial record designed for inclusion in the final site report. Descriptions include details of burial identification, contextual information such as sector and depth location, condition and color of the soil, presence or absence of a casket, presence or absence of grave goods, decoration of burial or body, position of body, orientation of body, orientation of head, position of each arm and leg, general taphonomy, including conservation of the bones; missing bones; disarticulation of bones; entomological activity; details of dress; and the estimation of sex, age, and pathology.

The CNS site report (Klaus 2008, 2012a) generated from field work in 2010–11 includes 25 points of discrete data for 270 burials. I entered each data point from each burial record into Microsoft Excel (Mac version 2011). I was assisted with the descriptive and quantitative analysis by Chris Challis, Data Science Director, Huntington National Bank. Each burial record was analyzed with an emphasis on the details specific to mortuary performance. The statistical
analysis suggests that most Eten burials looked “Christian.” More detailed descriptions are organized in this chapter under headings specific to each burial feature.

**Body Preparation in Mórrope**

In Mórrope, most of the burials included associated textiles. Textile preservation was poor, and it is almost impossible to discern textile shape or decoration. Most bodies of children and a number of adults were likely nude when they were wrapped in a simple cotton shroud. Among these was an old adult male, Burial U3 05-43, who may have been one of the earliest interments at the chapel. Though infrequent, clothing remains were observed or inferred for at least 76
burials. Evidence of clothing did not appear to correspond to burials of particular age or sex. The presence of glass or worked-bone buttons (Figure 5.3) was the clearest evidence of clothing associated with bodies. In 15 contexts, leather shoes were also noted. Many adults were buried in what would have been European-style clothing of everyday colonial life. An intrusive Republican era burial (1824–present), Burial U5 05-7, was found in matching suitcoat and trousers.

Another means of body adornment was jewelry. Four Mórrope burials included jewelry (Burials U3 05-29, U7 05-3, U12 05-21, and U7 05-22). The first three examples are subadults and were found with bead necklaces. Necklaces were made from dozens to hundreds of individually drilled stone or glass beads. Bead colors included yellow, blue, white, and red. Other beads recovered from the surrounding burial matrix are considered as evidence of disturbed burials and included black cylindrical beads and bead fragments of coloration suggestive of *Spondylus* sp. Burial U7 05-22 was an old adult female. On her neck there was a small icon that appeared to depict a saint. Finally, a small metal Christian-style cross had been painted white and was associated with the semi-articulated bodies of U7 05-1A.

Three kinds of headgear were documented in the burials of the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope: jaw ties, headbands, and caps. An uncolored woven jaw tie was found around the cranium and mandible of Burial U10 05-6, an adult female. A copper strip appeared to have been sewn to a textile headband and placed around the head of Burial U4 03-18. The copper strip was almost completely oxidized and had left a green stain on the textile. Subadult Burial U10 05-32 was found with a much larger and embroidered textile headband wrapped around the head and covering most of the face (Figure 5.4). The textile was yellow-gold and featured an embroidered, repeating motif of a flower or leaf.

Sixteen burial contexts included headgear in the form of caps placed on the heads of subadults. The caps were fashioned from a very thin material thought to perhaps have been a type of paper. Remnants and stains of thin copper strips in the shape of repetitive “V’s” adorned
the edges and appeared to have been sewn to the paper/cloth. In some cases, the cloth and copper were not visible, but a copper stain in similar design on the crania indicated that these children had also been adorned in death. Burial U10 05-11 is a child without the familiar indications of copper adornment. His or her head was encircled with a paper or thin textile cap that may have been cut in the shape of a crown and decorated with painted curvilinear designs (Figure 5.5).

Face cloths were found in 37 funerary contexts at Mórrope. In every instance, the cloths were textiles dyed red or maroon. No cloths were preserved well enough to ascertain their original sizes or outlines. Some cloths were at least large enough to cover the face and upper chest. Large pieces of face cloths were in shallow, more recent burials, but in deeper burials, traces of pigment remained with impressions of the textile warp and weft. The presence of face cloths was common among children and adults, with an exceptional example on a child, Burial U3WX 05-28. This
cloth was a dull red and featured a leaf or floral design. At least 21 secondary burials throughout the site also showed indications of face cloths in traces of red textile or imprints. These included crania that were disarticulated; therefore, complete context was unobservable.

**Body Preparation in Eten**

Generally, preparation of corpses encountered in CNS was austere. With few exceptions, each skeleton appeared to have started out as a shroud-wrapped nude body. Figure 5.6 illustrates the frequency of burial clothing encountered at CNS. Overall, CNS included an extremely low frequency of burials dressed, decorated, mummified/embalmed, or enhanced with jewelry, make-up, or accouterments. Notable exceptions are the several burials thought to date to very early and very late Colonial times, and the intrusive burials thought to have been added after the Colonial era.

Burial U4-84 has been determined to be the earliest burial at CNS. This male was perhaps the first person buried in Colonial Eten. Hundreds of drilled *Spondylus* beads were located under the
pelvis of this skeleton. Also in Unit 4 were three other individuals that had beads associated with their burial. Burial U4-82 was a child associated with at least two necklaces comprised of drilled Spondylus beads, copper beads, glass beads (a European technology), and a cross fashioned from silver. Facetted, multicolor glass beads were documented with another child, Burial U4-80. This style and design of beads has been documented at excavation sites at Chotuna, Peru, as well as at Tatham Mound in Spanish Florida. The beads are known to have been in use by the Spanish between 1530 and 1560 (Klaus 2012b). Adult male Burial U4-5 included a collar of blue glass beads around his neck.

![CNS Burial Clothing Frequency](image)

Figure 5.6. A frequency and percentage comparison of CNS burials clothed and not clothed. (For this analysis, burial shrouds were not considered clothing).
Burial shroud fragments and fibers were quite common in all Eten burials. They were usually beige or tan in color. A few bodies were partially covered with black cloth. On other bodies, there were indications of red pigment on cloth or as a type of body paint. Four burials included a black cloth over the feet or lower limbs of the body. Of these four, two were missing limb bones: Burial U2-44 was missing both feet, and Burial U2-45 was missing the radius and ulna of the right arm. Burials U2-51 and U2-52 had the imprint of a red cloth over their faces. Infant Burial U2-55 showed an imprint on the cranium that suggested the presence of a red headband at the time of interment.

Burial Setting in Mórrope

Approximately 47 percent of all single bodies at Mórrope were interred in wooden coffins (see Figure 4.5). The others were in simple cotton shrouds, making the soil matrix around them the most immediate feature of setting. All coffins followed the same style of design and construction. The shape was a long trapezoid, wide at the head and tapering at the foot. The left and right sideboards, and the head and foot end boards were of the same height and material. Multiple wooden planks were arranged to form the bottoms and lids of the coffins. In coffins of the smallest size, single planks formed the bottoms and lids. The kind of the wood is uncertain, but it likely was not the local *algarrobo*. Though some copper nails were evident in construction, the vast majority had iron nails.

Generally, coffin assembly evidenced care and precision. A notable exception was the coffin of Burial U3WX 05-38. The lid of this coffin was made from multiple, irregularly shaped slats, including five that were painted black. Similarly, some infant coffin lids, such as that for Burials U3 03-9 and U10 05-36, were fashioned of wood that appeared to have been previously used and had been repurposed as coffin lids.
Thirty-two coffins at the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope were plain wooden boxes. The other 92 were decorated using copper nails, either pressed or hammered into patterns. Tack patterns were categorized as Simple Tack, Ornate Tack, or Christian Cross Tack. Simple tack configurations were typically parallel lines of copper tacks spaced widely on sideboards and less frequently, on headboards and footboards.

Ornate tack designs were on 27 coffins. In this category, copper tacks were arranged in closely spaced sequences, forming rows or geometric figures. Included in this category are some examples of extremely ornate design, such as the coffin sideboards of Burials U4 05-1, U7 05-2, U10 05-21, and U10 05-39 (Figure 5.7). These featured variations of a leaf-floral motif.

Three adult coffins were adorned with initials: “B.J.,” “J.M.,” “S.G.”—Burials U3 03-10, U10 05-21, and U4 03-12, respectively. In another example of Ornate Tack, Burial U3 05-30B featured tacks in a pattern that Klaus (2008:449) thinks is reminiscent of the Greek letter Σ.

Copper tack clearly formed the shape of the Christian cross on 14 coffins. Crosses were tacked on lids, side-boards, foot-boards, and head-boards, and these crosses ranged from small, simple, shapes to elaborate shapes requiring more than 20 tacks each.

Remnants of textiles were found under many copper tacks, indicating that a cloth had been wrapped around the coffin or that swatches of cloth had been situated beneath the designs before the tacks were hammered in. On two coffins, it was possible to see that a textile ribbon had been tacked into a zigzag pattern. In more than 37 contexts, however, coffins lacked evidence of exterior textiles but were painted or apparently covered with a wallpaper-like material. Blue and green paints were seen on one coffin each, while three were white, and 28 were covered in red. At least four coffins retained pieces of the paper material, and several others had indications that paper had been included, but poor preservation made it impossible to evaluate how the papers may have added to the original appearance of the coffin. Handles or other functional attachments
were absent, except for iron clasps at the headboard and footboard of two coffins (Burial U4 05-1 and U10 05-39).

Excavation at the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope revealed no individual sepulchers, shines, or vaults. The chapel itself, however, has features of construction that would have created a dramatic burial setting. The exterior has been described as European *ramada* in style, but the interior clearly expresses aspects of pre-Hispanic architecture (Klaus 2008:410; Klaus and Tam 2015:273). The simultaneous presence of these contrasting architectural styles provides valuable insight to the theatrical element of setting.

The roof of CSPM is supported by a traditional *horcón* post and beam construction. Five pairs of large (30–40 cm in diameter) Y-shaped posts are set equidistant apart. The posts are arranged in lines parallel to the church walls,
effectively dividing the length of the church into three long corridors. The central corridor is covered with a slightly pitched roof that runs from the chapel door to the altar (Figure 5.8). The
layering effect that creates the pitch consists of longitudinal connecting beams stretched between each Y-shaped post, and from the posts at each end to the short walls at each far side of the church. The notch of each “Y” holds the ends of two beams extending in opposite directions. At the Y’s, and lying atop these longitudinal connecting beams, are five lateral rafters that extend over the central corridor toward the opposite supporting post. Running longitudinally along the top of these lateral beams is a course of ridge-beams that form a central meridian to the corridor and the church at large. The layering effect at each Y-post sets this meridian course higher than the edges. One hundred eighty-four smaller, interlocking crossbeams span the entire width of the roof and provide secondary load bearing. The crossbeams toward the center rise slightly to reach the elevated ridge-beam. Hewn *algarrobo* (local tree species) trunks are the main element in the supports and crossbeams. The supporting beams were once covered with multiple layers of plaster.

Before the reconstruction of the Chapel, the sacristy was completely walled off from the nave. The construction style of the supports and roof of the nave are one line of evidence that suggests it was a later addition to the Chapel.

