The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology

Dreams, Memory, and War: An Ethnography of Night in the Peruvian Andes

By

Arianna Cecconi

University of Milan

Resumen

El conflicto armado entre Sendero Luminoso y el Ejército que golpeó al Perú entre los años 1980 y 1990, ha marcado profundamente la vida de la población andina de la región de Ayacucho, que fue el epicentro de la violencia. Este artículo propone un acercamiento a la memoria de esta guerra y al actual proceso de reconciliación a través del "punto de vista" de los sueños de los pobladores de dos comunidades campesinas de la región de Ayacucho, y a través de los relatos oníricos encontrados en los archivos de la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación del Perú. Acercándonos a las revelaciones oníricas, a los sueños que "actúan" en los cuerpos, y a las visitas de las almas de los desaparecidos, se explorará la compleja dialéctica entre memoria y olvido que caracteriza a este contexto post-conflicto y que asume, en la dimensión onírica, peculiares configuraciones. [Perú, antropología social, conflicto, sueños, Sendero Luminoso]

Abstract

The armed conflict between the Shining Path movement and the Peruvian army in the 1980s and 1990s deeply shaped the life of the Andean people in the region of Ayacucho, the epicenter of the violence. This article offers a way of approaching the memory of the war and the ongoing reconciliation process from the "point of view" of the dreams of the inhabitants of two peasant communities in this region, and the accounts of dreams collected from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. While investigating the oneiric revelations, the dreams that "act" upon bodies, and the visits of the souls of the *desaparecidos*, it is possible to penetrate the complex dialectics between memory and forgetting that shape postwar settings and that take on specific patterns in the oneiric dimension. [Perú, social anthropology, conflict, dreams, Sendero Luminoso]

The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 401–424. ISSN 1935-4932, online ISSN 1935-4940. DOI: 10.1111/j.1935-4940.2011.01164.x

> Every time I go to that place, I dream about soldiers who are lying down or walking or shooting with their guns . . . It's a bad place . . . it reveals itself in the form of a soldier. (Marcela, peasant, Contay, 2006)

People living in Contay, in the Ayacucho region (Andes of Central Peru), often dream about soldiers. These dreams represent premonitions of pain and sickness in the form of a message from the divinities. When I first went to the region, the epicenter of the armed struggle between the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path movement) and the Peruvian army, I did not expect to study dreams. My interest in the oneiric realm developed over 18 months of fieldwork (2004–2008) in the villages of Chihua and Contay, and in the urban context of Ayacucho. Accounts of dreams emerged during conversations about "other" topics, such as illness, family conflicts, and the war. The importance of dreams in family and community contexts suggests it would be useful to tackle the oneiric dimension to draw closer to life histories, as well as to the religious representations and practices, power relations, and violence that shape this social context.

This article explores the relationship between dreams, local history, war, and bodily experiences. By looking at oneiric narrations of Chihua and Contay peasants, it examines the interactions among individual and collective imaginaries and historical events. The first section considers dream contents, images, and symbols as "historical traces" (Beradt 1985). It focuses on the metamorphic "oneiric icon" of the *Apu*, or the Spirit of the Mountain. The *Apu* is an important divinity in the Andean context, which manifests itself in the form of *gringos*, landowners, and soldiers—historical characters that are typical of these places. It will also explore how female peasants perceive the impact of the oneiric experience on their bodies. The second section examines dreams as a tool to narrate personal biographies. It seems that dreams, visions, and oneiric visits by disappeared relatives inform the narration of personal and historical events, both in the sense of their prediction and in their interpretation.

As a contribution to ongoing debates in the social sciences on the need to deconstruct the partition between history and memory (Passerini 1988; Jelin 2002), this article argues for expanding the category of "history," in this case the history of war, by including not only what people do and say during the day but also their night experiences and visions.

Peasant Communities of Chihua and Contay

Situated at an altitude of approximately 3,000 meters, the villages of Chihua and Contay are small (each with a population of approximately 200); most of the *comuneros*[1] (bilingual in Quechua and Spanish) mainly support their families by farming and shepherding. Chihua is situated in the *northern area* of Ayacucho

(in the Huanta province), where the peasants experienced the violence of Sendero Luminoso.[2] Contay is located in the Vilchasuaman province, defined as the *red area*, which experienced violent attacks and repression by the Army[3] because of its inhabitants' support for Sendero Luminoso. While memory of the conflict has assumed different forms in the two communities, one factor links the testimonies: the "externalization of Sendero Luminoso" (Theidon 2004:174). In both communities, the peasants still speak about s*enderistas* (Shining Path guerrillas) as "those who come from outside," even though (especially in Contay) they represent a very intimate enemy (Theidon 2004), since the young sons of *comuneros* (secondary school-age students) who joined Sendero Luminoso were the link between the movement and the rural population (Degregori 1993). Today, however, few people in Contay admit to having supported Sendero Luminoso. Although in the final report of the *Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission; henceforth, CVR),[4] the Navy, Armed Forces, and paramilitary groups are accused of being coresponsible for the deaths and disappearances of some 70,000 people, Sendero Luminoso is still considered the "official enemy" responsible for the emergence of armed conflict.

Penetrating the memories of peasants, this period of violence has been superimposed on earlier forms of conflict, including that between comuneros and landowners (*hacendados*, *gamonales*), as well as between different communities, neighbors, and between shepherds and rustlers. Today, in Chihua and Contay, the *haciendas* no longer exist, and the comuneros now own their lands, but all the peasants of a certain generation lived part of their lives during the *latifundio* regime of the great landowners, and the role of the hacendados and the gamonales is a recent memory—an emblem of the power relations that shaped the history of these mountains.

During the war, many peasants escaped and moved to the towns of Huanta, Ayacucho, or Lima, beginning to return to their villages in the late 1990s. Today, in both communities, peasants who collaborated with *Sendero* or the army, as well as widows who lost their husbands in the war, live together. In some cases, these tensions explode: conflicts over land overlap with further warlike disputes.

This ethnographic study focuses on the dreams of women, a choice that was not explicit at the beginning of the research. In the villages, I lived with widows who had lost their husbands in the war and spent most of the research period with women. In both villages, women also form the majority, the cause of which is considered to be the war.[5] Currently, there is insufficient comparative material to examine in detail the hypothesis that women dream and interpret dreams more than men. I observed that the topic of dreams occupies a significant position in conversations among women. Dreams are used by women to mediate family relationships and as an important source of communication with relatives, living or dead. When mothers dream of sons or daughters living in Lima or working

in Ayacucho, they feel impelled to get in touch with them to verify the reason for their nighttime visit. Moreover, during and after the war, women dreamed of disappeared (*desaparecido*) family members. The narration of dreams represents for women "another" discursive register (Abu-Lughod 2000), then, a means of evoking topics that cannot be directly verbalized in the community context, or in the official context of the CVR.

Types of Dreams

The first accounts testifying to the importance of dreams in the Andean context are found in colonial chronicles (Guaman Poma 1963; Arriaga 1968; Cobo 1964). In the Inca empire, dreams were believed to be instruments of divination, and specialists in the interpretation of dreams, or "dreamers" (*mosoc*), were called upon to make forecasts (Arriaga 1968:206). Colonial accounts present many descriptions of dreams and visions received by the Inca sovereigns throughout the history of their empire. A semantic overlap between the Quechua words *muskuy* (to dream) and *musyay* (to divine) seems also to evoke, at a linguistic level, a close link between dream and revelation (Taylor 1987).

