

Institute of Andean Studies

Blue Ribbon Commission:
Engaging Africans and their Descendants
in Andean Studies

Final Report

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Mandate

In August 2020, the Institute for Andean Studies (IAS) convened the Blue Ribbon Commission (BRC) for a period of one year, with the following mandate:

“[T]o create a report of ‘Best Practices’ that will guide the Institute and its members on how to address systemic racism in our fields, in our Institute, and in our practices. We ask that the report provide advice concerning our journal *Ñawpa Pacha*, our annual meeting, and our membership, but it could also include advice on topics such as scholarship, fieldwork, teaching, and outreach, among other possibilities. Although the report should be grounded in the bylaws of the Institute of Andean Studies and recognize the limited membership, resources, and influence of the Institute, we hope that it might also serve as a model that other institutions could use in rethinking their own activities and developing better practices.”

The BRC held its first meeting in September 2020 for introductions and to share ideas for meeting its mandate. The primary action item that emerged during this meeting was to form subcommittees focused on providing advice to the IAS in four areas: defining the state of the field of Afro-Andean Studies; the annual IAS conference; the journal *Ñawpa Pacha*; and involvement and outreach. Over the course of the 2020-2021 academic year, each member of the BRC played active roles on at least one subcommittee; this work involved conducting background research and informational outreach, organizing and attending planning meetings and knowledge-gathering sessions (with subcommittee members and with other relevant parties including IAS officers, journal editors, and colleagues in the field), and presenting findings to the wider BRC during monthly check-ins. Finally, during Summer 2021, the subcommittees worked to cohere their findings into discrete sections of the final report, which we present to you in the pages that follow.

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Andean Studies: Redefining the Field

Fully engaging the Afro-Latin American experience offers an exciting opportunity to redefine the field of Andean Studies in new and generative ways that both support and expand its traditional focus and rigor. Just as scholars, activists, and communities throughout the American Hemisphere have recognized that national societies cannot be understood without considering the Indigenous experience, many Indigenous societies past and present cannot be fully understood without considering the African Diaspora and Black communities and culture. In recent years, certain areas within the field of Andean Studies have been immersed in a gradual opening-up to more self-reflexive work. These interventions have been geared towards an explicit reckoning of the field's colonial past and acknowledging the ways traditional disciplinary boundaries, deeply-rooted social inequalities, and modern conceptions of race and indigeneity continue to inform its present contours and concerns. Among the key drivers for this reassessment are Afro-Andean intellectuals, community organizers, state representatives, and grassroots activists working in collaboration with scholars of multiple disciplines engaging the African Diaspora, New World slavery, and colonial and modern Latin America (broadly defined). These collaborative forms of knowledge production and dissemination center on the wide spectrum of experiences of Africans and their descendants in expected and unexpected places, from the Pacific coasts of Colombia and Ecuador to the highlands of Peru and Chile and the *yungas* of Bolivia. Even though Africans and their descendants have been an integral part of Andean societies for centuries, their multifaceted experiences are yet to be properly woven into national and transnational narratives about, as well as popular and scholarly treatments of, the "Andean world" post 1532.

The marginalization of *afrodescendientes* in the Andean republics is not limited to relative invisibility in national historical narratives and scholarly research. It extends to--and is partially a reflection of--structural racism, everyday discrimination, socio-economic inequities, and health disparities. Historical and archaeological research on the structures of colonial and early republican societies has the potential to connect with scholarship on the ethnographic present, building a knowledge base for greater social inclusion, postcolonial structural interventions, and enhanced well-being for African descendants of the Andean countries. Scholarly and popular recognition of the role of Africans and African descendants is also key to enhancing the strengths of Andean studies, still mainly focused on the history and archaeology of Indigenous societies. Indigenous history/archaeology does not stop abruptly in 1532, but continues up to the present day. Furthermore, a central aspect of Indigenous history post-European invasion is native Andean entanglements with Africans and their descendants (most Afro-Andeans today are descendants of both African and Indigenous ancestors). Through the lens of Afro-Andean history, material culture, and lived experience, scholars are challenged to understand the Andes, the Americas, and the development of the modern world in new ways. This more accurate and more inclusive perspective opens up the possibility of conceiving the Andes less as a geographically bounded region, but rather a set of dynamic human connections, a nexus of active networks stretching beyond western South America and across the globe.

Decentering Andean Studies and placing it in conversation with other regional fields and disciplines means more than recalibrating our chronological and epistemological assumptions or

upsetting the Indigenous-European continuum in order to challenge the deep-seated equation of “Andean” with “Pre-Columbian.” Broadening our scholarly gaze in order to integrate long-forgotten historical actors, although crucial, is not enough either. Recognizing the troubled past of our field and working toward more inclusive and interdisciplinary spaces requires a commitment to assessing its current state as well as revising the networks and structures of funding, membership, participation, representation, and interaction that maintain the status quo. It also means, when necessary, a commitment to dismantling them. Such an exercise would place the IAS, one of the flagship scholarly groups for Andean Studies, among the few key institutions that, without neglecting other dimensions of the Andean experience, are now paying serious attention to the African diaspora in the Andes.

