

# “Playing with the Bull”: Breeding, Blood, and Ritual in Multispecies Ethnography of Peruvian Bullfighting

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## ABSTRACT

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*Turupukllay* is a popular form of bullfighting in Peru that unfolds over several days. Social analysis of *turupukllay* has largely focused on the symbolic dimension of its most sensational form, *Yawar Fiesta*, in which a condor is affixed to the back of the bull. But regarding these animals merely as symbols results in a limited sense of “play,” particularly given how *turupukllay* encompasses the bull as a life-form. Based on fieldwork in Andagua, Peru, we argue that playing with the bull is more extensive: *turupukllay* can be seen as playing with *tauromaquia* broadly—the art, life, and regulation of Spanish-style bullfighting. In Andagua, *turupukllay* plays with the bull through local breeding practices that physically transform it while also engaging in an ongoing burlesque of the formal features in *tauromaquia*. This version of *turupukllay* highlights an ongoing historical dynamic at play in the wide popularity of *corrida de toros* in Peru. [*Turupukllay*, *Yawar Fiesta*, Andes, José Arguedas, bovine idiom, castas]

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## RESUMEN

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El *turupukllay* es una forma popular de toreo en Perú que se desarrolla durante varios días. Su análisis social se ha centrado en gran medida en la dimensión simbólica de su forma más sensacional, la *Yawar fiesta*, en la que se coloca un cóndor en el lomo del toro. Pero considerar a estos animales solo desde lo simbólico limita el “juego”, pues el *turupukllay* comprende al toro como ser viviente. Con base en el trabajo de campo en Andagua, Perú, argumentamos que jugar con el toro es más extenso: el *turupukllay* puede entenderse como jugar con la tauromaquia en general, el arte, la vida y la regulación de la tauromaquia española. En Andagua, el *turupukllay* juega con el toro a través de prácticas de cría locales que lo transforman físicamente mientras se involucra al mismo tiempo en una continua parodia de las características formales de la tauromaquia.

maquia. Esta versión del *turupukllay* destaca la dinámica histórica en juego en la gran popularidad de la corrida de toros en Perú. [*Turupukllay*, *Yawar fiesta*, Andes, José Arguedas, lenguaje bovino, castas]

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## Introduction

*Turupukllay* is a popular form of bullfighting in Peru. This ritual event unfolds over several days, frequently around the national holiday and saints' days; it features a raucous series of encounters with bulls in an arena, often resulting in bloodshed—on the part of humans, not the bulls, who are not killed in this event (Chávez and Escalante 2000; Coavoy 2018; Figueroa 2010; Harvey 1992, 1997; Muñoz 1998). Its historical roots are deep and complicated. Roughly translated as “playing with the bull,” *turupukllay* traces back to pre-Hispanic forms of ritual battles between Andean villages in which communal violence—*pukllay*—generated bloodshed and even death, which was understood to ensure a good harvest (Alencastre and Dumézil 1953; Bernand 2019; Calero del Mar 2002). Following the Spanish conquest and the diffusion of cattle across the Peruvian landscape, bulls came to replace the role of the “other village” as a generator of bloodshed; hence, *turu* (toro) is appended to *pukllay*.<sup>1</sup> But the connotations of *pukllay* are wider than this ritual event and encompass a broad sense of “play” and “game,” one that maps well with the use of *jugar* and *juego* to characterize the Spanish bullfight or *corrida de toros*.<sup>2</sup> *Pukllay* includes the carnivalesque as well, in which “violent games,” like the ritual battles, emerge from “days of singing and dancing without measure and without fear” (Arguedas 1985, 102).

The social analysis of *turupukllay* has largely focused on the symbolic dimension of its most sensational form, *Yawar fiesta*, in which, traditionally, a condor is affixed to the back of the bull such that they are both compelled to struggle against each other in a frenzy. The symbolic character of both animals—the bull representing Spain and the condor representing the Andes—are quite legible and apt. But a focus on them as only symbols results in a limited sense of “play,” particularly in terms of how it extends to the bull's form.<sup>3</sup> The symbolic analysis emphasizes that *turupukllay*—mostly drawing from José María Arguedas's account in *Yawar Fiesta*—shifts the bull into the “Andean world” or symbolic universe, detaching it from Spain and Hispanidad (Bao and Hosoya 1986; Galdo 2007; Guzmán 2018; Kraniauskas 2012; on the ethnographic dimensions of Arguedas's fiction, see Vásquez 2010). But a representational focus on the bull's symbolism misses both the materiality and plurality of bulls in the Andes. Based on our case study in

Andagua, Peru, we argue that this playing with the bull is more extensive. This is a case where *turupukllay* can be seen as playing with *tauromaquia* broadly—the art, life, and regulation of bullfighting. In this view, *turupukllay* plays with the bull through local breeding practices that physically transform it while engaging in an ongoing burlesque of the formal features in *tauromaquia*.<sup>4</sup> In this version of *turupukllay*, we can see an ongoing historical tension playing out and orient it to the rising popularity of *corrida de toros* in Peru.<sup>5</sup>