Among the peasant communities of Chihua and Contay, I did not encounter any "dream specialists," but the relationship between dreams, knowledge, revelations, and premonition continues to be crucial. "Those who cannot remember dreams are not very intelligent," claimed a woman from Contay, hinting at the cognitive significance of the oneiric experience. Generally, dreams are talked about and analyzed within the family, through a shared code of interpretation that varies from village to village. In both villages, however, dreaming of dirty water predicts illness, as maize does for money, while sheep, naked people, and blood are signs of misfortune. Some connections between oneiric symbols and interpretations are expressed though metaphors, and others through metonymies (see also Andrade 2004). Some seem self-evident: for instance, "chili" represents anger, and "donkey" fatigue. In other cases, interpretation requires specific historically and culturally contextualized analysis. For example, in the highlands of Cuzco, dreaming of "potatoes" means that you will eat "meat," which follows the barter system in the area (Ricard 2007). In villages where products are sold rather than bartered, people establish a metonymy dream related to money.

Bruce Mannheim (1987)[6] has questioned the continuity between the symbols and interpretations still found in the Andean region and those found in the dream interpretation codes evoked in the colonial chronicles. Rather, he emphasizes the almost total transformation of the lexicon of dreams, observing that the majority of images presented in the 17th century documents have either lost their meanings or developed new ones. For example, in the two villages examined here, symbols

of modernity have been incorporated into the collective interpretation code with negative meaning. When peasants dream about *combis* (little buses) or cars, they interpret the symbols as a premonition of death, because of a fear caused by frequent accidents. In Contay, dreaming of a radio is an omen of bad news, in which symbol a historical cause can also be traced. In many villages in Ayacucho, radio became widespread during the war and was the main medium for information about clashes between the army and Sendero Luminoso.

Revelations from gods and ghosts are also significant in this context. That "dreams come from outside" is an observation often encountered in conversations with villagers. Neither Chihuans nor Contayans have a single local theory to explain dream origins, and in attempting to explore their provenance, categories of "inside" and "outside" seem to alternate, although some patterns are discernible. Dreams that come "from outside" take two forms: in some circumstances, during the dream it is possible to experience one's *anímu-aníma* (vital principle)[7] leaving the body; in other situations, dreams are believed to be caused by external beings (ghosts or divinities) who visit the sleeping person. Dreams that come "from inside," however, are believed to be generated by concerns already present in the person. Hence, dreams that come "from inside" are defined as dreams *con pensamientos* (with thought), while dreams "from outside" occur *sin pensamientos*, without a connection to inner thoughts. Dreams generated by day-to-day issues, or by excessive drinking and eating, are dismissed as unimportant. Only dreams "from outside," sin pensamientos, are associated with revelation and considered to be significant premonitions. This seems to be possible because the *aníma* experiences things "before" they happen, when it is traveling outside the body,[8] and also because spirits and divinities can reveal, through dreams, something that is going to happen.

To understand the connection between dreams and experience when awake, it is useful to draw on the performative concept, used in the oneiric field by anthropologist Barbara Tedlock (1987). Sometimes the performative power of dreams seems to manifest itself synchronously (when the aníma's actions in the dream, or the god's visit, act directly upon the reality and the bodies of those who are dreaming); in other cases, it manifests itself subsequently, through the actions people perform while awake, following the indications and interpretations of the dream experience. Dreams "coming from outside" have a socially acknowledged use: during family disputes about property, land owning, and the distribution of inheritance, such oneiric apparitions are evoked as proofs that legitimate choices, decisions, and desires are linked and belong to an "external" realm whose authority cannot be questioned (Crapanzano 1975, 2003). In this sense, an analysis of dream narration and interpretation must be contextualized and connected to its social use.

Dreams as Historical Traces

Peasants from Chihua and Contay often claim to have been visited by the divinities of the Catholic pantheon (the Virgin and the Saints) and by Andean gods, such as *Apu*, *Pachamama* (the Spirit of the Earth), or the *Gentiles* (ancestors). This heterogeneous religious pantheon was created and transformed during the "colonisation de l'imaginaire," as the historian Serge Gruzinski (1988) calls it, which marked the encounter between the Spanish and the Indian. The focus here is on manifestations of Apu, however, because its apparitions are more frequently evoked, and because the ambiguities of its "oneiric symbol" raise questions relating to the war.

In general, Apu (translatable as "rich" or "powerful")[9] manifests itself as an animal, such as the condor (an important bird god in Inca cosmology) or the bull, an animal that arrived with the Spanish. A mountain can also become a man (or a woman) and is then usually transformed into a *gringo*, a tall, white, well-dressed man wearing a hat and boots, who sometimes arrives riding a horse. "What does it mean when you dream of a gringo?" "They say they are Wamani (Apus) and Pachamama' ... when we dream these things." A Contay *comunera* said the Apu could appear in dreams or even when she was awake and alone on the mountain. When asked, "what did you dream of last night?" people refer to nocturnal experience; when speaking of dreams in general, however, the boundary blurs and it is not always easy to understand whether the visions, premonitions, and apparitions took place while the person was asleep or awake.

In some cases, it is said that the Apu appears to warn that an animal is lost, or has given birth. In others, it appears to "obtain payment" (i.e., to demand a ritual offering), to protect, or to punish; seduction and *engaño* (enchantment/trick) are also behavior characteristics of these dreamtime appearances. Women in Contay relate dreams in which a gringo tries to seduce them, promising riches, or in which he tries to sexually abuse them. One day, while Damasina, her daughters, and I were cooking soup and talking about these apparitions, she told us the Apu usually appears to young unmarried women, but that he haunted her dreams after she was married. He tried to seduce her with promises, and also predicted the early death of her husband, an event that actually occurred during the war years:

> He persecuted me in my dreams ... with clear eyes, white. He looked like uncle Santiago, he was white, a real gringo. Every night he persecuted me in the house up there, he harassed me. (*Qatikachawaptin tudo suyñuyniypi ... uqi ñawi, blanco. Tiyuyki Santiago chaynam karqa, blanco gringoniraqmi karqa, payqa, hina pay kaqllam. Puraminti tutan-tutan qatikachawan, tukuy kay, hanay wasi pirqa, chaypi qatikachawan*). (Damasina, peasant, Contay)

Narrations of Apus appearing in the guise of a gringo are shared across many regions of Peru, as well as other Andean countries such as Bolivia (Wachtel 2001)

and Ecuador (Bernand 1985). Each Apu takes on specifically local features: in Contay, the Apu *Piuchu*[10] appears as a soldier[11] "in the middle of the fog." Maria, a comunera of Contay, interpreted dreaming of the military as a manifestation of the Apu:

> They say [people dream about policemen and soldiers] . . . because [the Mountain] attacked you or otherwise a vapor or something struck you. So is the dream with police and soldiers. So they say: 'There, it struck me'; that is why they say, 'the policemen persecute me.' Therefore, we always give [the Apu] something, or a present. This is why the Mountain asks for something when it enchants [strikes] us.[12] (Maria, peasant, Contay)

> In my dream, my husband told me that I had been summoned and that I had to go [to the police]. I was going, dressed in my poncho, and then two soldiers came. First, they looked at me and said, "I want to sleep with you . . . to be together." That's what they said in the dream, and I started crying and screaming, and they left me there . . . This dream was a sign that I was going to fall ill! (Pilar, peasant, Contay)

In Chihua, I did not encounter dreams in which the Apu appears as a soldier; in this province (Huanta), where Sendero Luminoso acted with greater violence, narratives evoke alliances between Apus and senderistas. "There were Apus that supported the revolution," said Pablo, a peasant of Chihua. As in any community, there are various local "day-time" memories of war, and there are also various dreams and oneiric and mythical memories in the villages.