As scholars, moreover, we cannot focus on understanding the roles that Afro-descendants have played in Andean societies over the last five hundred years without acknowledging the potential impact that our research, regardless of where it is based and how it is funded, has on the living communities that own, inhabit, use, defend, and depend on the material and immaterial heritage that we study. These are not mere “field sites,” but vibrant spaces where sophisticated forms of knowledge, attuned to the local realities of these communities, are always emerging. For that reason, a more inclusive, redefined field must rely on approaches that are as multidisciplinary as they are community-engaged.¹

Difficult, albeit critical, conversations about race and identity must be undertaken by building bridges between the past and the present. Important precedents are being set in the relatively new field of Afro-Andean archaeology, where dialogues between scholars and the broader community regarding the location of African-Diaspora identities within the legacies of colonialism, slavery, nation-state formation, and *mestizaje* are taking place. In Peru, the Proyecto Arqueológico Haciendas de Nasca (PAHN), directed by Brendan Weaver, focuses on the daily-lived experience of enslaved peoples on the 17th- and 18th-century Jesuit vitivinicultural haciendas of Nasca’s Ingenio Valley (San Joseph and San Francisco Xavier de la Nasca and their annexes).² The project decidedly incorporates community engaged research and public outreach. Similarly, the Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica “La Quebrada,” directed by Claire Maass and Luis Santa Cruz, centers on the living conditions and life-histories of enslaved Africans and Afro-descendants at Hacienda La Quebrada, a historic sugar plantation located in the central coastal valley of Cañete, Peru.³ The project features excavation

¹ Consider, for example, the discussion in *Otros Saberes: Collaborative Research on Indigenous and Afro-Descendant Cultural Politics*, edited by Charles R. Hale and Lynn Stephen. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014.

² Brendan J. M. Weaver, “‘The Grace of God and Virtue of Obedience’: The Archaeology of Slavery and the Jesuit Hacienda Systems of Nasca, Peru, 1619-1767.” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8:3 (2021): 430-453; Brendan J. M. Weaver, “Ghosts of the Haciendas: Memory, Architecture, and the Architecture of Memory in the Post-Hacienda Era of Southern Coastal Peru.” *Ethnohistory* 67:1 (2020): 149-173; Brendan J. M. Weaver, Lizette A. Muñoz, & Karen Durand, “Supplies, Status, and Slavery: The Contested Aesthetics of Provisioning at the Jesuit Haciendas of Nasca.” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*. 23:4 (2019): 1011-1038.

³ Claire Maass & José Luis Santa Cruz Alcalá, “Perspectivas arqueológicas hacia la historia de la esclavitud en el Perú colonial.” In, *Cultura afroperuana: Encuentro de investigadores 2018*, edited by Rosa Dorival & Alicia Quevedo. (2019): 22-36. Claire Maass, *A Community-Engaged Bioarchaeology of African Enslavement and Diaspora in Colonial Cañete, Peru*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University, 2021.

and analysis of skeletal remains from the cemetery associated with the hacienda, while incorporating, as in the case of PAHN, community-engaged, public-facing research.

Archaeologists working in Ecuador have looked at the material traces of Afro-urban populations in once colonial cities as well as the infrastructures of salt production and sugar refining in their relationship to the history of enslaved peoples of African descent in the region. An ongoing collaborative project, directed by Daniela Balanzátegui, mainly focused in the Afro Ecuadorian Ancestral Territory of the Chota-Mira Valley, presents a multiscale and interdisciplinary approach to the African Diaspora in Ecuador.⁴ Balanzátegui directs a team of scholars, including members from FLACSO-Ecuador, working alongside the Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Negras-Capítulo Carchi (CONAMUNE) and the program of Afro Ecuadorian Ethno Education to situate this project at the crossroads of territory, collective memory, heritage, and post-development. From this vantage point, revitalizing the Afro-Ecuadorian past and the cultural heritage associated with it is inseparable from contributing to better living conditions and a more democratic access to the national territory for Afro-Ecuadorian populations.

Likewise, Caterina Mantilla's historical and archaeological research in Colombia connects the African diaspora of the circum-Caribbean region to that of the Andes and the Pacific.⁵ She also makes an important intervention to the literature on Spanish colonial marronage through her consideration of the material culture and landscapes of palenques (self-liberated Black communities) of Cartagena's mountainous hinterland of the Sierra de la María. Mantilla maintains that marronage challenged the political and social dimensions of landscape in viceregal Nueva Granada. Mantilla's work, like those discussed above, is also distinctly concerned with the needs of the descendant populations, especially in the community of San Basilio de Palenque. Maria Fernanda Escallón⁶ also works in the community of San Basilio de Palenque, analyzing the effects of its Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) declaration by UNESCO in the early 2000s. Her work examines the new forms of power, knowledge, skills, and value that safeguarding ICH has created on the ground. Her ethnographic and archival work reveal that for many in Palenque the declaration was experienced as a form of exclusion. While heritage created new types of political, social, symbolic, and economic capital, it has been unevenly exploited among Palenqueros, exacerbating differences and disconnections. Ultimately, Escallón's research shows how, despite its inclusive rhetoric, heritage governance is inexorably tied to larger histories of racial exclusion and dispossession in Latin America.

⁴ Daniela Balanzátegui & Ana María Morales, "Collaborative African descendant Archaeology and Anthropology in La Concepción, Ecuador." *Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage* (IPinCH) Newsletters Blog. January. Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada: Simon Fraser University (2016); Daniela Catalina Balanzátegui Moreno, "Collaborative Archaeology to Revitalize an Afro-Ecuadorian Cemetery." *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology & Heritage* 7:1 (2018): 42-69.

⁵ Johana Caterina Mantilla Oliveros, "Arqueología y comunidades negras en América del Sur. Problemas y perspectivas." *VESTÍGIOS – Revista Latino-Americana de Arqueología Histórica* 10:1 (2016): 15-35.

⁶ Maria Fernanda Escallón, "Heritage, Land, Labor, and Competing Claims for Afro-Colombian Rights." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 25, no. 1 (2018): 59–83; Maria Fernanda Escallón, *Becoming Heritage. Recognition, Exclusion, and the Politics of Black Cultural Heritage in Colombia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

As these projects show, scholarship that exists only within the confines of academia has little impact on the daily life experience of Afro-Andeans. The research must be politically and socially engaged if it is to be meaningful to modern communities. Our questions must address the interests of these diverse communities.