The most significant and prominent feature of the Mórrope Chapel is the altar. Standing at 3.5 m high, the altar is a three-dimensional, stepped pyramid (Figure 5.9). It faces to the north and abuts to the south wall of the chancel (the space around the altar of a church). From the Moche period and into the Middle Sicán era, stepped pyramids seem to have been formalized as icons, probably representing a mountain or abstracted *huaca*. The altar had been covered with many layers of plaster. Beneath the plaster, it was discovered that the altar is constructed of vertically stacked adobe bricks. The bottom step, or base is essentially hollow. The base rises from the floor approximately 35 cm. Small *algarrobo* beams support its roof. Square openings on the west and the east side of the base provide access to the hollow chamber. Its use and purpose is unknown, but the altar can logically be considered the stage of the dramatic theater space. If the nave were walled off, the hollowed chamber would have been the only possible space for preparations.
usually made backstage or in the wings. The openings could perhaps accommodate passage of a (very) small person. They certainly could be used to store props, apparel, and instruments of ritual and ceremony.

The setting of the church itself is an important component in the analysis of its religious expression. The Spanish commonly made a strong religious statement by superimposing Catholic churches on pre-Hispanic religious sites. An example not far from Mórrope is found outside the coastal city of Trujillo in a city called Huanchaco. Here it is thought that the Iglesia de la Virgen de Soccoro is built atop a *huaca*. The practice of constructing new buildings on top of old ones feeds arguments for syncretism and potentially creates an expectation when analyzing the burials themselves. The stratigraphic record at the Chapel of San Pedro de Mórrope does not support the idea of superposition on an earlier structure.
Burial Setting in Eten

The ruins at CNS included eight burials that have been deemed intrusive; they date to the 19th century. These burials are exceptions to the predominant style of setting found at Eten. Genuine colonial burials were predominantly without coffin or encasement of any kind (Figure 5.10), though there were two possible exceptions. Burial U2-11 included a coffin and was deemed to be intrusive, but clearly pre-dating Burial U2-1. This burial was possibly Colonial era. Burial U3-75 is an adult male. His skeletal remains were wrapped in a black shroud and encased in a simple,
unadorned wooden coffin. The location at stratigraphic level 8 indicates that this was a Colonial burial and is the only instance of coffin-encased burial in CNS from the era.

Vaults, sepulchers, or shrines were completely absent from CNS, but the church building itself provides a storied setting. The original expectation at CNS was that the date of the burials in the cemetery would match dates of known occupation of the chapel constructed in 1776. There were several departures from that expectation. In Unit 2, Level 6, a section of adobe wall was revealed. The east-facing surface had been painted with more than a dozen layers of plaster. The brick used in the construction was solid adobe and lacked the filler materials such as straw or pottery sherds commonly found in late historic and more recent constructions. Finally, the buried wall connected to an earthen floor approximately 1.5 m below the 19th century brick floor above it. Below the earliest floor, a dense cemetery was found with artifacts from the late pre-Hispanic and early Colonial periods. In the adjacent Unit 3, the remains of a stone-lined well were found before reaching the sterile sand of the dune.

Eventually, it was determined that the Capilla del Niño Serranito comprises two buildings and three occupational phases. The first occupational phase was late pre-Hispanic, marked by domestic trash such as fish bones, fish scales, and ceramic sherds. The second occupational phase is thought to correspond to the first mission church constructed in Eten—Building 1. The third phase would be Building 2—the CNS ruins that are still visible today.

The majority of burials were located within Building 1. The argument for an Early Colonial date of Building 1 is based on several lines of evidence: (1) the simplicity of the structure—an unelaborated, four-walled nave. Only one corner of the building was defined in excavation, but overall dimensions are estimated at 5–6 m wide by 30–35 m in long. (2) The technology used for construction: late pre-Hispanic examples of earthen floors and compact clay bricks match those used for construction of Building 1. (3) The cemetery included pre-Hispanic style grave goods such as drilled shell beads as well as imported objects of European manufacture. (4) Burials of
Late Historic style associated with CNS itself are intrusive. They disrupted the intact cemetery of earlier date. (5) Building 2—(CNS)—was constructed in the late 18th century and superimposed over Building 1. (6) Local oral tradition describes a mission church preceding the Church of Santa Maria Magdalena de Eten (CSMME), which was constructed in the early 1600s. (The ruins of CMMSE are not at the CNS site but are easily visible from it.)

It is very likely that the ruins of the original mission church (Building 1) would have been above ground and visible to sea captain, Manuel Castillo. Oral history holds that by 1776, CMMSE was not standing. Castillo’s choice to build Capilla del Niño Serranito at this location could not have been accidental. While it is not possible to demonstrate the captain’s motives, the reuse of this sacred place makes setting a very significant performance feature for our consideration.

**Burial Props in Mórrope**

Ribbons and ribbon remains were found in 41 burials. Most ribbons were orange in color, with a few varieties of green. The cloth was brittle and impossible to stretch out for linear measurement; however its width was 2.0 to 2.5 cm. When ribbons were first encountered in the burials, their function was not clear. Because ribbons were directly next to other burial features, they were considered as possible elements of body adornment. Eventually it became apparent that ribbons had been used to tie together bouquets of flowers. Though the ribbons may still be considered an element of corpse decoration, they seem better considered in the context of grave goods.

Beyond the flower bouquets, very few grave goods were associated with Mórrope burials. Klaus identifies non-flower grave goods in less than two percent of individual inhumations (2008:456). The four cases of grave goods include a worked bone rattle found by the left foot of subadult Burial U3 03-5. A single copper bead served as the noisemaker in a hollow barrel. A removable handle could be inserted into the base of the barrel. Inside the coffin of Burial U3 05-18 an oxidized iron plate was found under the head of the buried individual. The meaning
or function of the plate is unknown. Burial U7 05-3 included a small textile bundle containing copper earrings. A beveled, amber-colored stone was inset in the earrings, and one earring included spherical, amber-colored beads. The bundle was found resting in the chest region of this young, subadult. Finally, a heavy cast iron ax head was found resting on the coffin of an adolescent female, Burial U12 05-15. The placement of the ax head seems to have been intentional. Its heavy weight would have broken through the lid if it had been thrown into the grave pit rather than carefully placed.

Burial Props in Eten

After discounting intrusive 19th century burials, CNS colonial burials included few instances of grave goods or props. Also eliminated from the category of props are items characterized as jewelry or personal accouterments that appear to have adorned the body itself. Instances of jewelry and accouterments are considered part of corpse preparation (see above).

Burial U2-51 included fragments of a necklace of silver and copper, a headband, and a red facecloth. Located near the right leg were three parrot effigies made of black glass. Burial U2-60 is fascinating because it had a bone and tooth mass located in the lower abdominal/pelvic region. The mass was eventually identified as an ovarian teratoma. In the pelvic region of this same skeleton, a crude triangular ceramic sherd was located. On the skeletal chest area of Burial U3-8, the parietal bone of a child was found. This bone was not associated with any other bones, nor any other nearby burial. It was considered a grave good, prop, or offering. A ceramic sherd was located on the right pelvis of female Burial U4-39.

Orientation of Bodies at Mórrope

The bodies buried at Mórrope were predominately oriented in a north-south direction. Based on the sequence of stratigraphy, north-south orientation appears to be the oldest and original
burial practice at the chapel. South-north, and more rarely, east-west, and west-east burials are found exclusively at higher stratigraphic levels (more recent burials). East-west and west-east orientations are by far the rarest. In excavation Unit 3, most burials were oriented north-south; however, it was in this unit that we also found five bodies placed south-north, two bodies placed east-west, and one placed, west-east. In Unit 3, at the bottom of the burial stratum (Levels 12 and 13), eight regularly spaced burials were found arranged in a south-north orientation. Klaus (2008:432) suggests contemporaneous deaths or a planned spatial arrangement for the burials of this entire group.

Unit 4 included 27 burials facing the altar (N-S) and 11 facing the opposite direction—looking north. Unit 5 included a small extension intended to recover burials partially within the east profile of unit 5. Individuals in this location were not positioned where they could literally face the altar; nevertheless, seven of the skeletons were situated in the dominant north-south axis, two were south-north, and one was east-west.

Unit 7 included two remarkable funerary contexts in terms of orientation. Burial U7 05-27 was an adult female buried face down with hands behind her back as if bound. The skeleton of burial U7 05-30 bore multiple healed traumatic injuries. In burial, her left hand was drawn up to her face. In Unit 10 north-south orientation prevailed, though one child’s body was inverted, face down in a coffin.

In Unit 12 it was noted that burials nearest the altar were oriented N-S, while those farther from the altar were more likely to be oriented S-N. In this unit, 26 burials were N-S, while 15 were situated S-N.

**Orientation of Bodies at Eten**

Generally, individuals were buried at CNS in a supine position, with legs extended. Arms were typically crossed at the chest, or hands were clasped together at the chest or waist. Three
burials in CNS have particularly notable choreographic orientations: Burial U2-41 is of an infant. Bug larvae in the cranium indicate that this was a delayed burial. The infant was buried in an upright, seated position. Another infant, Burial U2-58B, was placed with legs extended above the head, though no bones were broken. Burial U2-6 is also of an infant and was buried on its right side with head toward the east, arms and legs flexed in fetal position.

Twelve burials at Eten were composed of disarticulated or comingled skeletal remains such that the orientation of individual bodies was not discernable: of the remaining 264 burials, 79 percent were oriented with the head to the north (N-S) and facing the church altar. Next in frequency were the S-N oriented burials. Including the late 19th century, intrusive burials, S-N orientation occurred in 53 instances (20 percent of the site total). Only six of the S-N burials were of adults. All others were determined to be of infants (birth–3 years old), or children (3–12 years old). Perhaps another pertinent observation is that more than 70 percent of the S–N oriented burials were located at the back of the nave—in excavation Unit 2. Compared to Units 3 and 4 which were located at the south and central nave, nearest the altar, in Unit 2 there was a lower density of bodies.

Body orientation with head to the east, facing west was very rare at Eten. There were two instances of this burial orientation; both were of infants, and both were in excavation units nearest the altar (U4AE-2 and U3-64). Burial U3-64 was deemed to be an intrusive burial from the late 19th century, thus reducing the count of Colonial burials with an E-W orientation to one.

**Pacing Features in Mórrope**

Largely based on the presence of muscoid fly paparia and ecdysial caps within sealed coffins, 22 Mórrope burials (6.8 percent) were considered to have been prolonged primary burials. Because no adult flies were found within the coffins, maggots had to have completed
metamorphosis before their internment took place. On the north coast, fly carcasses fall prey to scavenging animals within minutes. The presence of mature fly puparia and the lack of evidence of scavenging activity seem to indicate that prolonged burials were protected. Distinct layers of fly puparia associated with the base of a platform or crypt in the southeast corner of the chapel suggest that decomposing remains were some time present at that location (Klaus 2008).

Disarticulation of bones is a common criterion for identifying a prolonged primary burial. In Mórrope, it was more difficult to assess prolonged primary burial due to the prevalence of coffins. In the stable matrix of sand, bones settle in place and, except for hands and feet, bones remain articulated as they were at burial. In coffins, however, decomposed bones are free to collapse, roll and shift as coffins are moved or settle at uneven angles (see Klaus 2008:471). Two cases of infant burials are thought to have been prolonged primary burials. Burial U12 05-45 was mostly disarticulated in its coffin. The right scapula was missing, and the right calcaneous was resting by the left side of the cranium. For the second case, infant burial U5 05-5 was mostly mummified.