The women of Chihua and Contay switch between narrations of dreams in which the Apu appears and accounts of the period of the haciendas and of the armed conflict: the metamorphic "oneiric icon," through which the Spirit of the Mountain manifests itself, seems to incorporate figures of power marking the history of these places in both their physical and behavioral characteristics. When the peasants' animals grazed on the hacienda's land, the landowners demanded payment; the words "pay me, you have to pay me," which recur in many testimonies, usually spoken by the *gamonales* (landowners), are the same as those repeated by the Apu in dreams. Similarly, the landowners' and the soldiers' power over the body of comuneros, the physical punishments, their habit of seducing and sexually abusing the peasants, all seem to have left a trace in the oneiric behavior of the Apus.

The idea that sexual violence occurred frequently during the hacienda period is commonly shared in the communities of Chihua and Contay. *El derecho de pernada* described the "hacendado's rights" to have sexual relations with the daughters of the peasants that worked for him (Ruiz 2004:289). In this hierarchical system, the Indian woman was at the bottom of the power scale (De la Cadena 1991; Ruiz 2004), and sexual possession was a further mark of the power and dominance of

the large landowners over the community. The powerlessness to avoid the abuse and to obtain justice (given the close link between the legal authorities and the gamonales) led to a process of negation and to an imposed silence about this violence (Robin 2008).

After the end of the haciendas, internal armed conflict occurred and the senderistas and soldiers took over the position of power left vacant by the landowners. In terms of the violence and abuse, the CVR discovered that this represented a generalized practice in the army, once again with ethnic connotations,[13] although nobody in the community context discusses it.[14] However, the proportion of accusations of sexual violence in official and direct accounts by women accounted for approximately 1.53 percent of the human rights violations recorded by the CVR. There is a considerable under-representation of this issue, then, which was also reported by the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions of South Africa and Guatemala (Lavie and Kaminer 2009). In a CVR testimony (202769), a woman from Saurama (a peasant community near Contay) reported 30 cases of sexual harassment and rape of women by Peruvian army personnel based in Vilchasuaman. If it is true that no woman from Contay or Chihua has testified to having been a victim of sexual violence during the hacienda period or during the war, many have told of dreams in which the Apu (under the semblance of a gringo or a soldier) tried to seduce or sexually abuse them. This does not mean that all women who mention these dreams have been victims of sexual violence but it is noticeable that the violence has left traces on the collective oneiric imagination: sexual abuse achieves "visibility" when talking about dreams and myths, although it is often absent from official narrations.

In the Andean context, then, the dream image of the Apu seems to highlight categories of "power," "violence," and "whiteness"[15] as interwoven in the colonial past as well as the present, and in daytime reality as well as in dreams. A substantial body of literature explores how the collective imagination incorporates historical transformations (Sahlins 1981; Severi 1988; Taussig 1987; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Kempf 1994) and how mythical narrations, "ghost narratives" (Lambek 1996; Mueggler 2001), and "rumors" (White 2000) need to be historicized. They represent a medium, a register to talk about narratives that are hard to communicate through official contexts.

The pishtaco stealer of human fat (ñakaq in Ayacucho Quechua) is another emblematic figure in Andean mythology. His image condenses the existing power and racial relations that still exist in this context (Canessa 2000; Weismantel 2001), while also providing a further means to talk about violence. Like the Apu, this figure can appear in the guise of a white man, a gringo, a hacendado, a clergyman, a soldier, or an engineer, and has accompanied the history of the Spanish conquest to the present day. His appearance has changed over time, incorporating new forms of "otherness," but his modus operandi remains unchanged—Pishtacos

have always stolen "human fat." During the conquest era, this fat was said to be used to lubricate church bells; nowadays, it is thought to be used to manufacture medicines and in industry (Ansion 1989; Weismantel 2001): "In the fifteen years of the 'Dirty War' when state terror claimed thousands of lives, he began to appear dressed as a 'Sinchi': a member of the dreaded Peruvian Special Forces deployed to fight terrorism in the Sierra. The guerrilla fighters of the Sendero Luminoso too, became 'the new ñakaq'" (Weismantel 2001:198). Pishtacos were supposedly sent during the armed conflict by authorization of President Alan Garcia, with the aim to take human fat to "pay foreign debt" (Vergara and Ferrua 1989). These figures have also been, and remain, associated with sexual abuse (Weismantel 2001:169), and their presence witnesses the long and forgotten history of race and rape. In Chihua and Contay, I did not collect evidence of pishtaco dreams, but many women claimed to suspect they had met them.

The figure of the pishtaco always has negative connotations, whereas the Apu's behavior is more complex: it can appear in dreams to protect or to punish, to bring wealth or to make an animal disappear, to seduce or to bring illness. The ambiguity of the Apu prevents discussion of it in terms of a Manichean judgment. Even if this ambiguity seems to be a native feature of Andean divinities (Duviols 1971), it also reflects the ambiguity of the conflictive encounters with the "white" figures of power that have shaped the history of this area.

The hacienda is often referred to by the inhabitants of Chihua and Contay as a reality countering that of the peasant community, but they cannot forget the network of relations that emerged between the gamonales and comuneros. The role of the *caporales* (chosen by the landowner from the comuneros to check on other peasants' work), as well as the networks of *compadrazgo* (a process through which the *hacendado* became the godfather of some peasant children), were interconnections that made the structural opposition between landowners and comuneros more ambiguous than might appear at first glance. In a similar way, the peasants tell the history of the war from the perspective of a dichotomy centered upon the opposition of "us" (comuneros) and "them" (militaries and *senderistas*), or "innocent" and "guilty." Nevertheless, when looking more closely at the daytime and oneiric accounts, it seems clear that the period of violence imposed a dense series of reciprocal relationships, even though these are not often spoken about.

Dreaming with Bodies

> The Apu in your dream appears with weapons and points its weapon against you . . . and when you wake up you have to be careful, it may happen that the Apu reveals you, the rocks and the stones reveal you. (Maria, Contay)

Dreams are often described as experiences that act upon the body; according to the peasants, some local diseases[16] (such *as daño*, or *alcanzo*) can be diagnosed or "caused" by dreams in which the Apus show themselves—as a condor or a bull that chases the dreamer; sometimes a gringo or a soldier tries to rape, attack, or shoot the dreamer. Some women, when remembering the dream, touch the part of their body where they were struck in their dream, and where they started to feel pain, emphasizing a relation of simultaneity between the oneiric experience and the manifestation of a particular illness: "You dream of a soldier, he comes, looks at you and kills you and if this happens it means that the mountain has cursed you."

When Contay comuneras dream scenes similar to the aggressions suffered during the hacienda period and the war, they interpret them not only as memories of circumstances that took place, but also as symbolic forms through which some somatic illnesses manifest themselves. These dreams are interpreted not so much with reference to a past, but rather in relation to a possibility, present or future, of being taken ill. Explanations for these dreams are often linked to finding oneself in a dangerous spot in the mountains, the fact that a ritual offering has not been made, or that some rule of reciprocity has not been obeyed. It is possible to perceive here an interpenetration and an overlapping of the power ascribed to the divinities with the violence committed by the landowners, the army, or senderistas, which has marked the collective dream imagination and the body's memories and experiences.[17]

For many, these dreams linked to somatic phenomena can represent evidence for the existence of the divine. The revelations are believed by their bodies, too, and it is often as a result of these kinds of dreams that "practices of belief" (De Certeau 1983) are reinforced, along with the bond that Contay peasants establish with the Apu, the Pachamama, and with the Virgin or the Saints. For younger generations, who in some ways have distanced themselves from belief in the Apu, dreams are a means of rediscovering a connection with Andean religion. This was the case for a young Contay woman who said that she did not believe in the Apu, but who once dreamt of a tall man, a gringo with a black hat, who first tried to seduce her and, meeting her resistance, shot her in the stomach. Afterwards she fell ill; she consulted a doctor in Ayacucho but the treatment did not work. At that point she opened up to the family interpretation that made her recognize and identify the nocturnal figure as the Apu: she thus decided to turn to a curandero, and having made a ritual offering to the Apu, she claims that she was healed.