Even as much remains to be done, these and similar projects build upon, but also contribute to an array of disciplines that have been engaging past and present Afro-Andean communities for decades, including Anthropology, Ethnomusicology, Ethnohistory, Folklore, Heritage Studies, Literature, Memory and Identity Studies, the History of colonial and modern Art and Visual Culture, and the Histories of African and Afro-American freedom and unfreedom. Correcting entrenched narratives about white, “Indian,” and mestizo nations, historians and literary scholars of the colonial period have shown that interethnic relations among Africans, native Andeans, and Europeans were as important for the fabric of colonial societies as the legal and racial boundaries separating these groups (which were enforced from above but also from below). They intermarried and also created familial bonds beyond the Church’s approval. Africans worked alongside native Andeans and *castas* in both urban and rural settings. These groups also shared spaces for worship, socialization, and mobilization, among them but sometimes with Spaniards as well. These spaces were shared as often as they were policed, sometimes by members of these groups themselves, in order to exclude others.⁷

These dynamic interactions took place both in coastal Peru and in places stretching up into the highlands and across them such as Quito, Cuzco, Santiago de Chile, Mizque, and Charcas from the sixteenth century forward.⁸ Sherwin Bryant has highlighted the importance of African slavery and its ideological underpinnings for the construction of the colonial state.⁹ Larissa Brewer-García has demonstrated the key role that seventeenth-century Black linguistic interpreters and spiritual intermediaries in Peru and New Granada played in the production of Spanish writings about Black men and women and the emerging racialized hierarchies.¹⁰ The works of Rachel O’Toole and Karen Graubart, among other scholars, have been instrumental in showing that colonial subjects understood and deployed racial and legal statuses associated with “Indians,” “Blacks,” and their descendants (and implicitly with those of “Spaniards”) in

⁷ Jesús Cosamalón Aguilar, *Indios detrás de la muralla. Matrimonios indígenas y convivencia inter-racial en Santa Ana (Lima, 1795-1820)*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999; Harth-Terré, Emilio. *Negros e indios: un estamento social ignorado del Perú colonial*. Lima: Juan Mejía Baca, 1973.

⁸ Sherwin K. Bryant, *Rivers of Gold, Lives of Bondage Governing through Slavery in Colonial Quito*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014; Leo J. Garofalo, “Conjuring with Coca and the Inca: The Andeanization of Lima’s Afro-Peruvian Ritual Specialists, 1580-1690.” *The Americas* 63:1 (2006): 53-80; Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington, *Blacks, Indians, and Spaniards in the Eastern Andes: Reclaiming the Forgotten in Colonial Mizque, 1550-1782*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006; Paola A. Revilla Orías, *Entangled Coercion: African and Indigenous Labour in Charcas (16th-17th Century)*. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021; Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *El negro en el Cusco: Los caminos de la alienación en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998; Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974; Katherine Quinteros Rivera, “Discursos y representaciones de los esclavos negros y mulatos domésticos en Santiago colonial,” *América en diásporas: Esclavitudes y migraciones forzadas en Chile y otras regiones americanas (siglos XVI-XIX)*, ed. Jaime Valencia Márquez. Santiago: RIL Editores, 2017, 57-76.

⁹ Bryant, *Rivers of Gold*.

¹⁰ Larissa Brewer-García, *Beyond Babel: Translations of Blackness in Colonial Peru and New Granada*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

relation to one another.¹¹ Freedom, servitude, vassalage, purity, and other foundational narratives and categories stemming from the racialized systems of labor at the base of colonial society were relational as well. Shared and co-created notions of spirituality and literate culture unfolded alongside and embedded in this process, as demonstrated by the studies of José Ramón Jouve Martín and Nancy E. van Deusen, among others.¹² A key part of the Black experience in the Andes was the widespread use of courts and dueling notions of gender, rights, and personhood, as revealed in Michelle A. McKinley's study of free and enslaved litigants in colonial Lima.¹³ This intimate world of human relations and survival is brought to life and compellingly retold in recent literary works such as *Malambo*, by Lucía Charún-Illescas.¹⁴ First and foremost, what these studies reveal is that distinct processes of identity and community formation from the Conquest period onwards must be assessed both independently and within a common colonial matrix.¹⁵

In the realm of Art History, with their essays on the portrait of Don Francisco de Arobe and his sons from Ecuador, Thomas Cummins and Susan Webster have led the study of depictions of colonial Afro-Andeans.¹⁶ Earlier scholarship by Emilio Harth-Terré, Alberto Márquez Abanto, and Rafael Ramos Sosa had helped to identify African and Afro-descendant artists.¹⁷ These authors are joined by colleagues in other disciplines: Tamara Walker and Caroline Garriott in History, and by Literature scholar Mariselle Meléndez.¹⁸ In addition, Anthropologist Julia Costilla has done crucial work on the miraculous frescoed image of the

¹¹ Karen Graubart, "Pesa más la libertad: Slavery, Legal Claims, and the History of Afro-Latin American Ideas." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 78, no. 3 (2021): 427-458.

¹² José Ramón Jouve Martín, *Esclavos de la ciudad letrada: esclavitud, escritura y colonialismo en Lima (1650-1700)*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005; Nancy E. van Deusen, *The Souls of Purgatory: The Spiritual Diary of a Seventeenth-Century Afro-Peruvian Mystic, Ursula de Jesús*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.

¹³ Michelle McKinley, *Fractional Freedoms: Slavery, Intimacy, and Legal Mobilization in Colonial Lima, 1600-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. See also Maribel Arrelucea Barrantes, *Replanteando la esclavitud: Estudios de etnicidad y género en Lima borbónica*. Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Étnico, 2009.