**Pacing Features in Eten**

Prolonged, or delayed burial in Eten was rare. The few exceptional cases involve intrusive 19th century Burials U2-1, U2-2, and U2-3. Of these, Burial U2-1 is most interesting because it reveals the effects bugs had on the body as it decomposed prior to burial. Klaus (2012b:20) proposes that after the body was placed in a coffin, burial was delayed perhaps by as many as three weeks. Natural decomposition factors explain the disarticulation of hands and feet within the coffin, and the flattening of the thoracic cage, but atypical disarticulation patterns indicate maggot migration (Klaus 2012b:20).

One-hundred and sixty-nine (31 percent) of all Eten burials were missing bones and had been altered at some point after burial. This statistic might lead us to believe that post-depositional reduction (removing bones from burials) was quite common. Klaus (2012b) argues, however,
that in nearly every case, the reduction (i.e., removal of bones) was not a staged, ritualistic exhumation but was a disruption from later burials. Klaus mentions cemetery crowding and the re-use of burial plots as the explanation for the high frequency of disturbed burials at CNS.

An important burial-pacing feature found at Eten is the several examples of simultaneous burial, or mass burial. In Unit 4, Klaus (2012b) identified four instances of a mass grave. Each instance was located in a separate stratigraphic level. One mass grave was found in Levels 8C, another in Level 8D, and two more in Level 8E. Unit 4, Level 8C contained 17 funerary contexts, and seven of these were deemed to be simultaneous burials: (U4AE-5, U4AE-6, U4AE-7, U4AE-8, U4AE-9, U4AE-10, and U4AE-11). Level 8D contained 31 funerary contexts and of these, U4AE-17, U4AE-18, U4AE-19, U4AE-21, U4AE-23, and U4AE-26 were considered simultaneous. Level 8E contained 34 funerary contexts and burials U4-60, -63, -61, -67, -64 and U4-65 were deemed to be simultaneous. Slightly to the south of these, Burials U4-71, -71, -72, -73, -74, -75, -76, -77, -78, -81 and U4-82 were considered simultaneous. There were no indications of trauma or violence on the bodies in the mass burials. Certain diseases that leave traces in the bones were also ruled out. Performance implications for mass burials are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

SECONDARY BURIALS

Secondary burials are intentional and ritualistic and thereby are strong indicators of dramatic, theatrical performance. If the body of the dead becomes a dramatic prop for use in a theatrical, funerary context, the use of the dead once buried is more dramatic still. In this regard, burials at Mórrope and Eten exhibit diverse theatrical styles.

Secondary Burials at Mórrope

Three modes of secondary burial were identified at Mórrope: skeletal remains in ossuaries, isolated remains, and burials superimposed on primary burials. In ossuary burial, disarticulated
and incomplete remains were collected and re-interred. Nearly 17 percent of all burials contexts at Mórrope were secondary. The burial pits for these interments were of irregular shapes and ranged from 20 to 94 cm in depth. Each secondary burial seems to have been a single depositional event, and placement of bones appears to have been haphazard. In a few instances, the grouping of long bones aligned on a north-south axis. Each pit contained from 4–1,279 bones. The minimum number of individuals (MNI) ranged from 1–79, based on the presence of left and right femora and humerii. The average MNI was calculated to have been between three and ten. Ossuary contexts also included fragments of textiles, coffins, buttons, and, in one case, faunal remains.

Secondary burials at Mórrope were almost always completely disarticulated, thereby implying that the human remains had been skeletonization before their burial or reburial. Burial U7 05-1 is a dramatic exception. It consisted of three partially articulated skeletons comingled with the remains of at least 14 others. One articulated thoracic vertebral column, ribs, and assorted humerii, radii, and ulnae corresponded to a single cranium placed in an inverted position, face down. Another partially articulated skeleton was a cranium with a mandible, cervical vertebrae and the complete hyoid, all in anatomical position. The third articulated set of remains included complete bones of right and left legs, semi-flexed, and feet with the remains of leather shoes.

A variety of cuts, chops, punctures, and scrape marks, and crush damage was evident on bones in the largest ossuaries, such as Burial U3 03-1. Some damaged bones from these contexts included incomplete greenstick fractures. The variety of damage to these bones implies that some exhumations and reburials occurred in haste while the bones were still fresh.

Secondary burials also included placement of disarticulated bones atop undisturbed primary burials. Burial U5 05-4 was a coffin that had its lid and right sideboard removed. Three crania and multiple long bones of at least five adults and one subadult were placed atop the body of the primary burial. The coffin lid of Burial U7 05-2 had also been removed as well as several
long bones, feet, and the cranium of the primary burial in it. Bones added to the primary burial included the crania of four other individuals and left and right femurs from two different individuals. The femura were inverted and put in place of missing arms. An extra hand, and a right and left radius were also situated in the upper body region. One secondary cranium was inverted between the femura; another was inverted and placed between the tibiae; another was put by the right shoulder, and a fourth was put atop the shoulders approximately where the cranium of the original individual would once have been.

Similar secondary burials were also observed among four early-middle Colonial burials. Substantial secondary deposits of bones were found superimposed on shrouded burials placed in sterile sand. Multiple long bones and crania covered primary Burial U4 05-31 from head to foot. The middle and lower bodies of Burials U12 05-42 and -43 were covered with long bones and crania.

Isolated skeletal elements comprise a third mode of secondary burial. At Mórrope, isolated skeletal and dental elements were encountered in every stratigraphic level of each excavation unit and involved the reburial of several thousand individual skeletal elements. Isolated remains bore no apparent relationship to each other or to adjacent burial contexts. Remains of all skeletal elements were represented in secondary burials, with many long bones and crania. Over 2500 long bones were recorded, representing an MNI of 202 subadults and 77 adult individuals. The preservation and isolation of each bone leads to the idea that reburial was intentional and carefully done.

**Secondary Burials at Eten**

Secondary burials were infrequent at Eten; however, there were three large secondary burials in Unit 3. Each burial had disarticulated remains of between 5 and 17 individuals. These secondary burials were dispersed rather than grouped like the bone groupings in Mórrope. Eten secondary burials seemed to have resulted from the intrusion of two 19th century burials into the
upper strata of the early-middle Colonial cemetery. Other secondary burials were associated with the early-middle Colonial cemetery. These were small assemblages of bones that included the reburied remains of between one and five individuals.

Secondary burial of isolated skeletal remains represented only 8.8 kg of bone, and an MNI of 17 individuals. Many of the isolated remains at CNS were single ribs, teeth, long bones (the majority from subadults), and, occasionally, cranial elements.

**SUMMARY OF EARLY COLONIAL MORTUARY PRACTICE AT MÓRROPE AND ETEN**

**Preparing the Body**

Beyond a simple cotton burial shroud, Mórrope burials included clothing remains or evidence of clothing on at least 76 burials of all age-groups and both sexes. Also prominent in Mórrope burials was evidence of jewelry, headgear (caps, headbands, or jaw-ties), embroidered textile fragments, and red pigment on the body. Enhancements of any kind in Eten burials, by contrast, were infrequent. The notable exceptions are Burials U4-82 and U4-84 that included hundreds of beads under the skeletons. These individuals were wrapped in cotton shrouds and bore no adornments on the body.

In terms of preparing the corpse for burial—which has previously been equated with dressing an actor for a role—the bodies at Mórrope indicate greater effort to set each actor apart. The adorning features associated with the bodies also suggest a level of tolerance on the part of the officiating clergy. Given that many of the features can be viewed as Christian symbols, (crosses, icons of saints, and crowns), it is also possible that in Mórrope, authorities accommodated pagan practice when it incorporated Christian symbolism.
Encasing the Body: Setting the Burial

The use of coffins does not appear to be a feature mandated by Colonial Church doctrine. There is a considerable difference between the number of coffin-encased burials in Mórrope (nearly 47 percent) and coffin-encased burials in Eten (less than 10 percent). It is possible that the comparative absence of coffin burials in Eten is not related to church decree, but rather to economic hardship, or the absence of materials and/or local craftsmen to build them.

Coffins in Mórrope and the copper tack patterns decorating Mórrope coffins represent a significant investment of time and materials. It is impossible to be sure of the meanings behind the tack symbols, but initials on some, and Christian crosses on others can reasonably be understood to represent the name of the person buried in the coffin, and a statement of Christianity respectively. By definition, theatrical settings are designed to evoke a calculated response from the audience. The absence of coffins and coffin décor in Eten may have non-religious explanations, however, the effect of the absence communicates austerity. By contrast, the presence of decorated coffins at Mórrope communicates effort and expense—a significant expression of those building, decorating or purchasing the finished product. Austerity at Eten, and Christian symbolism at Mórrope represent different contributions to the mortuary performance of their time. Though the treatment of bodies and interment at each locale would have been different, I propose that the intended message at each site was Christian devotion. The contrasting performance features utilized to communicate a similar message supports the argument that mortuary performance is a powerful tool of expression and influence.

The strongest argument for Colonial intentionality of setting is that each individual from sites at Mórrope and Eten were in a church. The First Council of Lima (1551) set punishments for burying Christian Indians outside church grounds. Punishments included jail time, and public lashing. After the Second Council of Lima (1567), bishops charged missionaries with assuring
that baptized Andeans would have graves in churches. Physical punishment was again ordered for those who put bodies of the baptized in any other place. In this one feature of setting, both Eten and Mórrope conform to the script prescribed by the Colonial Catholic Church.

Grave Goods

Neither Eten nor Mórrope Colonial burials included significant proportions of grave goods. This absence, however, cannot be interpreted as a loss of ongoing interaction between the living and the dead. The pre-contact practice of placing items in the grave was replaced with Christian practices of prayers, alms, and offerings on or at the grave (Ramos 2010b:85–88).

Burial Orientation, Choreography, and Pacing

The theatrical features of choreography, blocking, and pacing correlate with the archaeological features called orientation, position, and burial type. When compared to the burials at Eten, Mórrope burials exhibit the widest varieties of these features overall; however, in terms of body orientation, there are similarities between the two sites that will now be considered as a final point of analysis.

The orientation of burials at both sites was generally N-S, with heads at the north, “facing” the respective altars; however, both sites include other orientations that seem loosely correlated with either (1) greater distance from the altar (Eten), (2) the age of the deceased individual (Eten and Mórrope), or (3) later burials (Mórrope). In Eten’s CNS, excavation Unit 2 is located farthest from the altar. The majority of individuals buried in this unit were infants or children, (64 percent), and of these 75 percent were oriented with heads at the south, feet at the north. (Individuals buried in what is believed to be the original mission church located at the deepest level of this unit were not included in the calculations because the location of the original altar
is not known). Table 5.1 shows the correlation between the ages and orientations of all CNS burials. Again, reference to historical documents and ethnographic observations can help explain the burial orientations that appear to be exceptional.