The description of a dream by the comuneros of Chihua and Contay as an experience of the soul does not mean that the body does not share the dream experience. In the context of the Andes, the boundaries separating these dimensions are ambiguous; the body is perceived as a porous entity that can be traveled through by the soul, which can exit from it in different situations, and by various other entities that can enter it. This concept of the person seems to be linked directly to the type of experience they may have when dreaming. Dreams must not be analyzed only

as representations and systems of signs and symbols, but also as experiences of the "mindful body" (Lock and Scheper-Hughes 1987). A semiotic approach to the narrations of dreams has to be integrated with a phenomenological perspective, which makes it possible to analyze dreams as part of the experience of "being in the world." According to anthropologist Thomas Csordas (1990), when the oneiric image or "oneiric imagination" is discussed, it is necessary to expand the concept of "imagination" and to overcome the arbitrary dichotomy between the categories of mental imagining and physical sensation. The imaginative process involves a specific participation of different sensory modalities. While Euro-American cultures are characterized by a largely visual orientation, in other contexts the hierarchy between the perceptions and the use of the senses is different (Csordas 1990). For instance, in the narrations of dreams in the Andean context the tactile sense is often used. The dream visions are not only contemplated, they seem to interact with the whole person. Dreams do not leave traces only in the memory, but also in the body.

Remembering the War with Dreams

When analyzing dreams in the Andean context, Bruce Mannheim (1991) highlights a tendency among anthropologists to complicate the interpretation of dreams with elements that have little significance for the Andean dreamer. In fact, the similarity between the Apu and landowners is not taken into account in interpretations given by the comuneros. They are interested instead in the dream's pragmatic dimension, and hence in understanding the meaning of what it reveals. As Mannheim notes, the anthropologist is more interested in unmasking domination and power mechanisms, while the dreamers seem intent on recognizing the premonition announced by the dream. Two perspectives and two different concerns intersect here: the dreamer looks for the meaning of the dream in the future, while the anthropologist seeks an explanation in the past. How is it possible to make these perspectives and these interpretations meet? There certainly seems to be a danger, as Mannheim suggests, in anthropologists using their own codes to interpret other peoples' dreams.

Nevertheless, while it is certainly true that in the communities of Chihua and Contay dreams are mainly interpreted in relation to the future, oneiric narrations play a important part in the construction of personal biographies, and of the memories of certain collective episodes and events (such as war), which affected the whole community. In some cases, the relation between historical events and dream content appears irrelevant to peasants and remains quite implicit; this is, however, very interesting from the point of view of anthropology. In some other case, oneiric narratives carry an explicit connection with historical events.

Furthermore, during research in the archives of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR), I came across over six hundred testimonies making reference to dreams. The testimonies collected by the CVR, and currently available in the archive, are organized in sequences that mark the course of every testimony: *Notas introductorias* (Introductory Notes on Witnessing) *Antecedentes y Contexto* (Antecedents and Context), *Descripción de los Hechos* (Description of the Events), *Acciones* (the Actions, Complaints, etc.), and *Secuelas* (the Consequences Attributable to that Episode). In many cases, references to dreams are found in the final parts of testimonies, when people are asked to give an account of the consequences of the period of violence. These people often mentioned sleeping disorders (nightmares, "bad dreams," or insomnia), and complained of long-lasting dreams of war. However, several testimonies mention dreams in the sections entitled *Antecedentes y Contexto or Descripción de los Hechos.* In their narrations, it is noticeable that people interweave oneiric memories of the war and daytime memories.

This analysis has linked the testimonies collected during fieldwork to those kept in the CVR's archive, even though it is not possible to directly verify the context and conditions of the participants in the archive, and this could be methodologically problematical. It would be a useful and important task to analyze more deeply and in greater detail the material collected by the CVR, which might shed light, from different perspectives, on the violence suffered by Andean populations, since these perspectives have been in part neglected in the Commission's Final Report.[18]

Dreams related to war seem to fall into various categories: those that predicted war before it happened, those experienced during the war, and those that have taken place after it "officially" ended.

The violence started to spread across the Andean area at the beginning of the 1980s, when Sendero Luminoso declared the beginning of its armed revolt against the Peruvian state. Alongside the official chronology and history of the war, in every peasant community, many local memories exist. Before the *senderistas* arrived in Chihua and Contay, rumors about the mobilization had already spread around the plateaux, and premonitions that something was about to happen were circulating. Dreams, too, played their part in the construction of this state of alert and many comuneros, when describing the time just before the war, recount that they had premonitory dreams in which they saw the war before it actually happened. Some women had already heard the shots and seen the blood and bodies, "dead as dogs." Apart from foretelling a general state of alarm, many peasants, when remembering specific violent episodes, tell about dreams that anticipated them. Before the soldiers took away her husband in 1984, Adela dreamt that some hooded men entered her house and started shooting, wounding her in various parts of her body and especially her head. When she woke up, her whole body was hurting; she touched her head and there was no wound, *estaba sanita* (she was well). She told her dream to her husband and he ignored it, but after a few days, the soldiers killed

him, striking him on the head, "just the same as in my dream." Some people told me that they saved lives thanks to oneiric premonitions; in the family I stayed with, Olivia had been considered the family's oneiric antenna since she was a child: every time she dreamt of the military, her relatives went into hiding in the mountains. In this sense, dream premonitions are evoked as experiences that have influenced the course of history:

> Clive had a nightmare that night and when he woke up troubled by it the next day; he told his wife of his dream. "Tonight I dreamed that the soldiers made me eat sheep's blood. I must go now! Maybe something happened to Pulcay." Clive went away at six-thirty in the morning without breakfast." (CVR Testimony 202220. Section: "Antecedentes y contexto")

When I asked people, "What did you dream of during the war?" I was mostly met with a kind of blank oblivion, which seemed strange, considering the shared and well-developed ability to remember dreams that is a feature of the inhabitants of these mountains. The night had become one with war, and not only in a metaphorical sense. In Quechua, the senderistas were called *tutapurisqa*, those who walk by night, because they took advantage of darkness to raid the villages, in the same way that the army waited for nighttime to organize its retaliations. At night, nobody slept in their houses, and often people hid in the mountains to escape possible raids by both sides: "In those years I did not dream; in those years we would hardly sleep." On the other hand, the reality of war is described using the metaphor of dream: "It all seemed like a dream," "I thought I was dreaming":

> I was dreaming but I do not remember what I dreamt; I was like in a dream [as if I was in a delirious state]. We were sad at that time and we walked like drunkards, and I do not remember. Either you were sleeping, but you weren't able to remember what you had dreamed, or you simply could not fall asleep during the night because of all your worries, and you got up without having slept.[19]

In fact, the negation of reality by the authorities, widespread impunity, imposed silences, and the presence of contradictory messages, reinforced this sense of unreality related to the conflict's atrocities (Theidon 2004); this kind of hallucinatory state was used both by the army and the senderistas.