¹⁴ Lucía Charún-Illescas, *Malambo*, translated by Emmanuel Harris II. Chicago: Swan Isle Press, 2004.

¹⁵ Karen Graubart, "'As Slaves and Not Vassals': Interethnic Claims of Freedom and Unfreedom in Colonial Peru." *Población y Sociedad* 27, no. 2 (2020):30-53; Rachel O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.

¹⁶ Thomas B.F. Cummins, "Three Gentlemen from Esmeraldas: A Portrait Fit for a King," in *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World*, ed. Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Agnes Rosenthal, 2013, 119-45; Susan V. Webster, "Of Signatures and Status: Andrés Sánchez Gallque and Contemporary Painters in Early Colonial Quito," *The Americas* 70, no. 4 (2014): 603-44.

¹⁷ Emilio Harth-Terré and Alberto Márquez Abanto, "El artesano negro en la arquitectura virreinal limeña," *Revista del Archivo nacional del Perú* 25 (1961): 3-73; Rafael Ramos Sosa, "El escultor Juan Simón: Discípulo y esclavo de Montañés," in *Migraciones y rutas del barroco: VII Encuentro internacional sobre barroco*, ed. Norma Campos Vera (La Paz: Fundación Visión Cultural, 2014), 37-45.

¹⁸ Tamara J. Walker, "Black Skin, White Uniforms: Race, Clothing, and the Visual Vernacular of Luxury in the Andes," *Souls* 19, no. 2 (2017): 196-212; Tamara J. Walker, *Exquisite Slaves: Race, Clothing, and Status in Colonial Lima*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017; Caroline Garriott, "Coloring the Sacred: Visions of Devotional Kinship in Colonial Peru and Brazil". PhD Diss., Duke University, 2019; Mariselle Meléndez, "An Eighteenth-Century Visual Representation of the Black Population in Trujillo Del Perú: Picturing Cultural and Social Difference," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 86, no. 7-8 (2009): 119-42.

Señor de los Milagros (c.1651), traditionally attributed to an enslaved Angolan.¹⁹ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco also outlined connections among Indigenous, African, and European contributions to the understandings and veneration of Pachacamac and the Señor de los Milagros, showing how an Andean space and an Andean cult are integrative and syncretic in the best tradition of Andean Studies, to which she contributed so extensively.²⁰ Ximena Gómez's brand new research on confraternal art in colonial Lima centers Afro-Andeans by focusing primarily on objects that no longer exist and applying West African epistemologies in analyses of colonial visual culture.²¹ Drawing on visual representations and the testimonies of his contemporaries and subsequent believers, Celia Cussen reconstructs the life and enduring influence across the Americas of Martín de Porres as a representative of multi-ethnic sanctity that resonated even more widely after his death and with his twentieth-century sainthood.²²

Ethnomusicologists, folklorists, heritage scholars, and other researchers have long paid close attention to Afro-diasporic musical practices in the Andean region, though this interest has grown significantly in the last three decades.²³ While still suffering limited international visibility, musical practices maintain a strong presence in rural communities and urban centers and have also consolidated their position within regional cultural industries, while spearheading the representation of Afro-Diasporic populations in the national imaginary of their countries. These developments fuel ongoing debates on music and African descent in countries perceived to different extents as culturally "Andean." Musicians at the center of these debates not only claim representation of their contribution to national expressive culture, but also the recognition of their cultural particularities in countries where *afrodescendientes* are historicized as homogeneous and essentially connected to their African (i.e. "foreign") past.

Academic production within and beyond Andean countries, including work by state institutions, cultural entrepreneurs, and--importantly--*comunidades afrodescendientes*, accounts for much of this musical research, with studies from Colombia's Pacific and Caribbean Coasts,

¹⁹ Julia Costilla, "'Guarda y custodia' en la Ciudad de los Reyes: la construcción colectiva del culto al Señor de los Milagros (Lima, siglos XVII y XVIII)," *Fronteras de la historia* 20, no. 2 (2015): 152–79.

²⁰ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Pachacamac y el Señor de los Milagros: Una trayectoria milenaria*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1992.

²¹ Ximena A. Gómez, "From Ira to Imagen: The Virgin of the Antigua as 'Space for Correlation' in Seventeenth-Century Lima," *Colonial Latin American Review* 30.2 (2021): 214-237. This special issue of CLAR is devoted to colonial Black visual culture.

²² Celia Cussen, *Black Saint of the Americas: The Life and Afterlife of Martín de Porres*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

²³ The most substantial body of early scholarship on *afrodescendiente* musical practices in the Andean region originated with what today is referred to as the Afro-Peruvian Revival, including numerous publications and recordings in the 1960s and 1970s by Afro-Peruvian siblings and cultural icons Nicomedes and Victoria Santa Cruz, the Peruvian folklorist José Durand, and Peruvian ethnomusicologist Chalena Vázquez, among others. The vitality of those Afro-Peruvian musical traditions and communities was introduced to English-language scholars with William Tompkins' 1981 dissertation ("The Musical Traditions of the Blacks of Coastal Peru," UCLA), and gained a popular audience globally following the release of David Byrne's compilation album *Afro-Peruvian Classics: The Soul of Black Peru* (Luaka Bop Records, 1993). Separately, the North American anthropologist Norman Whitten's numerous publications on Afro-Ecuadorian musical and cultural practices in the 1960s and 70s established an early foundation for research in those communities at a time when they were not widely recognized within their own country. See for example Norman Whitten Jr. and Aurelio Fuentes, "¡Baile Marimba! Negro Folk Music in Northwest Ecuador," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3(2): 168-91, 1966.