### Table 5.1. A chart showing CNS burial orientations by age category. Infant: 0 to 3 years old; Child: 4 to 12 years old; Adolescent: 12 to 20 years old; Adult: more than 21 years old.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Infant</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Age Adolescent</th>
<th>Adult</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE-SE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-N</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES FROM THE DRAMATURGE**

The mortuary performance features found in the cemeteries at Mórrope and Eten are, of course, just static features—not the active performances themselves. The features represent performances that are past, and in most ways, beyond our current view. The static features just reported, however, highlight three key points about their associated mortuary performance: (1) each represents a unique response to mortuary performance as prescribed by the Colonial Catholic Church, (2) the “above ground” performances leading to and including body deposition at Eten would have differed considerably from those of Mórrope, (3) the mass burials represented at Eten would have had dramatic social implications, including dramatic changes to mortuary performances that would have been customary for one burial at a time (i.e., funeral mass, procession, offering alms etc.) and, (4) subsequent performances that included survivors and their buried dead would also have looked different in Eten than in Mórrope. These points are discussed further in Chapter 7.
This chapter supplements historic narratives of mortuary performance in coastal Peru with first-hand accounts of contemporary rituals from Eten. With these accounts, I necessarily shift my focus from static evidence from ancient graves to dynamic evidence from actual events. I also shift from inductive inference to knowledge from personal experience. I describe activities of performers and audiences and present their emic perspectives on the themes of death and transformation. I share what I saw and felt as a participant in, and observer of, modern mortuary performances that are descendent forms of pre-Hispanic rituals. The dramaturgical analysis in this chapter is thus much broader than those in preceding chapters because living persons offered their perspectives about the Colonial past, and demonstrated consequences of it. The performances of current Etenanos as living agents in a syncretic, dynamic integration of community, religion, and performance add an invaluable “live-action” perspective to the reconstructed performances described in earlier chapters based on historical and archaeological evidence.

My presentation of this chapter proceeds in four parts. I begin with an overview of the methods and materials used in my ethnographic research. This is followed with a summary of case studies of events, or details of events, that correlate with themes or theatrical features discussed in preceding chapters. I next consider how these ethnographic observations inform archaeological interpretations. Finally, I proffer my dramaturgical observations gained from current mortuary rituals in Eten. I believe that the current dynamic between Catholicism and
what Etenanos call “pre-Hispanic traditions” (Chafloque 2014) is analogous to the dynamic played out in the same community over 300 years ago.

**METHODS AND MATERIALS**

In this section I offer a short background of my first experience with people from Eten. Their stories captured my interest and motivated me to plan study trips that would allow me the opportunity to know the people and their stories better. Several trips to Eten provided me with ethnographic material from a variety of experiences. My experiences are considered the “methods” of ethnographic observation and include the following: living stories of the dead, church records, in the role of audience, in the role of performer, interviews, photographs, and video footage. With each method description I include a brief example of ethnographic materials that resulted from it.

**Living Stories of the Dead**

During my first field season in Peru, I worked on site at Capilla Niño Serranito alongside several people from Ciudad Eten. While I wondered about the formal lives of the dead individuals represented in our research, the people of today’s Eten besieged me with historical narratives about their village—particularly stories concerning the 16th and 17th centuries. One of the narratives describes two separate apparitions of Christ in the Eucharist in 1649. Another tells of sailors saved from shipwreck after sighting a young Jesus walking along the Eten beach in traditional dress of the highlands (*sierra*—the young Christ is known as El Niño Serranito). Locals maintain that these unique Colonial-era experiences with Christ created more profound religious conversion to Catholicism compared with Andean conversion overall. These claims interested me and motivated me to do additional research in the form of ethnographic observation. On five separate trips to Eten, I conducted dozens of interviews. I documented much
of the celebration of *Dia de Los Difuntos* (Day of the Dead/Deceased) with video footage. I participated in special Easter Masses, processions, and re-enactments. Through the many events that included music, dances, feasts, fireworks, and the zealous care of effigies of the dead, one phrase consistently recurred: “*asi tratamos nuestros difuntos*” (“this is how we care for our dead”). With my video camera, audio recorder, and compact camera I documented processes and products of mortuary performance. In formal interviews and casual discussions I sought the perspective of performers and audiences. The results of my efforts are nearly four hours of video footage, three hours of recorded conversation, and more than 200 photographs. Each of the methods and resulting materials (types of data) are described below. Though my focus in this thesis is mortuary performance, I include brief references here to performances of a more general nature, whenever such references further understanding of Colonialism in Eten.

**Church Records**

During one visit to Eten, I was invited to the local church archive and allowed to peruse original Colonial Burial Records dating from the early 1600s through the late 1800s. Because of this experience, I added another source of data to my research: church manuscripts. I began compiling data immediately—right there in the library of *Parroquia de la Santa Maria Magdalena*. As a data sample, I studied at least one record for each month of one year. I took pictures of manuscript pages, and I noted information that seemed especially relevant to mortuary performance (e.g., burial sites, last rites, and terms used to identify the deceased). Months later, I discovered online access to digitized records of the entire Lambayeque district (Peru, Catholic Church Records, 1603–1992; pal://MM9.3.1/TH-1942-22137-4237-55). With this added resource, and with the convenience of doing the research at home in the United States, I increased the size of my sample of historic records to include at least one entry for every five years from 1600–1900. I initially focused on Eten records but eventually noted four to eight
points of data for each of the hundreds of records drawn from all Lambayeque parishes. The result was a comprehensive table of burial features documented in the records. The church burial records I looked at do not directly reference burials excavated at Eten or Mórrope. Nevertheless, two features included in the records relate to themes raised with my ethnographic observations: last rites and child burials. Although I make limited use of these data in this thesis, the records offer valuable insights to the workings of the Colonial Catholic Church in Peru.

In the Role of Audience

During my several trips to Eten, I watched mortuary performances such as processions, funerals, pageants, masses, and so on. Similar to descriptions proffered by Bernabe Cobo (1990b), the mortuary performances I observed seemed unusual—unfamiliar. My reactions to the performances were sometimes similar to those described by Cobo: I was sometimes upset, often emotionally moved, and always motivated to consider how my own religious beliefs correlated to or conflicted with those being expressed by the performances. Phenomenological analysis (thinking about how my body interacted with this unfamiliar social environment and sensory input) added depth to my evaluation of the performances. I appreciated the extra “pizzazz” added by theatrical effects such as fireworks, bold colors, incense, and so on. Each detail of pizzazz represented an intentional effort of the performance director/designers to captivate or engage their audience.

In the Role of Performer

In Eten, I was frequently invited to participate as a performer. I danced at the Day of the Dead celebrations, and I helped cook and prepare (and then eat) the ritual meals. I sat in with performing bands on three occasions and played drums. I sang with the congregation at Mass; I walked the prescribed route with a funeral procession; and I met prominent Eten citizens at
the prescribed *pozas* (sites where the procession stops to pay homage to people or memorials). I held an infant as he was “baptized” by the village shaman and accepted the role as the infant’s Godmother. One of the most emotional performances I experienced was in an Easter ritual as a devotee of the Christ effigy. In front of 10 to 12 observers, I approached the effigy and stroked His face with sprigs of rosemary and swatches of cotton. Several in the audience took pictures/video and responded to my performance with reverent approbation.

I regret that I did not gather more information from other performers in their many roles. Someday I would like to design a survey that would invite performers to share their experiences. I would like to hear their motivations for participation, their sense of reward, how free they feel to develop their character or expand the script that guides their performance.

**Interviews**

My interviews with Eten citizens resulted in approximately two hours of audio recordings. José Nolberto Neciosup Chafloque served as my host and principal informant. José arranged an interview with a woman who keeps two relic crania in her garden. Another interview was with the *Mayordomo* (director) of the Day of the Dead activities. In a series of interviews, I treated the theme of death in the family; for example, I listened while a mother of a man recently deceased described each element of his death and burial. Each of these informants enthusiastically explained the meaning ascribed to the relics, the Day of the Dead, and the details of funerary events.

**Pictures and Video Footage**

Pictures and video footage provide a wealth of data for my ethnographic analysis of mortuary performance. I took approximately four hours of video footage, and more than 200 photographs. I organized these into categories of performance themes: *performers/performances; audience responses; special effects; stage/setting; costumes; music/dance; bodies/burials; and*
miscellaneous. The categories of some images and videos overlap, or are not easy to specify, but the categories help me know where to start when looking for a visual documentation of Eten mortuary performance.

Managing the Data

At some point, I would like to manage my ethnographic materials and data with a data storage and analysis program. I have not yet done so. For this thesis, I manually sorted the data and selected samples most relevant to the subject of mortuary performance. I include samples that are particularly illustrative of theatrical performance in categories analyzed in earlier chapters: preparing the corpse, encasing the corpse, grave goods, and location/choreography. Participant observation provided many insights about the experience of real persons as they participate (as audience or performer) in mortuary performance.

CASE STUDIES

In this section I present case studies of mortuary performances observed in Eten during their Day of the Dead and Easter celebrations. Three other study trips I made were not specifically connected to holidays but were also valuable opportunities to gather data. I present my data below in categories of theatrical features that match those used in previous chapters.

Preparing the Corpse

Through interviews and observations of the Day of the Dead, several features dealing with preparation of corpses came to my attention (discussed below). The recurring impression on me was that the recently deceased and the deceased of longer duration were all treated with tender, loving care by the living who attended them. It seemed as though the body of the deceased still
represented a person or entity that continued to influence behavior of the living and continued to merit their most ardent devotion.

Last Rites

The very earliest burial records from the Lambayeque region include reference to the sacrament of last rites (1630 in Eten and 1692 in Mórrope). Last rites are an expression of at least two fundamental Catholic beliefs. The first is a belief in life after death. The second belief is in the performative authority of a Catholic Priest to transform a live person into a dual identity comprised of a departed spirit and a lifeless body. Last Rites were performed with intent to influence an audience, and they were a performance feature ostensibly related to preparation of a corpse. I did not personally observe last rites in Eten. They were not evident on the human remains at Mórrope or Eten, but in the Catholic Church, last rites are considered “A sacrament of the New Law instituted by Christ” (Toner 1909).

When specifically detailed, burial records cite Penance, the Eucharist (in the case of immanent death the Eucharist is called *Viaticum*), and Extreme Unction. Extreme Unction is an oil anointing of the organs associated with the five senses: hands, mouth, nostrils, ears, and eyes (and in the United States, feet are also included). Sacraments associated with death are a special endowment of strength that is necessary for the soul’s “final victory” and confidence to appear before its judge (Delany 1908). It is not certain that bodies buried at Eten and Mórrope had been anointed according to the church requirement established by the Council of Trent (Italy, 1545–1563). The earliest burial records of each parish, however, correlate death with a visit from the local priest and the administration of this sacrament. Thus, it is likely that burial in the parish church presupposed preparation of the body with the oil anointing.
Modern Performances and Dressing the Dead

Mortuary performances celebrating the Day of the Dead in modern-day Eten juxtapose tributes to Christ and to Saints with tributes to deceased Etenanos. As part of the week-long memorial activities, effigies of Christ and of saints are carried along specified routes through the city. The procession in 2013 also included pictures of deceased kin, a collection box dedicated to the memory of a deceased brother, and a large, framed poster of a skeleton holding a scythe (Figure 6.1). A young man explained that the effigy of Christ represented all the deceased who were honored that day: “Christ is our brother. In death and resurrection, he represents all our brothers. Asi tratamos nuestros defuntos” “(this is how we treat our dead)” (Ricardo Lumbre—“Kiki,” personal communication 2013).