This article opens with the annual *turupukllay* ritual in Andagua, an event that vacillates between traditional articulations and more recent efforts to make it conform with a Spanish-style *corrida de toros*. A hallmark of *turupukllay* is that the bulls are not killed, but in the two years prior to our observations, ten bulls were killed in the festivities, which reflects efforts by some in the municipality (and at least one wealthy, local breeder) to transform this event into something that would appeal to tourists and more directly participate in the recent bullfighting boom in Peru. Our account here is mostly based on interviews with area ranchers, who maintain and advance family traditions of breeding bulls by crossing *vacas nativas* with the highly selective *casta* breeds derived from Spain. These categories are saturated with racial and class connotations, practices, and sensibilities that inform local practices of “cow making” (de la Cadena and Medina 2020) or “doing cattle” (Petitt and Erickson 2019). But they also highlight a more fulsome understanding of how bulls are the subject of *turupukllay* and how this distinctive sense of play entails and develops from multispecies relations of care.<sup>6</sup>

We flesh all this out further by engaging with a local legend about a fantastic bull, Tarazona, who played so well and so often that he improbably traveled all the way to Lima and then to Spain. The Tarazona narrative is usefully juxtaposed with the mythic bull, Misitu, from José María Arguedas’s novel, *Yawar Fiesta* ([1941] 1973), which recounts the contest over *turupukllay* in the *corrida de toro* in Puquio, Peru.<sup>7</sup> The Tarazona legend is commemorated in the bullfighting arena in Andagua, where a large statue of the bull is perched atop a high arch across the arena’s opening. The legend is an inextricable dimension of local breeding practice and the regional reputation of Andagua as a “*pueblo de toros*.” The narrative—elaborated below—also reflects and comments upon the historical dynamic of *gamonalismo*, a postcolonial legacy perpetuating the subjugation of Indigenous people at the hands of the state.<sup>8</sup> We will principally use the Tarazona legend to elaborate on the local sensibility about *turupukllay*, drawn from breeders’ accounts of their efforts to play with bulls.

The following analysis results from our collaborative efforts to understand the deep history of playing with bulls in Peru. Alex Menaker has worked in Andagua for nearly a decade, conducting the first systematic archaeological investigation in the valley; he also collaborated with local stakeholders and descendant community members to document more recent social history pertaining to the era of

*gamonalismo* (Menaker 2019a, 2019b). Situated in the rural highlands among the Colca and Cotahuasi Valleys, the Andagua Valley is a dynamic landscape composed of lava flows, volcanoes, and anthropogenic features (terraces and canals) shaped by long-term human inhabitation that was subject to Inka and Spanish imperial reigns, prior to the contemporary Peruvian state.<sup>9</sup> John Hartigan Jr. builds upon a recent multispecies ethnography of wild horses in Galicia, Spain (2020) by observing bullfighting in Latin America, initially with a project in Celendín, Cajamarca, in northern Peru. Hartigan (2017) draws from his previous work on race in nonhumans (e.g., *razas de maíz*, or races of corn) to analyze the racial dimensions of bull breeding in Latin America and how they are played with through *turupukllay*.

### ***Turupukllay* in Andagua**

*Turupukllay* in Andagua would be recognizable to anyone familiar with this ritual. The festivities in Andagua commence almost a week in advance of the event; the sponsoring families hire a brass band that makes a continuous circuit of the pueblo, playing traditional Andean melodies updated with modern arrangements for brass instruments in call-and-response fashion. They start early in the morning and go late into the night, culminating in scenes of dancing and drinking *chicha* (an alcoholic drink made from maize) in front of the church in the plaza (on the cultural complexities of *chicha*, see Weismantel 1991). It bears mentioning that Arguedas found that “*turupukllay*” referred to the music played in advance of the *corrida*, as much as the frenetic encounters with the bull in the plazas. Religious dimensions also permeate the celebration, as the various sponsoring families offer dedications to the Virgen de Asunta. On the third night, a large icon of the Virgen de Asunta is carried from the church and installed in the chapel, located adjacent to and overlooking the contemporary bullring. This chapel of the Virgen is situated on a large stone platform with a sweeping set of stairs, most likely constructed as an Inka ceremonial platform, or *ushnu*, oriented toward the lava flows of Ninamama, to the east.<sup>10</sup> Later that same evening, the Virgen is carried in a processional back through the pueblo. Along the way people burn incense and toss flowers. Such processions are commonplace in Spain and Latin America. The distinctive feature here is the Virgen’s first stop is entering the arena where she is positioned before the doors of the *toril* (the enclosure where the bulls will be kept during the *corrida*), where a benediction for the bulls is given (figure 1).

The evening before the *corrida* is very active. The sponsoring families march from the plaza out to the arena in a procession. Bouncing alongside is a *payaso* (clown), costumed like a bull, complete with a bull’s head atop his own, which he uses to playfully ram people along the way. In the arena, the families assemble,



Figure 1 Icon of the Virgen de Asunta in the Tarazona arena. (Photo credit: John Hartigan Jr.)

dancing before the gates of the *toril*, waving incense burners filled with *yareta* (a highland perennial evergreen). They spread a *manta* (blanket) on the ground to collect the *t'inkay/pagos* family members choose to offer. Soon it holds a large pile of coca leaves and other items such as cigarettes and candies; some family members spill a bit of *chicha*, pisco, or beer around it as an offering, before they start to drink. Someone brings forth a *wakawak'ras* (a trumpet made of segments of bulls' horns) and a traditional drum; two men play these as people cycle forward to contribute offerings.