Ecuador's Esmeraldas and Chota River Valley regions, and the Peruvian coast dominating the literature, and a smaller but growing scholarship on northern Chile and Bolivia's Yungas Valley. Scholars have increasingly framed musical practices in this broad region as constitutive of a "Black Pacific," defined in reference to and distinction from Gilroy's seminal conceptualization of the Black Atlantic and the crucial role of music within it. Representative works in this vein include numerous community-based ethnographic studies and collections²⁴; historical research on musical nationalism and the African diaspora²⁵; popular music and genre studies²⁶; historical studies of prominent movements and musical figures²⁷; materialist approaches to musical instruments²⁸; critical approaches to musical practices, race constructions, and strategic essentialism, including performative representations of Blackness in the Andes by non-*afrodescendiente* populations²⁹; and music as an asset for Afro-Diasporic activist movements and identity politics³⁰. Additionally, much work on Afro-diasporic musical practices takes place outside the scope of academic institutions, with grassroots community groups, individual musicians, cultural entrepreneurs, activist movements, and states conducting documentation

²⁴ For Colombia, see Juan Sebastián Ochoa Escobar, Carolina Santamaría Delgado, and Manuel Sevilla Peñuela, eds., *Músicas y prácticas sonoras en el Pacífico afrocolombiano*, Bogotá: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2010; for recent work in Ecuador, see Fernando Palacios Mateos, *Culturas intangibles en movimiento: La música tradicional afroesmeraldeña*, Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala, 2018; and Wilman Ordóñez Iturralde, *Amorfino: canto mayor del montubio*, Quito, Ecuador: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana Benjamín Carrión, 2014; for Bolivia, see Robert Whitney Templeman, "We Are the People of the Yungas, We Are the Saya Race," in *Blackness in Latin American and the Caribbean: Social Dynamics and Cultural Transformations*, v. 1, Norman Whitten Jr. and Arlene Torres, ed., p. 426-444, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998; and Sara Busdiecker, "Crowning Afro-Descendant Memory and Visibility in an Indian/Mestizo Country: Bolivia's Black King as Tradition, Symbol, Strategy, and Spectacle," *Transition 127 (Afro-Latin America Rising)*: 191-215, 2019; for Chile, see Juan Eduardo Wolf, *Stylin Blackness in Chile: Music and Dance in the African Diaspora*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2019.

²⁵ Peter Wade, *Music, Race, and Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

²⁶ See Francisco Lara and Diana Ruggiero, "Highland Afro-Ecuadorian *Bomba* and Identity Along the Black Pacific at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century," *Latin American Music Review* 37(2): 135-164, 2016; for recent genre studies in Peru, see Javier León, "El desarrollo de la música afroperuana durante la segunda parte del siglo veinte," in *Música popular y sociedad en el Perú contemporáneo*, Raúl Romero, ed., p. 220-256, Lima: PUCP, 2015; and Rodrigo Chocano Paredes, *¿Habrá jarana en el cielo? Tradición y cambio en la marinera limeña*, Lima: Ministerio de Cultura, 2012.

²⁷ Heidi Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2006.

²⁸ Luis Rocca Torres, Evelyn Figueroa, and Sonia Arteaga, *Instrumentos musicales de la diáspora africana y museología: la experiencia del Museo Afroperuano de Zaña*, Chiclayo, Perú: Museo Afroperuano, 2012; Javier León, "National patrimony and cultural policy: the case of the Afro-Peruvian cajón," in *Music and Cultural Rights*, Andrew Weintraub and Bell Yung, eds., p. 110-139, Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

²⁹ Danielle Roper, "Blackface at the Andean Fiesta: Performing Blackness in the Danza de Caporales," *Latin American Research Review* 54(2): 381-397, 2019; Jonathan Ritter, "Articulating Blackness in Afro-Ecuadorian Marimba Performance," in *Musical Cultures of Latin America: Global Effects, Past and Present*, Steven Loza, ed., p. 143-153, Los Angeles: UCLA, 2003.

³⁰ Michael Birenbaum Quintero, *Rites, Rights, and Rhythms: A Genealogy of Musical Meaning in Colombia's Black Pacific*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018; Jonathan Ritter, "Chocolate, Coconut, and Honey: Race, Music, and the Politics of Hybridity in the Ecuadorian Black Pacific," *Popular Music and Society* 34(5): 571-592, 2011.

and safeguarding projects. Such initiatives go beyond the production of texts and may range from the production of recordings to projects on local performing arts³¹.

Despite its relevance and growing presence, this work on Afro-diasporic music in the Andean region remains mostly unseen and unheard within the broader realm of Andean Studies (particularly in the English-speaking academy). We believe that its incorporation would be of mutual benefit. On the one hand, the integration of Andean, Indigenous, and *afrodescendiente* perspectives in Andean Studies would provide music scholars with a needed reminder of the Andean context of their work: for example, with the exception of Bolivia, the musical connections between Afro-Diasporic and Andean practices remains largely underexplored, particularly in academic as opposed to community-based projects. Moreover, integration would benefit the scholarly endeavors of the IAS as the study of music may provide a gateway to current understandings of cultural difference and racial encounters in the Andean region. Most importantly, the aforementioned work on music--itself a public, performative act--reveals the urgency of incorporating grassroots practitioners, activists, and public specialists alongside academics in such endeavors.

Historians of the colonial and national periods in the Andes, for their part, have made significant strides at destabilizing national paradigms at the root of these erasures. Because of the influence of late-colonial and early-Republican racialized geographies in processes of nation and state formation, Africans and their descendants were either invisibilized all together or situated only in a handful of locations (both spatial and discursive), often imagined by White elites as essentially and timelessly "Black."³² To name but two examples, the key contributions of Afro-Andean artists such as José Gil de Castro and Francisco "Pancho" Fierro to the visual repertoire of the region's new nations has only been recently recognized.³³ Similarly, Black

³¹ For a critical appraisal of one such project, see Rodrigo Chocano, "Producing African-Descent: Afro-Peruvian Music, Intangible Heritage, Authenticity and Bureaucracy in a Latin American Music Compilation," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25(8): 763-769, 2019.