The proceedings of the day accorded great attention to the details of adornment worn by participants. At a special Mass held in the local Catholic Church, trays of arm-badges, lanyards, capes, and sashes were presented to the priest for his blessing prior to their distribution among participants in the processions. Robes, mantles, and accouterments for effigies of the dead were also blessed at this Mass (Figures 6.2 and 6.3). During the week, particular attention was directed to dressing and adorning the effigies of the dead. Effigies of Christ and of saints were displayed at the church in one set of clothes, were dressed differently, or further adorned with accouterments for the procession, and finally, they were either dressed in a third set of clothing or covered in a decorated mantle for the final repose of the day.

I interviewed two women who were responsible for making apparel and accouterments for the effigies. They expressed great pride in having been a part of the overall production. They spoke of the symbolism in the colors and motifs of the clothing and of the décor of the cemetery chapel: purple and white decorations, gold and white clothing and coverings, and a silver diadem on Christ’s head. Each detail was described as a symbolic reminder of the royalty, purity, resurrection, and glory of Christ (Figure 6.4).
Figure 6.1. A procession for Eten’s Day of the Dead, including an effigy of Christ, a skeleton with a scythe, and a woman carrying a collection box dedicated to the memory of her deceased brother (author photograph).

Figure 6.2. Robes, mantles, arm-badges, and lanyards being blessed before they were worn in events for Eten’s Day of the Dead (author photograph).

There is no confirmation that ceremonial clothing in Eten today references church decrees or local practices of the Colonial era. It is clear, however, that whatever the history of their modern traditions, the use of ceremonial clothing and preparation of the dead body in Eten has expanded well beyond the austerity prescribed in Colonial times.
Death and Burial Setting and Encasing the Corpse

From an interview with José Chafloque I learned that the most important “setting,” or “stage” feature of a death is “the veil.” The veil is a curtain that is draped behind the corpse from the moment of death (ideally) until the moment the body is moved to the church for the burial Mass (Figure 6.5). José did not speculate about the symbolism of the veil, but he emphasized that that it must be collected and hung immediately after death, no matter the time of day or night (José Chafloque, personal communication 2013).

Another observation regarding burial setting comes from Eten’s modern day cemetery chapel. This chapel is situated on the west end of a paved path that extends from the cemetery’s east entrance. The chapel altar is on the west wall, which is also the direction of the ocean. (The cardinal orientation, and the chapel’s orientation relative to the ocean are extremely important features, as discussed later in this chapter). The chapel was constructed in 1930, renovated in 2009, and has been consecrated by the Catholic Church as a meeting place and mortuary shrine.
for several of the community’s most revered Christ Effigies. One effigy is mounted on the wall above, and to the congregation’s left of the main altar. The community’s oldest and most revered effigy was carved from wood more than 200 years ago and is referred to as El Señor de la Buena Muerte (“Lord of the Good Death”). In 2014, Eten citizens, concerned that excessive handling and exposure to the elements would damage this wooden image, replaced it with a slightly smaller, resin image. The original effigy (and now, its replacement) rested in a decorative wooden canopy situated under a wall mural strongly reminiscent of an earthen pyramid, or huaca (Figure 6.6). According to Eten local, Jose Chafloque (2013), this setting, and in fact, the whole of Eten’s
modern “Day of the Dead” activities, are related to the pre-Hispanic cult of the dead ("esta celebración gira en torno al culto de los muertos").

**Grave Goods as Burial Props: Expanded Performances**

Beginning in 1585, Catholic Doctrine in the Andes increasingly emphasized the concept of purgatory and the need of all souls to be cleansed before entering heaven. Prayers, alms, and offerings from the living were believed to shorten the stay of a soul in purgatory. Offerings given in the name of the deceased “are received by God” as if the deceased themselves had made them (Doctrina Christiana 1987 [1585]). Thus, mortuary performance in behalf of specific individuals
continued beyond death and interment. Performance associated with the body and interment may take place at the original time and place of burial, or at any time after burial. My ethnographic observations included examples of alms and offering to the dead.

The type and frequency of Colonial alms and offerings were part of an evolving practice that regularly required new church instruction. One early-colonial practice took place at the resting place of the mummified, but not the buried dead. Fires were made to consume food and drink brought to the dead. By burning the offerings, the dead were invited to eat and drink everything the living had placed before them. In later years of colonial-rule, the living celebrated feast days by leaving cooked food on the graves of kin. This led to new pronouncements that wine, bread, and wax would be the only acceptable offerings—to discourage the idea that the dead actually consumed the cooked meals (Vargas Ugarte 1954, 1:230).
It is not clear when restrictions regarding food for the dead were lifted, but current practice in Eten indicates that cooked meals are a valuable offering to dead kin. The Day of the Dead in Eten includes several days of food preparation. In 2013, I observed groups of 8–12 women in two separate homes preparing food for living devotees and for their kindred dead. Specific menus are designated for specific ritual meals, such as \textit{piqueo} (fried fish, yuccas, and offal spiced with ginger) and \textit{hornao} (plate of stewed garbanzo beans, olives, cheese, and a piece of turkey—the leg for the festival chief and the wing for his wife). Food was designated for large gatherings of the living and also for ritual feasts at the cemetery. At one home I visited, many women were busy cutting up cooked turkey, hovering over large pots of simmering beans, and putting a cup of \textit{chicha} (maize beer) at each place setting at the table. Individual loaves of bread had been baked earlier, and one loaf was set on top of each plate of food. Each loaf was adorned with the symbol of a large cross in the center and two small ones at its base (Figure 6.7).

When families gathered in homes to eat on the Day of the Dead, they memorialized deceased kin with a place setting and a plate of food as if the deceased were there at the table. At the end of the dinner, trinkets, pictures, and the plate of food were carried to the cemetery and left at the graveside. From the viewpoint of a dramaturge, food, trinkets, and pictures serve as props that add to the scene at the graveside. Props associated with and presented by the living in a setting associated with the dead create a form of theatrical “scene” connecting the living and the dead. The scene, in this modern instance, is a combination of Christianity and the “paganism” targeted by Colonial Catholic decrees. Eten citizens describe their mortuary performances as “pre-Hispanic traditions,” yet the loaves they take to the gravesites bear the most powerful symbol of Christianity—the three crosses of Golgotha. In 2009, the Catholic priest refused to conduct ceremonies celebrated on the Day of the Dead, arguing that they were based in pagan ritual (Ciudad Eten Peru, http://billyques.blogspot.com/2009). In the activities I observed in October and November of 2013, however, a new priest officiated over all the public ceremonies. Chief
among his activities was a blessing with holy water of all props brought to the church before they were used in a procession to the cemetery (Figures 6.2, 6.3). As concerns grave goods, Eten mortuary performance has been adapted to represent a flexible response to Catholic impositions, both Colonial and modern.

Choreography and Orientation of Children

In Eten, church records go back to 1630. These early entries record baptisms, but frequently, in the case of infant baptisms, death information has been added next to the name in the margins. Of particular interest in these records is the periodic use of two symbols in the margin: # and 🦕.
I suggest that the text and the circle-with-cross symbol (⁺⁻⁻⁻) in these entries verify baptism and that the hash symbol (#) indicates the death of the infant soon thereafter.

I base my surmise of the meanings of these symbols on the fact that other baptism records from the same timeframe include marginal notes specifying in writing the death and death date of the noted individual (Figure 6.9). Typically, deaths thus indicated are some years later than the recorded baptism. This distinction in the dates of different rites leads me to believe that infant deaths were registered with the use of the hash symbol, and that later deaths were recorded with a written note in the margin.

Separate books dedicated to death and burial began in Mórrope in 1692, and in Eten in 1748. In both towns, after these respective dates, separate books or separate sections of books were
devoted to recording infant and child baptisms (up to 12 years old). The format of child records differs significantly from the format of adult records. Records of children never include notices of last rites or of a last will/testament; they never include the last name (patronym) of the child but always declare that he or she was a legitimate or non-legitimate son or daughter of his or her parents (the full names of the parents are always included). For the 214 records I looked at I did not find a single reference using language describing the burial of the child as “a person” or “the body of a person.” Instead, children were always referred to in connection to their parents: “di sepultura a la hija legitima de . . .” (“I buried the legitimate daughter of . . .”). This language for child burials contrasts sharply with the two variations consistently used to describe adult interments. Adult interments named the individual at the end of whichever phrase was used: “enterré en esta santa iglesia el cuerpo defunto de…” (“I buried in this sacred church the dead body of…”), or, “enterré a …” (“I buried…”).

In the modern Eten cemetery, child burials are located in a section separate from adult burials. Children are interred just inside the gate on the east side, mainly facing west (toward the sea).
Family plots and mausoleums are located farther inside the cemetery grounds and closer to the east-facing chapel. Family mausoleums are identified with placards that include the names of all deceased members of the family—except children. When asked about the omission, José Chafloque (personal communication, Nov. 1, 2013) explained that children are not considered fully developed persons nor do they “belong” to a family; they belong to God. Consequently, children are buried in a section of the cemetery under God’s care and are considered angels in his heavenly family. Finally, Catholic Doctrine ascribes a separate ritual and place for the burial of infants and children who have died before they have reached the years of discretion (Thurston 1908).

An Ethnographic Observation of Choreography and Orientation

During the ceremony retiring the 200-year-old wooden Christ effigy in Eten, I witnessed (and video-taped) a spontaneous, impassioned argument concerning choreography and orientation of the body. The argument illustrates the dynamic interaction between performers and audience characteristic of live performance. It also emphasizes the importance devotees of the effigy place on choreography and orientation. Since both concepts are important parts of performance, I recount the episode here.

Each year the fraternity of devotees elects a *mayordomo* (“leader”) to organize and oversee the events of the next year’s Day of the Dead. In 2013, the *mayordomo* had the additional duty of putting the antiquated Christ effigy “to rest” on a perch in the cemetery chapel. The perch sits on the west wall 1.5 m above the floor of the chapel, slightly above eye level of most the people in the room at the time of the ceremony. Inset in the west wall, behind the perch, is a window in the shape of a cross. It extends below the perch to the floor and a meter above the perch. The window is fitted with colored glass, and on the wall around it is a mural of a blue sky above the ocean horizon. The mural is a symbolic representation of the Pacific Ocean that is actually located farther west—beyond the mural, the wall, the confines of the cemetery, and the fields.
behind the cemetery. A stool with two steps was placed in front of the perch and as the effigy was carried toward the mayordomo he stood on the stool to receive it. He then gently placed the effigy on the perch with the head at the north and the feet at the south. Because the head of the effigy is carved tilted slightly down and to the right, it was impossible for anyone but the mayordomo to see Christ’s face after the effigy was on the perch. From his place on the stool, the mayordomo began to position the effigy’s wig, to smooth and pin the hair, and to place each of three silver diadems on Christ’s head.