Once, while talking to a group of peasants, a soldier said, "stay with your children and go to your homes, go and pretend this was just a dream." People lived in a continuous state of suspicion and fear of being betrayed by their neighbors, of being assaulted during the night, or of being under surveillance. The senderistas also took advantage of people's beliefs about the Apu to foment terror and to make them feel constantly watched: "Stones and rocks speak to us, we see everything you do" (CVR Testimony 331031); "The air has ears too, all trees have eyes, and if you tell on us, we'll cut your throat" (CVR Testimony 201441). They expressed such

sentiments during public meetings in peasant communities. *Susto* (fear), *locura* (madness), *sueño* (dream), and *borrachera* (drunkenness)[20] became, as noted by Theidon (2004), the experiential categories through which the war period was described.

Although the armed conflict officially came to an end in 1992 with the capture of Sendero Luminoso leader, Abimael Guzman, to this day people relive the experience of war through dreams of a persecutory nature, in which remarkably vivid and detailed scenes of violence are relived in the present, and in which noises and shots still break the silence of the night.

These war dreams and nightmares are constantly found in the testimonies gathered by the CVR and by those collected during fieldwork. At the beginning of the present research in 2004, 12 years after the official end of armed conflict, such war dreams and nightmares have become less of a daily experience, but for many peasants, scenes of aggression and violence are still recurrent.

As in Chihua and Contay, it is possible to find different typologies of dreams. In the same way, the peasants underscore differences among nightmares experienced during and after the internal armed conflict.

There are those described as coming "from inside," caused by bad memories and thoughts, and those that come "from the outside," generated by visits and attacks from the souls of the dead. The Quechua expression *alma ñitiruwan* (a soul weighs upon me, it bothers me) evokes this second category of nightmares provoked by the visits of spirits. In many testimonies, it is specified that the soul of the dead stays behind the door of the room, watching the sleeper, and that this gaze has a physical weight—"it weighs on you," "you can't move." These nightmares are described with vivid physical metaphors: "You can't breathe . . . you feel as if somebody is squashing you; "your body is immobilized."

The Visits of *Desaparecidos*

Dreams in which *las almas* (the souls) of the dead visit their relatives are daily experiences for the inhabitants of Chihua and Contay, and not only related to the times of violence. Nevertheless, during the war, the cruelty of death and the impossibility of carrying out suitable funeral rites generated a large number of "suffering" souls, and a vertiginous increase of this kind of nightmare. Sons and daughters, fathers, husbands, mothers who disappeared without trace still materialize in dreams tormenting the memories and guilt of those who survived, sometimes physically assaulting them:

> I used to dream every night that my daughter was following me and [she told me] not to leave her, not to abandon her, asking why I left her in that place. Sometimes

I dream they found her body . . . my mother tells me she must be suffering (Juana, peasant, Chihua):

My husband comes back in the dream . . . my husband comes to beat me, he is jealous and he says "why don't you remember me already?" "You don't even send me a letter. You surely already have another boyfriend, I will kill you" He even takes a gun in his hand and he points it at me to shoot. Every time, the day after [I have this kind of dream], something bad happens." (CVR Testimony. *Secuelas* section)

"The other day I dreamed that some people were burying my husband in the field [arenal] and I asked him who did this to you?" "My workmate knows. His name is Cusinga"; they used to work in the mine together. (CVR Testimony 311012. *Antecedentes y Contexto* section)

The *desaparecidos* might even deliver information, denounce murderers, or reveal the places of their corpses' burial in the dreams. These dreams are mentioned even in official testimonies in the CVR. Many people began a journey after they had a dream in which a *desaparecido* relative revealed to them the place where they were buried: "*I am in that place, behind that rock, come and find me*":

I often dream that my son told of arriving home from the river because he was very hungry. So I think that they might have thrown him in the river. The other day I dreamed he that was living near the military base of Totoral. (CVR Testimony 310024. *Secuelas* section)

There are testimonies by mothers who claim that they found traces of their sons' bodies exactly where the dream had indicated; there are also occasions when the "reality" does not reflect the night's revelations.

In recent years, many mass graves have been discovered in the Ayacucho region. The process of mass exhumation has rekindled in families the hope of finding the bodies of missing relatives. This seems to be a sociohistorical factor that has affected the re-emergence of a multiplicity of visits from *desaparecidos*, almost 20 years after the conflict. Many reappear to reveal the location of their bodies. In the identification of digging sites, direct testimonies, rumors, and dreams blur together.

As we were speaking of dreams with the mothers of the Anfasep[21] (an association of relatives of desaparecidos founded in Ayacucho), one by one they began to recount the visits in dreams that they still receive from the brothers, sons, or husbands who disappeared. Juana (a native from the peasant community in the Huanta province) now lives in Ayacucho and she remembers a dream she had some years ago, at the moment the CVR came into being. Her brother, who had disappeared in 1985, visited her in a dream, telling her he had returned home and had bought with him a big kitchen. He lit the fire in front of his sister, who asked him

where he had been all those years. The next day Juana heard about the exhuming of the common burial ground near the Los Cabitos barracks in Ayacucho. After that news, she interpreted her dream of the night before as an omen predicting that she would be able to find her brother's body in that place. In her dream, he had appeared near the kitchen fire, and Juana saw this specific condition as connected to the fact that the corpses in the Cabitos[22] were burnt in a sort of crematorium. She did not find her brother's body on that occasion but when the CVR came into being she began to look for him again, "to find peace, it would be enough for me to find his bones."

Not all visits by these spirits become nightmares (*alma ñitiruwan)*—which are described as physical attacks—or bad dreams that generate a feeling of anguish. In some cases, oneiric experience enables a direct communication between the living and the dead, and nocturnal encounters with missing relatives can accompany the survivors in the delicate process of coming to terms with grief. Many mothers or wives claim that they started to accept the death of a relative after having a dream in which their loved one said that he was well, giving them words of advice and comfort, telling them to stop crying: "*One day I managed to dream about him and he told me* '*don't worry . . . I am happy*'. *Only then did I believe he was dead*" (Flora, peasant, Contay). Sometimes, dead husbands appear in their wives' dreams to help them with the management of the family, to give them advice concerning their jobs, and to support them in daily life:

> When I slept at night I dreamt he [the husband] came and he told me not to cry, not to suffer so much . . . he told me he would come every day, not to worry, that he would be there, and that he would leave gradually . . . I just wanted to sleep and sleep, because when I slept I dreamt of him. (CVR Testimony 425135. *Secuelas* section)

Discussion: Dreams, Trauma, and Memory

Studies within psychology (Barrett 1996) have explored in detail how nightmares represent one of the frequent symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD),[23] a medical category that arose within the field of American psychiatry in the post-Vietnam era to indicate the symptoms of those marked by traumatic events. Important interdisciplinary studies have been carried out on nightmares—by some survivors of the Shoah (Lavie and Kaminer 2001), by Vietnam War veterans (Wilmer 2001), and by Cambodian refugees (Rechtman 1993). It is evident that each war monopolizes the collective oneiric imagination of the people and also that it generates nightmares in which those responsible for the violence (in this case, the soldiers and the senderistas) are the protagonists of nocturnal persecutions. This may be true for various historical and social contexts, but through an

ethnographic approach and comparative analysis, it is possible to understand how the nightmares generated by each armed conflict differ one from another, and not only in terms of different scenarios or persecutors. In fact, it is important not to underestimate the interpretations, meanings, and practices related to these dreams in different cultural contexts. The category and the diagnosis of posttraumatic dreams elaborated by the Western medical paradigm was constructed by starting out from the representations and interpretations of oneiric experiences and of the trauma elaborated by psychological disciplines, and it cannot be applied in general to cultural contexts in which the experience of dream is differently perceived (Kleinman 1988). For example, in an ethnographic study on dreams in the Fiji Islands, Barbara Herr (1981) emphasizes that while in the western context a positive way of overcoming the fear of nightmares is precisely to insist on their "unreality," in the Fiji Islands, dreams are experienced and interpreted as real experiences, which questions the effectiveness of this strategy.