³² Helen Melling, "Colourful Customs and Invisible Traditions: Visual Representations of Black Subjects in Late Colonial and 19th Century, Post-Independence Peru (1750s–1890s)". PhD Diss., King's College London, 2015. Angelica Sánchez Barona is interested in how images of the Black population factored into the construction of a national identity in Colombia, while María de Lourdes Ghidoli's book examines depiction of Afro-descendants in Argentina. María de Lourdes Ghidoli, *Estereotipos en negro: Representaciones y autorretratos visuales de afroporteños en el siglo XIX*. Buenos Aires: Protohistoria Ediciones, 2016. In her study of photographs of nineteenth-century Bolivia's Afro-Indigenous "Bandits of La Jalancha," Lisa Trever underscores the fluid and binary nature of racial identity in popular discourse. Lisa Trever, "Criminal Lines, Indian Colours, and the Creation of a Black Legend: The Photographs of 'Los Bandidos de La Halancha', Bolivia," *History of Photography* 40, no. 4 (2016): 369–87.

³³ José Gil de Castro: Natalia Majluf, *José Gil de Castro: pintor de libertadores*. Santiago de Chile: Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2015; Museo de Arte de Lima, ed., *Más allá de la imagen: los estudios técnicos en el proyecto José Gil de Castro*. Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 2012; Ricardo Mariategui Oliva, *Jose Gil de Castro (el mulato Gil): vida y obra del gran pintor peruano de los libertadores*. Lima: La Confianza, 1981; Comisión Nacional del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia del Perú, *José Gil de Castro 1785-1843: pintor de libertadores*. Lima: Comisión Nacional del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia del Perú, 1971; Maribel Arrelucea Barrantes, "Raza, género y cultura en las acuarelas de Pancho Fierro," *Arqueología y sociedad* 23 (2011): 267–93; Natalia Majluf and Marcus B. Burke, *Tipos del Perú: la Lima criolla de Pancho Fierro*. New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 2008; Gustavo Arturo León y León Duran, *Apuntes histórico-genealógicos de Francisco Fierro: Pancho Fierro*. Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2004; Ricardo Cantuarias Acosta, *Pancho Fierro*. Lima: Brasa, 1995; Raúl Porras Barrenechea and Jaime Bayly, *Pancho Fierro*. Lima: Instituto de Arte Contemporáneo, 1959.

physicians found opportunities for advancement in medicine and related fields, although their histories went often untold.³⁴ Thus, the long transition from colonies to independent republics is especially revealing of the politics of race and Blackness. In period newspapers and elite debate through the “Age of Revolution” and across the nineteenth century, the Afro-Andean figured prominently in elites’ fears as Marcel Velázquez Castro explains in his studies of Peruvian racism.³⁵ Historians have similarly reconstructed the actors and forces that at times propelled and at others slowed the process of gradual emancipation and post-slavery rule in Colombia and Peru.³⁶ These are still histories and legacies that are not widely acknowledged, much less fully embraced, as essential parts of the national narrative or the paradigms informing Andean scholarship.³⁷

A place of undeniable violence and erasure, the Andes are also a space of encounter. The current moment offers the IAS a critical opportunity to embrace and support the significant changes captured in this above essay. This reorientation would help the Institute join leading efforts to reshape Andean Studies in order to incorporate African histories and experiences, broadening the Institute’s appeal within the community of non-scholars and scholars of and from the Andes that are making these transformations possible.

The BRC extends special thanks to José Carlos de la Puente, who played an instrumental role in organizing and writing this essay, as well as to the individual members who generously shared thoughts on their respective fields.

³⁴ José Ramón Jouve Martín, *The Black Doctors of Colonial Lima: Science, Race, and Writing in Colonial and Early Republican Peru*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014.

³⁵ Marcel Velázquez Castro, *Las máscaras de la representación. El sujeto esclavista y las rutas del racismo en el Perú (1775-1895)*. Lima: Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, 2005.

³⁶ Yesenia Barragan, *Freedom’s Captives: Slavery and Gradual Emancipation on the Colombian Black Pacific*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021; Carlos Aguirre, *Agentes de su propia libertad: Los esclavos de Lima y la desintegración de la esclavitud, 1821-1854*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1993; Carlos Aguirre, *Breve historia de la esclavitud en el Perú: una herida que no deja de sangrar*. Lima: Congreso del Perú, 2005; Christine Hunefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor Among Lima’s Slaves, 1800-1854*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

³⁷ See for instance treatments of this in Peruvian and US documentaries: “El Quinto Suyu: afrodescendientes en el Perú,” dir. Fernando Espinozadir (Lima: Cimarrones, 2002); the series Black in Latin America organized by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., part 4, “Mexico & Peru: the black grandma in the closet,” dir. Ilana Trachtman (New York: WNET, 2011).

Conference

An important part of the Commission's mandate was to support bringing Afro-Andean studies into the IAS annual conference. The Commission found the conference organizers enthusiastic about efforts to recruit presenters and a keynote speaker and to situate them in a prominent place in the conference's activities. Many Commission members stepped forward to offer their own work for presentation as examples of the breadth of work underway in several disciplines on Afro-andean themes. Commission members played recruiting and moderating roles for the conference.