Devotees are accustomed to physical interaction with the effigies, including caressing, kissing, stroking the face and hair, and gazing on the face with adoration. Once the Christ effigy was placed on the perch, there was an audible outburst among the observers expressing concern that Christ’s face was not visible or accessible. Several people voiced their concern to each other; others spoke out loud to the mayordomo and insisted that he turn the effigy around so Christ’s face would be toward them. The mayordomo argued that the face must look toward the ocean, and he seemed frustrated with the demands to change the orientation of the effigy. After several members of the fraternity approached him with ideas, the mayordomo removed the diadem, lifted the effigy, and—with it in his arms—he turned completely around toward the audience. With this move, the head of the effigy was now at the south and feet at the north. “You see,” he said, “this way you can see it, but the face is looking away from the ocean!” With a shrug, he replaced the effigy as it had been before, and began again to primp the hair and replace the silver diadems.

Two women approached and reached over the edge of the perch, attempting to touch the face of the Christ effigy. They gestured and spoke something to a fraternity brother assisting with the setup. I could not hear their words, but the assistant spoke to the mayordomo who removed the diadems once again—with body language that clearly expressed his growing impatience. He turned to watch as a pillow was taken from the canopy near the door of the chapel and passed from hand to hand above the heads of the crowd to the perch at the back wall. Together, the two
men fussed with the new pillow, arranging it in one way and then another in an effort to tilt the body slightly to the left and to elevate the head of the effigy so it was facing more outward than before. Several times during this process, the mayordomo looked toward the crowd for approval, and when everyone seemed satisfied, he arranged the wig and diadems for the third time. After the pillows, mantle, and clothing were arranged “just right,” the mayordomo expressed his adoration. He tenderly caressed the face with his hand, spoke something I could not hear, then crossed himself and stepped down so that many others could climb the steps and offer their respects (Figure 6.10).

**SPECIAL EFFECTS AND THEIR EFFECT**

My participation in events at Eten allowed me to experience many details of performance that would be impossible to infer from archaeology. The affective characteristics of these details lead me to categorize them as “special effects.” I believe such special effects were consciously
included as parts of scripts designed to heighten the emotional reactions of audiences and performers. I describe them in the following paragraphs.

**Fireworks**

One of the special effects in Eten rituals is the use of fuegos artificiales (fireworks). Fireworks were used in two settings. The first was as an accompaniment to each of the marching bands and the congregants who moved with the bands in procession through the village. Each time the procession turned a corner or approached a poza, a hired “specialist” would light a firework “rocket” and send it streaking into the sky. The firework would explode into a thunderous BOOM that could be heard throughout the village. The meaning of the explosive sight and sound was never explained to me, but my physical reaction to them was consistent: I involuntarily startled and directed my focus in the direction they came from. As a means of announcing approach or arrival, the firework was very effective.

The second use of fireworks was at the end of a Mass held at the Eten cemetery church. All devotees had gathered at the church with their respective effigies. When it was dark outside, the mayordomo directed everyone’s attention to the church porch for a show of sparks and flames spinning on a wooden scaffolding. It was an entertaining fireworks routine, but the most interesting part was that each of the effigies—images, sculptures, photos, and models—had been situated so they could “watch.”

**Animated Figures**

On Good Friday, following a live re-enactment of Christ’s crucifixion (which I did not attend), I attended a ceremony called the “Deposition from the Cross.” At this event, an actor (in the role of Joseph of Arimathea) ceremoniously climbed a wooden ladder to reach the hands of the effigy of the hanging Christ. I was deeply affected by the sight and sound of the hammer
pounding nails from the back of the cross to release the hanging Christ. One by one, the actor removed each prop from the crucifixion scene (e.g., each nail and the crown of thorns). With one prop at a time, “Joseph” descended the ladder and presented the prop to a kneeling, wooden effigy that represented Mary. The actor’s gestures were slow, methodical, and dramatic. Mary was dressed in a long velvet dress that draped around her legs and made it impossible to see the floor beneath her. When Joseph passed the first prop toward Mary, I was startled to see her hand reach forward to take it! Later I asked my informant about the “animated” effigy. He explained that the Mary effigy was crafted with movable joints in her shoulder, hips, and knees. Each year, someone was asked (and “honored”) to station herself under the chapel stage, hidden by Mary’s draping clothes, to manipulate the effigy’s arm to reach out. The effect created by the hand movement is hard to describe. The action seemed so real. I got caught up in the idea that the theatrical scene being portrayed represented a real event. I found myself wondering about the real people portrayed in the scene. People who would have had real thoughts, fears, and heartaches. Simultaneously, I recognized that I was part of an audience being “played” by the special effects designed to affect me. The realization made the effects no less powerful. I experienced a deep psychophysiological response to a performance. The theatrical features designed to engage the audience had engaged me.

**Smells**

Other physiological reactions were induced by the use of incense in procession and Mass, and the presence of rosemary around the effigy of a prostrated Christ. The sense of smell is closely tied to the emotional centers of the brain (limbic region), and some smells are thought to evoke memories and enhance positive perceptions (SIRC 2017).
“Keeping it Real.”

In contrast to the special effects described above, some potential performance effects were conspicuously absent. With more use of modern technology, details of the procession, mass, and so on could have been quite different—different in ways that some might consider “better.” For example, pickup trucks and trailers could have been used to carry the heavy canopies with Christ or a Saint inside. Digital recordings could have provided music that was better in tune, better balanced, and more rhythmically accurate. Robotics could have moved all the joints of all the effigies, and so on. I think there is a category of special effects that depends on avoiding special effects, that is to say, using humans to do things that required their full engagement is the vitality of theatre. Concerning the argument of transforming performers, it is still an immense honor for an Eten man to be one of the pallbearers in a procession. Though there are digital recordings of hymns, chants, and church songs, every mortuary performance I attended was filled up with live singing and/or band music. The mood and setting of several church services were enhanced by the use of candles. Electric lights or battery-operated candles could have provided more light, and would have been safer to handle, but hot wax gives off a smell and feel that cannot be duplicated. I believe that details of Eten’s mortuary performances were carefully planned to include or exclude certain features based on the intended effect the features would have on performers and audiences. In some cases, the special effect was created by a conscientious “non-use” of special effects.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND INTERPRETATIONS

In my several trips to Eten, Peru, I have observed many things and developed what I feel is an accurate—albeit etic—sense of the community’s attitudes about death and dying. They believe that their mortuary performances are (1) intensely devout, (2) a unique mix of pre-Hispanic and Catholic elements, and (3) effective expressions of their community’s most important attitudes and
ideals. Ethnography has been a viable research method to help me develop my perceptions and also provides analogs of pre-Hispanic practices. The strength of the interpretations come from historic connections rather than from “formal” or “relational” analogies (see Hodder 2009; Wylie 2002).

In Eten I observed people who are genealogically and culturally connected to the ancient persons buried in the Eten chapel. These living descendants engage in practices that are thematically and geographically connected to those of their ancestors of Colonial times. Of course, I could not interact with the children described in Eten burial records, but I did interact with children living in Eten today—many of whom share family names with those listed in the documents. I could not view a Colonial veil, processional, or grave service, but in modern-day Eten I have seen the earnest expression in those who tell me of the ongoing importance of these things. I cannot recover the motivations behind the arrangement of Colonial era bodies in the ground, but I have seen the calibrated orientation of a revered effigy in modern-day Eten. I cannot hear the wailing of Colonial mourners, the drone of their bands, or the words spoken to commit a soul to God, but I have heard present-day mourners and bands, and I have seen cemeteries and heard the words of a Priest speaking over the recently deceased. I cannot talk to those who buried their families en mass at CNS, or the caring person connected with Burial U3 03-5 who placed a toy rattle next to the foot of this child, but I can talk to current survivors of disease and to mothers who have lost their children to early deaths. In short, participation with modern Etenanos has allowed me to witness the passions associated with ritual performances.

Given the historic connections between the living and their Colonial ancestors, I presume that some of what I have learned from my ethnographic experience is relevant for interpreting the meaning and significance of Colonial performances.

Whatever the actual truth of their ancestry and the source of their traditions, contemporary Etenanos believe they descend from the Muchik (see Chapter 3) and that many of their burial practices are pre-Colonial. Guided by this belief, they select mortuary performance features
that reflect, at least to some degree, their attitudes about death and dying. Their attitudes are a complex consequence of Colonialism. In Eten, we see the results of the Spanish aim to transform the natives. The deliberate effort of event performers and planners of modern mortuary performances adds credibility to my claim that burial details observed in archaeological contexts were deliberate. In contemporary Eten, deliberate burial practices create observable theatrical burial features such as clothing, setting, grave goods, and orientation. Each of these features is a consequence of emotional and material investment. Ethnoarchaeological analogy is applying observed behavior to non-observed behavior. My observations in contemporary Eten clarify interpretations of Colonial Eten burials by providing clues about the backstories behind each theatrical feature encountered in them.

NOTES FROM THE DRAMATURGE

Watching the preparation of several “live theatre” performances in Eten afforded me a unique perspective that developed over time as I witnessed more and more aspects of their rituals. My perspective began in the home of the seamstress who created clothes for the Christ effigy. More understanding came in the several outdoor kitchens where pots of beans boiled and dozens of women fussled over fires to get the food “just right.” More insights came at the cemetery chapel; hours before the crowd was to arrive, a crew of workers was there hanging colored banners and strings of lights. For several days before the Day of the Dead, it seemed that all of Eten was busy with preparations for the event.

Preparation almost universally causes emotional strain; demands are made on participants’ time and resources, but in settings that are not yet staged. Without a stage, there is no added adrenaline that comes from lights, sound, or an audience. During preparation there is no glamor or glitz. There is often also a lack of vision of what the final production will be like. Compared
to performance, preparation is typically (1) longer, (2) more intense and frustrating, (3) a time of connecting with others involved in the production, and (4) the period when one develops and solidifies personal attitudes about, and intentions for, the performance. Actors practice inflections and body gestures to ensure that all self-presentation will contribute to the desired message. Designers run light cues and stage changes to ensure that all details enhance the desired mood. In Eten, I saw days of preparation, and I was told that preparations actually had been taking place through the entire year.

My backstage view from Eten of the preparation stage of ritual performance has informed the interpretation of every pre-Hispanic and Colonial performance I analyzed in this thesis. In those analyses, I have argued that performance is intended to express and influence. Understanding performers’ emotions and attitudes is an essential piece of that argument. My observations in Eten afforded me many opportunities to learn about them. The emotions and attitudes I saw in Eten potentially parallel those of performers in Colonial times.
It’s a Wrap: Discussion and Conclusion

The time has come to conclude my dramaturgical analysis of mortuary performance in Colonial Peru. I do so with a review, comparison, interpretation, and evaluation of the evidence presented in preceding chapters. I hope to accomplish two things: (1) to explain the relationship between the scope and function of performance, and (2) to evaluate the success of the colonial transformation.