In the Andean villages of Chihua and Contay, the dream–reality dichotomy is not pertinent: dreams are often described as experiences in which one enters into contact with external entities (souls, divinities); they are seen as experiences that have an effect on the body and a pragmatic consequence, and are often connected to the dimension of the future rather than that of the past. Certainly, the *comuneros* think about the sleeping disturbances and the nightmares that affect them even today as a consequence of the period of violence, and often they describe these events as symptoms of having been traumatized (*estar traumado*). Nevertheless, according to Theidon (2004), the way the peasants of the Ayacucho region use the language of psychology (and especially that of the category of estar traumado) has to be contextualized in terms of people's need to make their pain and suffering legitimate for local institutions and NGOs in order to have access to the intervention and compensation promised by the state—although in most cases this is still not forthcoming.

At the same time, the significance of oneiric experience and traumatic experience in the local context does not often correspond to that elaborated in the Western context. Some dreams that might seem typical PTSD nightmares from an external perspective have, in the Contay community, assumed a different symbolic interpretation and set in motion different practices. For example, the same dream, symbol, or image (such as dreaming of an assault by a soldier) may be interpreted in different ways by the Contay women, according to the time the dream occurred. When the peasants dreamt of the soldiers before or during the time of violence, they interpreted these dreams as an omen of the event actually happening, so the dream reflected or anticipated reality, whereas nowadays it is evident that the soldiers' oneiric appearances can be interpreted as a sign of the Apu's punishment, and a premonition of pain and illness.

The relationships among trauma, place, and dream in Chihua and Contay are also significant: both the human body and the "body" of the mountain are conceived by the comuneros as "open" places that can be penetrated and traversed. This concept of the person seems to be linked directly to the type of experience they may have when dreaming. To fall asleep in places where tragic events have occurred, or where the bones of dead people who have not received proper burial during the war are to be found, can generate dreams that attack the body and have a pathogenic effect. The strategies for dealing with nightmares vary according to which entities are considered responsible and what specific requests they may be making of the dreamer. All these aspects must be borne in mind when approaching dreams in a postwar period. In several cases, they also show how the PTSD category of nightmares fails to add to our understanding of the specificity and the different consequences that dreams can have in the local context.

Moreover, dreams in the postwar context do not only represent a place in which the trauma of the war is repeated, but are also strategies for coping with violence. Dreams with *desaparecido* relatives can be described as nightmares that torment the survivors, but they can also be a resource that helps people come to terms with the years of armed conflict, and to reconcile themselves with the fact that their loved ones are dead.

Psychologists have carried out significant research into the ways in which war affects oneiric experiences. This type of analysis has also been carried out by the members of the CVR. Moreover, in the Informe Final, published by the CVR in 2003, dreams are mentioned in a section called *secuelas psicosociales de la violencia* (psycho-sociological consequences of violence). The relation between dreams and war, however, extends beyond the reduction of oneiric experiences to mere categories of psychological analysis. In the Andean context, dreams pertain to the sphere of social memory; the importance of the oneiric dimension in the Inca empire, and the role that dreams and visions had in predicting, re-elaborating, and interpreting the very process of colonization, has been analyzed by many historians and anthropologists (MacCormack 1991; Salazar 1992; Gruzinski 1992). This article has argued that dreams continue to play a significant role in the process of producing and reproducing social memory, and in the interpretation and construction of history in the Andean context.

On the one hand, oneiric experiences influence the course of history: precognitive dreams guided the comuneras' actions and decisions during the war. This shows the "performative power" (Tedlock 1987) of dreams. On the other, people use dream experiences for interpreting history. A family's quest for "truth" to discover what happened to a disappeared relative is based on dreams as a source of information from "outside," which contributes to the reconstruction and interpretation of events. Such connections among dreams, history, and memory are visible in how the comuneros narrate and use their dream experiences.

Dreams are therefore central to the analysis of sociocultural contexts. Not only are they "historical traces" or "seismographs" that record historical events on human lives (Beradt 1985), but they also display alternative discursive registers (Abu-Lughod 2000) through which topics and events (such as sexual violence) are evoked that cannot otherwise be directly verbalized in official contexts. It is therefore necessary to include dream narrations as objects of ethnographic enquiry and historical reconstruction in order to go beyond dominant discussions and official memories. The intimate relationship between dreams and history can be described as a circular movement (Augé 1997): dreams are not only the consequence of certain historical events, but they play an active role in the performance of history itself. This article, by presenting the analysis of a specific ethnographic context, argues for the importance of the analysis of dreams as a historical category, an often neglected aspect in the study of oneiric production.

Acknowledgments

Research for this project was funded by my Ph.D. fellowship at the University of Milan and EHESS Paris. I extend a special acknowledgment to all the commoners of Chihua and Contay for their hospitality, and to Alicia Linares Rua, and Rèné Tinoco Aguado for their research assistance. Thanks to Ivan Porras, Zenobio Ortiz Cárdenas, and César Itier for their help with the Quechua translation. A special thanks to Prof. Vincent Crapanzano, Terence D'Altroy, Carlos Iván Degregori, Jean Pierre Dozon, Ugo Fabietti, Olga Gonzales, Bruce Mannheim, Ponciano del Pino, Valérie Robin, Carmen Salazar-Soler, Sinclair Thomson, Luis Andrade Ciudad, and Esteban Arias for their insightful comments on this research.

Notes

[1] Many anthropologists and historians observe that Andean inhabitants in Peru never call themselves "indians," because the term has negative connotations from the history of colonization. They use *comuneros* (commoners), *campesinos* (peasants), or direct reference to the community of origin to describe identity.

[2] *Sendero Luminoso* was not an indigenous movement (Degregori 1993) but a party inspired by Maoist ideology, separate from the majority of peasant movements, and different from other Latin American guerrilla scenarios. Its founding core consisted of professors, students, teachers, and young *mestizo* people of urban and rural origin. The position of peasants vis-à-vis subversion was ambiguous, ranging from sympathy to support (passive–active), but in many cases turning into overt opposition when violence on the part of Sendero Luminoso became, in the late 1980s, increasingly fierce and widespread (Degregori et al. 1996; Theidon 2004). Government response was no less violent: the Navy, Army, paramilitary groups, and *rondas campesinas* (peasants round) were responsible for 37 percent of the victims and disappeared (CVR report).

[3]Senderistas began to interact with the Chihua community in the early 1980s, but after initially supporting the Chihua comuneros they took shelter in Pacuec with neighboring communities under the protection of the army. This action was in opposition to Sendero Luminoso. Senderistas also appeared frequently in Contay from July 1980. The initial actions organized by Sendero, such as punishment of rustlers, illegal traders, and the expropriation of the *Aysarca hacienda* (on the River Pampas), which had survived the agrarian reform (1969), were appreciated by the Contay comuneros, who created a connection with Sendero that lasted for some until the late 1980s.