The partnership of the IAS organizers and the Commission members was a success. There was interest in the Keynote, Roundtable, and Presentation Sessions. Around 50 people were present per session. There was also significant interest in learning about what Afro-Andeanists are doing. Participants engaged the presenters and proved willing to give direction on how presenters' work could engage with what archaeologists are doing. It is important that Afro-Andean studies had a place at the meeting.

In some important ways, the place occupied by Afro-Andean studies and Afro-Andean communities at the annual conference was limited. The Afro-Andean-themed presentations were organized as separate panels and a roundtable. Participants did not take the opportunity to discuss how their own work, new projects, or their graduate students could open to Afro-Andean studies. The Panel, Roundtable, and Keynote were invitations to engage beyond the boundaries present within the IAS. The Keynote's critique, in particular, pointed to some of these limitations, and it identified several avenues for the IAS to continue its work of self-examination and growth as an organization.

Although this is not unique to the IAS annual conference, several individuals at the conference acknowledged that many of the voices at the IAS are not reaching scholars beyond the US Academy or actors of all kinds at the grassroots level.

Looking forward to the 2022 conference and beyond, the challenge for IAS will be to build on the momentum of this engagement with the Afro-Andean and expand it in ways that make the organization and its conferences a place where both established and new members are working on Afro-Andean themes in ways relevant to their various disciplines and to the Afro-Andean communities throughout the region. Enhanced involvement, outreach, and the journal will be important tools to reach these goals.

Journal

The BRC recognizes the journal's many strengths, including its curatorial aspects, broad regional coverage, and ability to balance its content and founding mission. Based on our evaluation of the journal and discussions with the editorial board, we propose several recommendations to enhance its coverage of Afro-Andean scholarship.

Procedures

The journal should establish a set of bylaws that clearly lays out editorial board duties, term lengths, and reviews the responsibilities of each member. The editorial board would consist, ideally, of a Senior Editor, Associate Editor, Online Content Editor, Review Essay Editor, an Editorial Assistant (typically a graduate student), and a group of 8-10 Area Editors (chosen from scholars based in Latin America, North America, Europe, and elsewhere), all of whom would actively participate in the life of the journal. These editors would possess relevant subfield/regional/thematic expertise and could serve as manuscript reviewers, suggest directions, attend regular meetings (at least twice a year, one of which is at the Annual Meeting), reach out to colleagues to encourage essay submissions, and attend the journal's editorial board meetings.

To maintain a balance of institutional continuity and a regular infusion of new ideas, each member of the editorial board (Senior Editor, Associate Editor, Online Content Editor, and Review Essay Editor) would serve a term of four years. Each Area Editor would serve a term of three years. Editorial assistants would serve at the discretion of the senior editor. Incoming Senior, Associate, Online Content Editors, and Review Essay Editors would begin their first year in their respective outgoing editors' last year as a means of facilitating continuity.

In order to ensure a diversity of perspectives and coverage, at least half of the editorial board and area editors should consist of scholars from Latin America. This might result in rethinking how the journal approaches publications in Spanish. In addition, half should be working in fields outside of Archaeology, such as Afro-Andean Studies, Cultural Anthropology, Ethnohistory, Ethnomusicology, Gender Studies, History, History of Art, Indigenous Studies, Languages and Literatures, Science and Technology Studies, and other fields with a pertinent focus on the Andes.

Content

We believe the journal has the potential to appeal to a broader range of scholars if it were to make following changes. If it is acceptable to the publisher, changing the subtitle from "Journal of Andean Archaeology" to "Journal of Andean Studies" would more fully embody John Rowe's founding vision of the journal and signal openness to approaches beyond archaeology into the broad area of Andean studies. Each issue should serve to actively maintain this sense of inclusion or representation. Toward that end, every issue would ideally feature one review essay

representing new work in the field, broad trends, and innovations within the field of Andean Studies and its relevant subfields (including Afro-Andean Studies and Indigenous Studies). In order to increase its impact, we recommend that the journal strive for greater accessibility than the current 8-year delay for articles to appear on JSTOR. This might be done by moving older issues of the journal to the IAS website, featuring review essays and marquee articles to the website, and making use of other open-access online spaces to feature newer content (within the last 8-10 years).

Involvement and Outreach

Part of the mandate of the Commission is to generate proposals toward redefining the field, especially with regard to the integration of actors who have traditionally been left at the margins of the international Andean Studies research network. Particularly, we underscore the importance of increasing attention to researchers conducting *multidisciplinary* and *community engaged* research. We aim to connect the long tradition of Andeanist scholarship focused on Indigenous societies and their descendants with the material realities of the present, which are in a dynamic flux between material and intangible cultural heritage. In re-imagining the field of Andean Studies with respect to actors who have traditionally been ignored by “mainstream” research, we must begin by addressing Latin America, and specifically the Andean region, as a *place where knowledge is produced*, often in discourse between researchers (both national and foreign) and local communities.

We acknowledge that the Andean region does not exist in a geo-cultural vacuum. In order to understand the Andean cultural phenomena post 1532, researchers must consider the Andes as part of a globalizing world. The histories and cultures of the African diaspora of the Andean region are deeply connected to those of the African-descendant communities throughout Latin America, and even more broadly with the greater Atlantic World. We advocate for connecting Afro-Andean research in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia to a broader frame, considering how research is conducted along networks of scholars and African diasporic activism in other parts of Latin America and the diaspora. Towards these ends, researchers located in the “global north” are encouraged to think through forms of reciprocity toward Latin America-based researchers.

Goals

- Involve academic, civil society, and government actors in collaborative relationships that respond to--and engage with--the current agendas and needs of Latin American people and communities on the ground. .
- Actively incorporate Latin America-based researchers into the IAS network in different administrative and academic capacities.
- Foster networking and collaboration between academic and other professional heritage organizations and institutions in Latin America.
- Actively work to dismantle the colonial legacies of scholarly disciplines, languages, and knowledges that reproduce Black exclusion and invisibility within the field of Andean Studies.
- Position the IAS network as a platform for Latin American researchers to forge international collaboration across the region and with the USA.