My summary of the Spanish aim to transform Andean natives into Colonial subjects “more useful to God, themselves, and the state” (Soule 2014:91) raised a question regarding the scope of performance. “Subjects” is a political term that in the context of conquest, can be reasonably interpreted to mean subordination of native peoples. The political scope of the Spanish Conquest was huge—and it played out in pan-Andean policies intended to change almost every aspect of native life. The words “useful[ness] to God, and themselves” suggested a more narrow focus on regional, and even individual changes. In pursuing my hypothesis that performance was the agent of negotiation in those changes, I expected in my research to find evidence of performance on social “stages” of all sizes and shapes, large and small, from grand plazas to individual dwellings. I did. Later in this chapter I summarize them as per Turner’s (1988:100–105) tenet that performance is pervasive.

If my research had been limited to archaeology, pursuing a connection between function and scope of performance might never have occurred to me. The connection would have been difficult to draw without insight to performers’ intentions. Ethnographic observation in Eten,
however, emboldened me. I saw deliberate, conscientious attention to details of mortuary
performance that were very Christian—including but not limited to the focused veneration of
the Christ effigies—but I heard insistent and seemingly prideful reference to the “pre-Hispanic”
(Chafloque unpublished essay: *Dia de Los Muertos*) and even “pagan” performance traditions. I
began to wonder about the two types of faith-expression functioning side by side, and I further
wondered whether the same twinning of belief characterized Colonial performances. Mórrope
burials suggested that it did; Eten burials suggested that it did not. I wondered what factors
determined (or in the case of Colonial oppression, what factors allowed) pre-Catholic expression
in Mórrope burials and current practice in Eten. I began to look for correlations in performance
scope. Turner (1988:100–105) deemed performance reflexive, a vehicle to express belief, and
persuasive, designed to introduce new belief or reinforce existing belief. I originally interpreted
“persuasion” to be the tool the Spanish used “on” the natives to subjugate or convert them. The
more I analyzed performance in Peru; however, the more I began to suspect that a different sort
of persuasion had been at work. It seemed that when necessary, the natives engaged performance
as a persuasive “demonstration” (or display) of their subjection and conversion, while reserving
some performance or aspects of performance for their personal and perhaps more genuine
expression. I readily admit that such an argument is an interpretive leap—particularly when
limited to only archaeological contexts. Fortunately, there are historical and ethnographical
contexts that factor into my interpretation. My argument has three persuasive components: (1)
it confirms a societal tendency to demonstrate the conformity required for self or community
preservation while reserving a space for the expression of deepest beliefs, (2) it attributes
constant and continuous agency to the natives, (3) and demonstration and expression are integral
aspects of the transformation. The success of the Spanish to transform “pagan” Andeans into
Christians is thus qualified by the degree of demonstration (conformity) versus expression
(conversion). With this in mind, and in my role as dramaturge, I present some examples of macro and micro expressive and demonstrative performances.

THE BIG PLAY AND ITS MAJOR AND MINOR ACTS

As evident from the historical and archaeological summaries presented in Chapters 3–5, pre-contact Andean societies had cycled through breach, crisis, redress, and transformation many times before the arrival of the Spanish. Nothing in their pre-Hispanic past, however, compared to the disruptions initiated by the Spanish Conquest. Efforts at redress influenced macro (pan-Andean) and micro (provincial, or even private) ritual performances to negotiate a wide range of social issues. Each performance had its own macro and micro directors, performers, audiences, settings, stages, and plot developments. Each performance either achieved some level of redress or initiated new crises and further performances.

Spanish Conquest as Performance

I generalize the Spanish Conquest of the Andes as a macro production. In the age of exploration (AD 1400–1600) Spanish Kings cast their European subjects into roles of explorers, militia, and missionaries. These characters were outfitted with costumes and props (uniforms, ships, artillery, and etc.) and commissioned to act out plots of conquest and conversion. Spanish invasion of “pagan” lands created social breaches and subsequent crises. In the 16th-century Andes, as in other New World locations, schisms threatened to tear society apart, with the Spanish Catholic Church on one side and indigenous peoples on the other.

These events represented, of necessity, a highly generalized social drama up through the point of “breach.” At the next stage of the social drama—redress, with accompanying ritual performances—“the plot thickens.” What I portrayed as bare opposition between paganism and Christianity was manifested in mortuary performance as a complex and mutually powerful
interplay. Concessions and accommodations to “opposing” practices were evidently made on both sides. Those concessions and accommodations are what I interpret as demonstrative performance. Perhaps Church authorities accommodated non-Christian practices to demonstrate tolerance or patience. Natives ceased some of their non-Christian practices to demonstrate subjection. Such accommodations and concessions were particularly common in mortuary performance. According to Ramos (2010:145), funeral ceremonies were the “effective and authentic adaptation and incorporation of beliefs, necessities, and preoccupations about death held by the people of the Andes in the Christian sphere.” Ramos further describes a religious anxiety in the native population and an eagerness for social recognition among diverse sectors of the Spanish population. This religious anxiety was played out in the ritual performances of the time—especially the funeral rituals—which are described as public demonstrations of faith, affirmation of social hierarchies, and expressions of loyalties and commitments toward the realm of the sacred. Klaus (2008:303) describes the same interplay as a dynamic religious matrix, with mutual, though not equal, accommodation and synthesis. Some specific examples of the “dynamic religious matrix” at various social levels and with varying functions of performance merit mention.

**Pan Andean Scope of Performance**

By 1680, Corpus Christi was established in Cuzco, the pre-Conquest Inca capital, as a celebration of Christian triumph over heresy (Dean 1999:3). Perhaps it was not a “pan Andean” celebration, but situated as it was in the newly established seat of Spanish government it was considered the symbol of religious (and political) triumph for all of Spain over all of Peru (Dean 1999:44, 47). It was also the quintessential mortuary performance. The central theatrical feature of the Corpus Christi festival was Christ—the “dead” but resurrected Christ, actualized through transubstantiation in the form of the Consecrated Host. The Host was set under a canopy adorned with the finest textiles and accouterments, in the richest colors and textures. The canopy was
surrounded by a cortege of revered saint effigies and was preceded in its route to the central plaza by musicians, dancers, and the highest religious, military, and political authorities. Indians were cast as musicians and dancers, their ethnic differences “emphasized through costume and performance, primarily songs and dances” (Dean 1999:46).

The inclusion of traditional native elements in the celebration was essential to both the Spaniards and the Andeans (Dean 1999:3,44,47). To the Spaniards, native costumes and dances under the auspices of a Christianized festival emphasized Spanish dominance and superiority. To the natives the festival was “a space” for them to fashion new selves as subalterns within the Quechua concept of Tinkuy—the powerful conjoining of complementary opposites (Dean 1999:3).

**Regional Scope of Performance**

The best examples I have found of Lambayeque regional performance are the Catholic Church Burial Records and a comparison between Eten and Mórrope burials. Lambayeque parish burial records, starting in 1692, follow what seems to be the standard Catholic format, including the references to ecclesiastical authority over the burial, last rites, and the lineage of the deceased. Burial in the Mórrope chapel *possibly* started as many as 100 years prior to the first recorded church burial. The difference in the timeframe, and the lack of both burial and ethnographic data specific to the region, make comparisons difficult. A more local view of performances is more tenable.

**Local Scope of Performance**

*Mórrope and Eten Comparisons*

The archaeology of Mórrope compared to Eten archaeology and ethnography strongly supports my argument for the scope/focus correlation. Before developing the argument, however, I first offer some justification for comparing burials separated by as much as a century, and live
performances separated from these burials by as many as three centuries. The common link among all three contexts is the Colonial program to eradicate pagan burial practice. Although deliberate eradication efforts formally ended three centuries ago, mortuary performances represented in the Colonial burials and current performances in Eten were both influenced by the Catholic agenda of early Colonial times. Eten, indeed all of Peru, is a post-Colonial inheritance. It is informative to watch how current Etenanos negotiate Christian and preconquest traditions as demonstrations and expressions of belief.

José Chafloque (personal communication 2014) describes three features of mortuary performance that he identifies as Muchik (pre-Colonial) and, therefore, pre-Christian. Notwithstanding José’s attribution of certain features to ancient practice, one can see the Christian aspects in each feature. Eten’s first pre-Christian mortuary performance feature is loosely correlated with the feature I discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 called “preparing the body.” José says that currently in Eten, a deceased individual is dressed for burial in his finest suit. Other clothes from the deceased’s wardrobe, as well as tools and items of personal interest, are included in the casket and buried with him. This practice is specifically to provide for the dead on his journey in the next world, and to prevent him from returning to collect them.

The second pre-Christian burial performance feature is called “singing the life.” At the moment of death, a female closely related to the deceased puts up her hair, dresses in the luto (mourning clothes, typically black and sometimes including an armband) and cries at the deathbed. Her cries evolve into a song describing various details about the life of the deceased, such as recent activities, personal interests, and characteristics that will be especially missed by his family and loved ones. Her song “takes on a rhythm and cadence” that is very special and “no les pertenecía a los españoles” (did not belong to the Spanish). The third activity is described as the first part of an eight-day “celebration,” or memorialization, of the deceased. A manto (altar) is set up near the deathbed, and on this altar are placed various Christian symbols and
objects of importance to the deceased. During the memorialization period, visitors come to the house to offer prayers for and to the deceased, wishing him a peaceful journey and that he not be compelled to return to life among mortals. The godparents of the deceased are tasked with taking down the altar at the end of the eight days.

Current practices in Eten do not have analogous features in CNS burials. With either demonstrative or expressive motivation, the performances inferred from CNS were strictly Catholic. Bodies interred in Mórrope were the most similar to the pre-Hispanic burials described by Shimada and his associates (2015). Burial face-clothes, crowns, and necklaces in Mórrope may be interpreted as tokens establishing for the “last” time the interests or identity of the deceased individual. Perhaps Mórrope survivors buried their dead with sincere hope for Requiem Aeternam (eternal rest (Klaus and Tam 2015:267). Considering again the function of performance as persuasion or expression, I offer another explanation that centers on the performance feature of staging.

**Encasing the Body—Staging and Setting**

In Chapter 5, I discussed pre-Hispanic examples of burial settings that were symbolic of transformation (e.g., face-like huaca effigies; Cook: 2014). Though I cannot explain how or why the local Catholic authorities allowed it, the cemetery at Mórrope was used by the local indigenous population as a performance stage—not just for immediate burial performances but also for living-dead interactions that were to be transformative performances in their own right (Klaus and Tam 2015:293). One at a time, the pre-Hispanic burial details at Mórrope may have seemed like small, non-threatening accommodations to native traditions. “Burying” a non-Christian feature (e.g. facecloth, painted face, headband, etc.) may have seemed an innocuous expression; one that could be tolerated as “dead and gone.” In the broad scope, a church burial met the description of demonstrative performance—as if to say, “we will put away our old
beliefs.” But could the anticipation of living-dead interaction have been the Mórrope way of expressing their most authentic beliefs?