[4]*La Comisión de la Verdad* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) was founded in 2001, during the transition government of President Valentin Paniagua. It was renamed *Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación* (CVR) by the Toledo presidency. The commission was charged with investigating human rights violations committed by the rebel groups, Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL), *Movimiento Revolucionario* Tupac Amaru (MRTA), and the state armed forces, 1980–2000. In 2003, the *Informe Final* was published, which collected testimonies about human rights violations in 109 Peruvian regions. Informe Final: http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ifinal/index.php (collection held in CVR public archives, Lima). Initially, the scope of conflict seemed limited; however, CVR analyses revealed that the war resulted in about 70,000 victims and *desaparecidos*, mainly peasant *quechua-hablantes* of the Ayacucho region. See also Degregori (1993), Poole (1994), and Theidon (2004).

[5]According to the CVR report, 55 percent of the victims were men aged between 20 and 49; women account for 20 percent.

[6]Mannheim (1987) conducted research in the same area (Andahuaylas region) as Perez de Bocanegra, who in the 17th century collected testimonies. Ritual formulario e institución de curas, para administrar a los naturales de este Reyno los Santos Sacramentos del Baptismo, Confirmación, Eucaristía y Viatico, Penitencia, Extremaunción y Matrimonio con aduertencias muy necessaria. Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras. 81631).

[7]The villages of Chihua and Contay both use *alma* and *anima* to speak about the human soul. While these two terms are often presented as synonyms by comuneros, they are used in different contexts. In "alma," the influence of the evangelization process is evident: they allude to an entity detached from the body after death, which is still living. Aníma is more polymorphic, and indicates a vital element that could leave the body in different circumstances (because of a *susto*/fright, during the dream time or before dying); it is not a prerogative of human beings.

[8]To comprehend the concept of dream "premonition," it is necessary to rethink the category of "future" and to consider that other terms found in native languages, often translated with the word "soul," communicate different meanings from the Western context (Basso 1987). When comuneros talk about how the anima (vital principle) during sleep can *adelantarse* (anticipate), they do not seem to allude to a category of future "out there," separate from the present and "predictable," but a "future" as a temporal dimension intrinsically related to what happens in the "here" and "now" of the soul, not only during wakefulness but also during dreaming (Basso 1987).

[9]During the Inca empire, Apu defined a chief or a "master" (Earls 1973). Landowners, gringos, lawyers, soldiers, and all those with power and wealth, were also defined as apus.

[10]Apu Antarcacca or Apu Piuchu—the most important *Apu* for Contay peasants.

[11]Even before the war, the soldiers were, with the *hacendados*, in a position of power and they were known by the peasants; the Apu could use their appearance to show themselves to human beings. It can be assumed that the recent armed conflict has had an impact on the frequency of dreams and visions during which the divinity appears as a soldier.

[12]Imapaqmi suyñunki policiakunata militarkunawan?" "Chayqa kansi porque chay ganarusunki o si no chay waspi o imapas hapirusunki, guardiakunata militarkunatam suyñukunki chaynam. Kaypiqa ninku: "Ya está, ya ganaruwanñam. Chaymi "chay guardiaqa qatikachawan kaynataña" nispa. Chaynam. Paykunaqa siempre arregluta imatapas reklamuta ruwanchik. Chaychiki Urqu Tayta mañakun imata

inkantaruwaptinchik. Chaymi nisunki: "Pagawayyá." Runaman paresikuspanpas o si no tiyaykimanpas mamaykimanpas paresikuspan nisunki: "Dibiwankim, pagawayyá" nispa. Arí, chaynatam.

[13]It was originally the Navy—composed of white and *criollo* soldiers, with no experience of the Andean context—who were sent to the Ayacucho region. The "racial" component played a decisive role in the dynamics of war: the supposed inferiority of the "indians" justified the Navy's indiscriminate violence.

[14]According to the CVR's *Informe Final*, about 83 percent of sexual violation acts were attributable to state agents; around 11 percent were attributable to Sendero Luminoso and MRTA.

[15]Here, the definition of "whiteness" does not depend on skin being "white," but on a person's power and economic status. According to Fuendaliza (1970), in Perù, "race" seems to be the result of an "optical" mystery—the higher the position on the social scale, the "whiter" one appears, and vice versa (Fuendaliza 1970:25).

[16]When speaking of illnesses, the comuneros stress the difference between those who can be treated in hospital and those termed *enfermedades del campo*, whose illness has a magic-religious cause that only the curanderos can diagnose and treat.

[17]The Apu does not appear in dreams only to punish or to give an illness. Dreaming of a gringo who offers a pill or a medicinal plant, who rubs or operates on a sick organ, is considered to have a healing effect; it is also interpreted as a visit by the mountain spirit.

[18]This analysis is in line with other research (e.g., Jiménez 2009; Milton 2009; Robin 2009; Del Pino 2001; González 2011) in the Peruvian context on modes of truthtelling in Peru, which encourages the development of an "endogenous historicity" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992) of war.

[19]Suyñukuqmi karqani ichaqa manam yuyanichu, muspaypi hinam karqa. Chaypiqa llakipim kachkarqaniku, chaymi sinkaniraq purirqaniku, sinka hina chaymi mana yuyakunichu; mayninpiqa puñuruspapas suyñusqaykitaqa yuyankichu, utaq manaña puñunkiñachu, tutapas riki llakiwanqa rikchaspallapas achikyarunkim

[20]The role of alcohol during the time of violence cannot be underestimated: many *comuneros* drank to give themselves courage.

[21]The *Anfasep* (*Asociación Nacional de Familiares de Secuestrados, Detenidos y Desaparecidos del Pérú*) was founded in the city of Ayacucho in 1983 by a group of *quechua-hablantes* women, mainly natives from rural contexts who wanted to protest against the seizure of their relatives. The association continues to work on reclaiming the rights of the families that were victims of political violence.

[22]Between 1983 and 1985, in the barracks of *Los Cabitos*, people were killed without trial and their bodies burnt in a crematorium.

[23]The PTSD category has been questioned from various perspectives; it is beyond the scope of the present article but see Das et al. (2001), Kleinman (1988), Scheper-Hughes (1992), Summerfield (1999), Young (1995).

References Cited

Abu-Lughod, Lila
2000 Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Andrade, Luis Ciudad
2004 Aguas turbias, aguas cristalitas: El mundo de los sueños en los Andes surcentrales. Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP.

Ansion, Juan, ed.
1989 Pishtacos: De verdugos a sacaojos. Lima: Tarea.

Arriaga, Pablo José
1968 [1621] Extirpación de la idolatría del Perú. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.