Short Term Recommendations (Starting in Fall 2021)

We propose these short term recommendations for implementation in the year following the January 2021 conference.

Action Item 1: Create a map of actors

The IAS needs to broaden its target public and create a more inclusive and diverse network of scholars and practitioners interested in Andean Studies. It is crucial that the IAS identifies those working on transnational Afro-diasporic themes, including actors beyond the Andean region. As such, it should develop a living document with a map of governmental, civil society, and academic actors that help guide its outreach, membership, and programming activities. This map must explicitly include those researching on, working with, or representing communities of the African diaspora in the Andes. One possibility is to create a curated open-source wiki in which the public can contribute names of individuals and institutions that help expand and continuously update the network. Besides mapping strategic actors, the IAS must design a communication strategy to facilitate connecting with and fostering collaboration between these institutions and individuals. Please see the example schema below.

Action Item 2: Create a permanent working group on Afro-Andean Studies

We propose the creation of a permanent working group on Afro-Andean studies composed by scholars and practitioners that permanently advise the IAS on topics related to Afro-Andean scholarship or Afro-Latinx lived experiences. We suggest that, in its first three years, the working group should prioritize the following topics of discussion, and advise the IAS on how to include them as part of its regular programming:

- Impacts of COVID-19 in the region as a public health, political, and economic crisis, especially among Afro-Diasporic communities.
- Racism and anti-racist movements in Latin America
- UN Decade of Afro-Descendants, processes of historic reparation, and their connection with grassroots needs, agendas, and politics.

The permanent working group, which should meet regularly during the year, would operate in an advising capacity to the IAS, examine recent research, promote emerging projects, and help consolidate the map of actors described above. The results of the working group activities should be advertised via an online newsletter and a section on Afro-Andean studies in the annual conference. As a follow-up, the working group should aim to meet at least once a year after their term is over to touch base with other members. In order to defray costs for participants outside of North America, we suggest that this working group should be organized virtually. As interest develops, the IAS should consider outside funding and grants to bring participants together in person and support the involvement of non-North American-based scholars of Afro-Andean Studies in the annual meeting. In any case, this working group will require special organizational attention from the IAS. Implicit within the creation of such a

working group is the mutual benefit to the whole of Andean Studies: Afro-Andean studies is not only about knowledge about/by peoples of African descent, but also the realities these communities face because of racism and the legacies of colonialism.

Action Item 3: Revise the date of the conference

The IAS membership might coordinate and carefully consider the annual conference dates with respect to other important disciplinary conferences. As Andean Studies has become an increasingly multidisciplinary field, with an expanding thematic research, it is particularly important to consider the potential participation by a broader range of scholars. For instance, the January 2021 conference occurred during the same week as the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology and the American Historical Association. Considering that historians and historical archaeologists play an increasingly important role in the development of Andean Studies, it seems prudent to consider a conference date that would allow for greater participation by researchers hailing from these disciplines. Such a consideration will also increase the relevance of the IAS conference. We also suggest that IAS consider other modalities (online or hybrid) and scheduling that will allow for the fullest participation by researchers living outside the USA. Maintaining some virtual programming in future years, in addition to in-person meetings, will also support outreach to diverse actors in Latin America and respond to the long lasting effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and the unequal access to vaccines throughout the world.

Action Item 4: Improve the virtual communication strategy of the IAS

- Secure the continuity of the IAS social media communication strategy through time.

Action Item 5: Engage with the proposals and strategies advanced by the Ethics Committee of the IAS and the IAS Graduate Student Representatives.

- Explore points in common among the groups that can lead to joint proposals for the IAS.

Long term recommendations (for the following 3 years)

- Action Item 1: Modifying the membership structure of IAS to make it conducive to the incorporation of actors involved with Afro-diasporic studies in the Andean region. The current structure and criteria for becoming an IAS member limit diversity and broader membership representation.
- Action Item 2: Provide an annual fellowship for a scholar that works on an Afro-Andean topic to work within the IAS network.

Mapping the Network of Afrolatinidad in the Andes: Suggestions of Strategic Relationships

This network will serve as a resource for the IAS as well as the actors. The aim is to produce a mutual benefit that will permit the future stability of this network. The following table is provided as an example of the type of information to be included in the network-map:

Category (Academic institution, heritage management, research project, policy planning, outreach/activist organization...)	Name	Link	Area of interest	Point of contact
Academic institution	ALARI	https://alari.fas.harvard.edu/	Afro-Latinamerican Research	
Academic institution	ALARA (1996)	https://alarascholars.org/	Afro-Latinamerican Research Association	
Academic institution	CLACSO (Estudios afrolatinoamericanos y caribeños)	https://www.clacso.org	Program of Study and Research about the network Afrolatinidad and Caribe.	
Heritage Management	INPC (Instituto Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural del Ecuador)	https://www.patrimonio cultural.gob.ec/	Archaeological, Historial, and today heritage of the Afro Ecuadorian population.	
Heritage Management	ICANH (Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia)--- Historical Archaeology			
Academic/Community Project	Proyecto Arqueológico Haciendas de Nasca (PAHN)	http://pahnperu.org https://facebook.com/pahn.peru	Afro-Peruvian Archaeology	Brendan Weaver brendan.jm.weaver@gmail.com
Black Feminist Organization	Coordinadora Nacional de Mujeres Negras/ Ecuador (CONAMUNE)	https://www.facebook.com/people/Conamune-Nacional/100063569840504/	Activist Organization, Heritage, Sustainable Development	