In Eten, burials seemed to have followed strict Catholic norms, and, apparently, survivors did not anticipate living-dead interactions such as those evident in Mórrope. No further performance in Eten was intended with the bodies of the deceased. Nevertheless, current Etenanos show tremendous respect for their dead through their own type of living-dead interactions. These interactions take place above ground, in locations near the dead, but not with bodies of the dead (e.g., taking food and offerings to gravesides, directing pictures or effigies of the dead toward the fireworks show, etc.). I argue that in Colonial times, as in modern-times, Etenanos invested their demonstrative and expressive efforts in macro, above ground performances. The differences in mortuary performances at Colonial Eten, Colonial Mórrope, and current Eten can be interpreted through the “staging” of those performances.

**Discussion: Transition or Transformation?**

Before I wrap up the discussion about Colonialism of the Andes, a common term must be dealt with: “transition.” “Transition” is a generic word used to describe the process of, or movement from, one position or stage to another. The term is widely used in academic discourse in connection with Spanish Colonialism of the Andes. It is sometimes (I believe inappropriately) interchanged with the word or concept of “transformation.” European contact definitely initiated a pan-Andean “transition,” but defining the nature and depth of the transition is at the core of my thesis.

Dictionaries distinguish transition from transformation mostly in terms of size—transformation is transition on a grander scale, with more features being affected and the effect being broader, deeper, and more permanent. Turner (2001) describes transformation as essentially tied with Arnold van Gennep’s (1987:4) *rites de passage* and identifies transformation
as a “significant” transition from one “state” to another. I am convinced that Colonialism in the Andes initiated a transformation.

Some characterize the Andean Colonial transition (transformation) as “conversion” and point to Christian practices that prevail throughout the Andes currently. Others use descriptors such as “subversion,” “eradication,” “abolishment,” and “exploitation,” citing epidemic diseases, the loss of native lands, economic structure, agricultural systems, and pre-Hispanic traditions of ancestor worship. Terms such as “accommodation,” “hybridization,” and “syncretism,” acknowledge that among the losses, much of pre-Hispanic tradition remains and is evident in Andean mores of today. Klaus describes the transition as a “dynamic compromise” (2008:300). He neither negates the brutality of the Colonial regime nor the resilience of the native people and their traditions. With these descriptions of “transition” in mind, I evaluate the Colonial transition in terms of Turner’s ideas of social drama, specifically the part he calls “transformation.” I equate transition with transformation. So, what was transformed, by whom, and for whom?

Schechner (1990:4) discusses transformation in terms of the performers/audience as individuals who experience immediate/momentary insight to the degree that it changes their life. Change within the hearts and minds of the living is difficult to perceive, even with overt expression. More difficult still is determining change in individuals and groups already dead. I present conclusions that are possible via the archaeology, history, and ethnography of northern coastal Peru in my final remarks.

CONCLUSIONS

Of the four stages of social drama identified in Turner’s performance theory, I have primarily focused in this thesis on redress—the point at which ritual performances are initiated in efforts to repair social schisms. I described features of performances, specifically those that centered on death and the treatment of bodies—mortuary performance. My overview of mortuary
performance in pre-Colonial, Colonial, and post-Colonial Peru has, of necessity, been limited. Nonetheless, it confirms three points. First, performance is reflexive; it is an effective vehicle to express belief. Second, performance is persuasive; it is frequently designed to introduce new belief or to reinforce existing belief. Third, performance is prevalent; it is leveraged by all parties and at all levels of society to express and influence (Turner 1988:100–105).

Andean mortuary performance was reflective, persuasive, and prevalent in ways anticipated by Turner’s scheme. In addition, the overall character of Andean mortuary performance was “transformed” as a result of Spanish Colonial rule. Every performance feature considered in this thesis underwent significant change: (1) the stages and settings of human burial changed from huacas or dwellings to churches and public cemeteries; (2) treatment of the dead that kept them accessible to kin changed to underground, inaccessible burial; (3) personal clothing, distinguishing marks on bodies, and grave goods with the dead changed to austere burial shrouds and no accompanying articles; (4) burial orientation changed from north-facing or ocean-facing, to south-facing or altar-facing; (5) body position changed to symbolize a person at rest, with hands in a position of prayer; (6) choreography or timing of burial changed from delayed, disturbed, secondary, or mixed, to immediate and permanent. Taken as a whole, and from a perspective 300 years later, transformation clearly occurred in Andean burial practices. But did this transformation meet the original aim of the Colonial Spanish to eradicate paganism? Did Christianity repair the breach and crisis introduced into the Andean social drama by Spanish contact? Was schism avoided or repaired, or was it simply confronted over and over again?

In these questions, the power of performance to express and influence (or persuade and demonstrate) is made manifest. As explained above, performance was sometimes used both to repair crisis and to deepen it. Sometimes performance demonstrated new faith, and sometimes it was used to cover persisting “old” faith. Generally, the Spanish aimed to eradicate native
performance because performance was overt expression of native “pagan” beliefs. How would the Spanish have known the hearts of their subjects save by the performed expression? Performance was a valuable aid to judgment. For the natives, performance was also valuable. What did they need to demonstrate in order to avoid punishment from their new overseers? What did they need to demonstrate in order to protect their ancestors, to placate “god,” and to make their lands and lives fertile? Though it would have been impossible to determine with certainty, some changes in mortuary performance may have reflected changing native beliefs. In other instances, the changes may have reflected a desire for status or fear of punishment. Evidence of Colonial mortuary performance inferred from the burials at Eten and Mórrope illustrate that paganism was not eradicated. In Morropé, Pre-Hispanic features were found, literally, alongside Catholic ones. This blending of features would have created a scene that can be interpreted as syncretism, adaptation, compromise, or concession. Current mortuary performances in Eten demonstrate a similar hybridization, as evidenced in 2009 by the refusal of the Catholic priest to participate in the activities of Eten’s Day of the Dead. Total rejection of Andean religion cannot be the measure of transformation: the depth and sincerity of native conversion continues to be the subject of debate even today.

In my final statement as dramaturge, I refer back to Turner’s social drama—the ultimate consequence of redressive action is re-integration. The Spanish Colonial aim to change the natives initiated a transformative integration that changed them both. Transformation in the context of Colonial Peru did not mean the eradication of paganism, and it did not mean complete conversion of individuals, communities, lo andino, or specific regions. What did it mean in the dynamic drama of conquest, conversion, macro and micro performances, and varying expressions and explications? Not only were the performances of Colonial Peru transformed, but also the aim of the transformers and the consequences of their efforts were themselves
transformed and re-integrated. Integration suggests give and take, reflection and persuasion. The Church and the pagan performances engaged in centuries-long negotiations that continue to transform them both to this day.
REFERENCES

Adair-Lynch, Terrin

Alva Meneses, Néstor Ignacio

Alva, Walter, and Christopher B. Donnan

Araujo, A.
1949 Eten Eucarística. Imprenta La Abeja, Chiclayo.

Arriaga, Pablo Jose de

Baker, Geoffrey

Barlow, Kathleen

Bawden, Garth

Benford, Robert D., and A. Paul Hare

Betanzos, Juan de
Birren, Faber

Blier, Suzanne Preston

Bolin, Inge

Bothelho, Joán Bosco

Bourget, Steve

2006 *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture.* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Bourget, Steve

Brissett, Dennis, and Charles Edgley

Brosseder, Claudia

Brush, Steven

Buikstra, Jane E.

Buikstra, Jane E., and Douglas H. Ubelaker
Burger, Richard L.

Burke, Heather, Claire Smith, and Larry J. Zimmerman

Calancha, Antonio de la

Carmichael, Patrick H.

Chafloque, José Nolberto Neciosup

Chang-Rodríguez, Raquel
2010  *Entre la espada y la pluma: el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega y sus comentarios reales*. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Cieza de León, Pedro

Classen, Constance

Cobo, Father Bernabé

Cook, Anita G.

Córdoba, Pedro de

Davies, Douglas
Dean, Carolyn J.

Delany, Joseph

Dilthey, Wilhelm, and H. P. Rickman

Doig, Roberto Gheller, ed.

Donnan, Christopher B.

Donnan, Christopher B., and Carol J. Mackey
2011 *Ancient Burial Patterns of the Moche Valley, Peru.* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Dover, Robert, Katharine Seibold, and John McDowell, eds.

Duday, Henri

Eckstut, Joann, and Arielle Eckstut

Elera, Carlos

Family Search

Fiengo-Varn, Aurora
Foy, Jaime Mariazza

Frye, David

Garlick, Harry

Geertz, Clifford

van Gennep, Arnold
1960 *The Rites of Passage.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Glenberg, Arthur M.

Gose, Peter

Guaman Poma, Felipe

Guaman Poma, Felipe

Haley, Gay Lyons

Hamilton, Roland

Hertz, Robert
Hochschild, Arlie Russell

Hodder, Ian

Huchet, J. B., and B. Greenberg

Idyll, Clarence P

Instituto San Clemente

Jacinto, Liza Q.

Jacobi, Keith P.

Jennings, Justin

Kandel, Eric
2012 *The Age of Insight: The Quest to Understand the Unconscious in Art, Mind, and Brain from Vienna 1900 to the Present*. Random House, New York.

Klaus, Haagen D


Klaus, Haagen D., Jorge Centurión, and Manuel Curo
Klaus, Haagen D, and Manuel E. Tam

Knapp, Bernard

Kosok, Paul

Leichtentritt, Ronit D, and Kathryn D Rettig

Liebmann, Matthew

Lima, Tania Andrade

Lumbreras, Luis Guillermo
1974 The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

MacCormack, Sabine

Maróthy, János

Mendoza, Eric Samillían

Metcalf, Peter, and Richard Huntington

Modesto Rubiños y Andrade, Din Justo
Montesinos, Fernando
1882  *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*. Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, Madrid.

Moore, Jerry

Moore, Jerry D.

Olsen, Dale A

Parker Pearson, Mike
2000  *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

Paul, Anne

Quilter, Jeffrey

Ramirez, Susan

Ramirez, Susan E.

Ramos, Gabriela

Renfrew, Colin, and Paul Bahn

Rodolfi, Francesco Pini
1999  *El milagro eucarístico de Eten*. Colibrí. University of Texas, Austin.
Rowe, John Howland

Scham, Sandra

Schwaller, John Frederick

Shepard, Roger N.

Shimada, Izumi

2004 *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Shimada, Izumi, Haagen D Klaus, Rafael A. Segura, and Go Matsumoto

Silverman, Helaine

SIRC, Social Issues Resource Centre

Soule, Emily Berquist

Sprague, Roderick

Stanislavski, Constantin

Thurston, Herbert
Tibesar, Antonine Severin, Victor Andres Belaunde, and Alexander Wyse

Toledo, Francisco de

Tomlinson, Gary

Toner, Patrick

Turner, Ronny E, and Charles Edgley

Turner, Victor


Turner, Victor

Ulsperger, Jason S, and John Paul

Urton, Gary

Vargas Ugarte, Ruben, ed.
Verano, John W.

Warren, Adam

White, Tim D., and Pieter A. Folkens

Wilson, Edwin, and Alvin Goldfarb

Wylie, Alison

Yamashita, Shinji

Zamora, Margarita