Augé, Marc
1997 La guerre des rêves: Exercices d'Ethno-Fiction. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
Barrett, Deirdre, ed.
1996 Trauma and Dreams. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
Basso, Ellen
1987 The Implications of a Progressive Theory of Dreaming. *In* Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations. B. Tedlock, ed. Pp. 86–104. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Beradt, Charlotte
1985 The Third Reich of Dreams: The Nightmares of Nation, 1933–1939. Wellingborough, Northamptonshire: Aquarian Press.
Bernand, Carmen
1985 La solitude des Renaissantes: Malheurs et sorcellerie dans les Andes. Paris: Presse de la Renaissance.
Canessa, Andrew
2000 Fear and Loathing on the Kharisiri Trail: Alterity and Identity in the Andes. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (incorporating Man) 6(4): 705–720.
Cobo, Bernabe
1964 [1653] Historia del Nuevo Mundo. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.
Comaroff, John and Jean Comaroff
1992 Ethnography and the Historical Imagination: Studies on Ethnographic Imagination. San Francisco: Westview Press.
Crapanzano, Vincent
1975 Saints, Jnun, and Dreams of Morroccan Ethnopsychology. Psychiatry 38: 145–159.
2003 Concluding Reflections. *In* Dreaming and the Self: New Perspectives on Subjectivity, Identity and Emotion. J. Mageo, ed. Pp. 175–199. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Csordas, Thomas J.
1990 Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology. Ethos 18: 5–47.
Das, Veena, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mampehla Remphele and Pamela Reynolds, eds.
2001 Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery. Berkeley: University of California Press.
De Certeau, Michel
1983 L'institution du croire. Notes de travail. Recherches de Science Religieuse 71: 61–80.
Degregori, Carlos Ivan
1993 Identidad étnica, movimientos sociales y participación política en el Perú. *In* Democracia, etnicidad y violencia política en los países andinos. Alberto Adrianzen et al., eds. Pp. 113–133. Lima: Ifea.
Degregori, Carlos Ivan, Coronel José, Del Pino Ponciano and Starn Orin, eds.
1996 Las Rondas campesinas y la derrota de Sendero Luminoso. Lima: IEP/Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Humanga.
De la Cadena, Marisol
1991 Las mujeres son más indias: Etnicidad y género en una comunidad andina del Cuzco. Revista Andina 9: 7–29.
Del Pino, Ponciano
2001 Uchuraccay: Memoria y representación de la Violencia Política en los Andes. Seminario Internacional. Memoria y Violencia Política en el Perú 1–3l.
Duviols, Pierre
1971 La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial: L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie entre 1532 et 1660. Lima-Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Andines.
Earls, John
1973 La organización del poder en la mitología quechua. *In* Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino. J. Ossio ed. Pp. 395–412. Cuzco: Edición de Ignacio Prado Pastor.
Fuendaliza, F.
1970 El indio y el Poder en el Perú. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
González, Olga
2011 Unveiling Secrets of War in the Peruvian Andes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Gruzinski, Serge
1988 La colonisation de l'imaginaire: Sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol, XVIe–XVIIIe siècle. Paris: Gallimard.
1992 Une profusion d'apparition. *In* Visions indiennes, visions baroques: Les métissages de l'inconscient. J. Sallmann, ed. Pp. 11–33. Paris: Puf.

Guaman Poma, de Ayala Felipe
1963 [1615] Primer nueva crónica y buen gobierno. Paris: Instituto de Etnología.
Herr, Barbara
1981 The Expressive Character of Fijian Dream and Nightmare Experiences. Ethos 9(4): 330–351.
Informe Final CVR
2003 Informe final. http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/pagina01.php, accessed September 4, 2011.
Jelin, Elizabeth
2002 Los trabajos de la memoria. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
Jiménez, Edilberto
2009 Chungui: Violencia y trazos de la memoria. Lima: IEP, COMISEDH, Ded.
Kempf, Wolfgang
1994 Ritual, Power and Colonial Domination. *In* Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis. C. Stewart and R. Shaw, eds. Pp. 108–126. New York: Routledge.
Kleinman, Arthur
1988 Rethinking Psychiatry: From Cultural Category to Personal Experience. New York: Free Press.
Lambek, Michael
1996 The Past Imperfect: Remembering as Moral Practice. *In* Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory. P. Antze and M. Lambek, eds. Pp. 235–255. New York: Routledge.
Lavie, P. and H. Kaminer
2001 Sleep, Dreaming, and Coping Style in Holocaust Survivors. *In* Trauma and Dreams. D. Barrett, ed. Pp. 114–125. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
2009 Wartime Sexual Violence in Guatemala and Peru. International Studies Quarterly 53: 445–468.
Lock, Margaret and Nancy Scheper-Hughes
1987 The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology. Medical Anthropology Quarterly 1(1): 6–41.
MacCormack, Sabine
1991 Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Mannheim, Bruce
1987 A Semiotic of Andean Dreams. *In* Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations. B. Tedlock, ed. Pp. 132–154. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1991 After Dreaming: Image and Interpretation in Southern Peruvian Quechua. Etnofoor IV(2): 43–79.
Milton, Chintia
2009 Images of Truth: Art as a Medium for Recounting Peru's Internal War. A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America 6(2): 64–103.
Mueggler, Erik
2001 The Age of Wild Ghosts: Memory, Violence, and Place in Southwest China. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Passerini, Luisa
1988 Storia e Soggettività: Le fonti orali, la memoria. Scandicci: La Nuova Italia.
Poole, Deborah
1994 Unruly Order: Violence, Power, and Cultural Identity in the High Provinces of Southern Peru. Boulder: Westview Press.
Rechtman, Richard
1993 Rêve, Réalité, et Expériences Traumatiques chez les Réfugiés Cambodgiens. Cahiers d'Anthropologie et Biométrie Humaine XI(3–4): 259–279.
Robin, Valerie
2008 Miroirs de l'autre vie: Pratiques rituelles et discours sur les morts dans les Andes de Cusco (Pérou). Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.
2009 Sanctified Memories of the War in a Village of the Andes (Peru). *In* The Vision Thing: Studying 'Divine Intervention'. William Christian and Gabor Klaniczay, eds. Pp. 261–275, San Francisco/Budapest: CASBS/Stanford.
Ruiz, Bravo P.
2004 Andinas y criollas: Identidades femeninas en el medio rural peruano. *In* Jerarquías en Jaque: Estudios de género en el área andina. N. Fuller, ed. Pp. 283–327. Lima: IEP.
Sahlins, Marshall
1981 Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Salazar, Carmen
1992 La vision Incaîque avant la Conquête: Le don du savoir et du pouvoir. *In* Visions indiennes, visions baroques: Les métissages de l'inconscient. J. Sallmann, ed. Pp. 151–166. Paris: Puf.
Scheper-Hughes, Nancy
1992 Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Severi, Carlo
1988 L'Étranger, l'envers de soi et l'échec du symbolisme: Représentations du Blanc dans la tradition chamanique cuna. L'Homme 28(106–107): 174–183.
Summerfield, Derek
1999 A Critique of Seven Assumptions Behind Psychological Trauma Programmes in War-Affected Areas. Social Science & Medicine 48(10): 1449–1462
Taussig, Michael
1987 Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Taylor, Gerald
1987 Camay, camac et camasca dans le manuscrit quechua de Huarochiri. Lima: IFEA.
Tedlock, Barbara, ed.
1987 Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Theidon, Kimberly
2004 Entre prójimos: El conflicto armado interno y la política de la reconciliación en el Perú. Lima: IEP Ediciones.
Vergara, Abilio and Freddy Ferrua
1989 Ayacucho: De nuevo los degolladores. *In* Pishtacos: De verdugos a sacaojos. J. Ansion ed. Pp. 123–137. Lima: Tarea.
Wachtel, Nathan
2001 El regreso de los antepasados: Los indios Urus de Bolivia del siglo XX al XVI. México: El Colegio de México.
Weismantel, Mary
2001 Cholas and Pishtacos: Stories of Race and Sex in the Andes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
White, Luise
2000 Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Wilmer, H.
2001 The Healing Nightmare: War Dreams of Vietnam Veterans. *In* Trauma and Dreams. D. Barrett, ed. Pp. 85–100. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Xavier, Ricard
2007 Ladrones de Sombra: El universo religioso de los pastores del Ausangate (Andes superuanos). Lima-Cuzco: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, (IFEA)/Centro Bartolomé de las Casas.
Young, Allan
1995 The Harmony of Illusions: Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Princeton: Princeton University Press.