As night falls, the band leads them back to the Plaza de Armas, where another processional commences, of the *vaquillas* (heifers, females that have not yet given birth). In Spain or in other bullfighting settings, this would feature young cows being led through the town or released onto closed off streets and plazas. In Andagua, it is an opportunity for the children and young people to dress as toreros or bulls and masquerade at bullfighting during a procession that also winds through the pueblo. This is initiated with a big assembly before the doors of the municipality, where a proclamation is read in Quechua—addressed to “*taurinos*,” or aficionados of bullfighting—first announcing the morrow’s event. Next, a comic series of “dedications” are read, of particular bulls to individual town members, with a laughable series of commendations or personal caricatures.<sup>11</sup> All of this is fueled by widespread drinking in the plaza, of *chicha* and stronger drinks. Then the assembly parades through the town as the band plays a repertoire of modernized version of traditional melodies. The affect of these activities vacillates from transgressive burlesquing to fond fidelity to the rites of *tauromaquia*.

Over the course of several days, the festival of bullfighting demonstrates dueling forms of play, as the serious form (*tauromaquia*) is boisterously transgressed (*turupukllay*). The next two days commence with processions of the sponsoring families who again circuit the arena and stop in front of the *toril*, which now is full of bulls—about thirty each day. For hours, the bulls are played by a mix of local men and professional toreros. A team of *laceadores* works the bulls through and out the *toril*, pinning each with a colored flag from the respective families before sending it out into the arena. This is difficult work, made more challenging as they are plied with *chicha* and stronger alcohol from various family members (figure 2).

Midway through the day, another family procession unfolds; during this one, a young bull “gets loose” and the family members laughingly play at caping it (figure 3). The women notably take a role in this burst of play. There are plenty of moments of chaos throughout the event—bulls barrel over the walls and into the *callejón* [the narrow lane between the stands and the arena] or even occasionally escape the arena. The *payaso* is omnipresent, taking digs with his bull horns to whomever presents a tempting target. The festivities culminate back at the plaza with musical bands on a large stage and fireworks and more drinking.

To contextualize this local event, the same weekend of the festival in Andagua, there were at least two other corridas in the Department of Arequipa, among over a dozen in the country at large, along with *peleas de toros* in the city of Arequipa.<sup>12</sup> These other events help make clear the broader context of the surge in popularity of the *corrida de toros* in Peru. The event in Andagua in 2019 marked a return to local tradition, because the previous two years the bulls were killed by professional toreros or bullfighters. The corridas in 2018 (4 bulls killed) and 2017 (6 bulls killed) were sponsored by a wealthy local landowner and professional breeder (Alejandro, interviewed below), with the aim of luring tourists to the event, as part of a larger municipal effort at marketing Andagua as part of the “Valley of Volcanoes”. Those corridas featured *toros de casta*, bulls that result from centuries of breeding in Spain, directed toward developing animals with *trapío* and *nobleza*, that are exceptionally aggressive and prone to attack. The 2019 event in Andagua, though, featured a different kind of bull, one that emerged from a confluence of historical development of cattle ranching in Peru and local practices of breeding *casta* bulls with *vacas nativas* (native cows). The uncertainty of this ritual event—will it continue to feature *turupukllay* or will it fall in line with the dictates of serious *tauromaquia*?—led us to speak with local breeders, to understand their efforts to navigate this fast-changing landscape.<sup>13</sup> Beginning with the intriguing matter of “native cows,” local breeding practices reflect a complex fusion of history and legend that involve a nuanced playing with bulls and their cultural form, *tauromaquia*.



Figure 2 *Laceadores work the bulls through the toril then into the arena. (Photo credit: John Hartigan Jr.)*

### How Do Cows Become “Natives”?

Andagua has a regional reputation as a *pueblo de los toros* or more succinctly, as *taurino*—a place where bullfighting and breeding thrive. But that reputation is inextricable from the legend of Tarazona, a local bull so wonderful he trav-



Figure 3 A bull gets loose and disrupts a family processional; in the background is the chapel of the Virgen, constructed on an ushnu or Inka ceremonial platform, and Tarazona's statue at the apex of the arched entryway to the arena. (Photo credit: John Hartigan Jr.)

eled to Spain to play. Ranchers' historical perspectives consistently reference the Tarazona narrative because it captures distinctive features of local breeding dynamics.

We first posed questions about Tarazona with a local historian, Gonzalo, in the Municipal office, where he works as tourist liaison for the municipality.<sup>14</sup> He told us, "Tarazona marks the beginning of Andagua being known as *taurino*. Before him, there were *corrida de toros* here, but there was no reputation. Now Andagua is known, thanks to that bull, as a place where people dedicate themselves to *la ganaderia brava, de lidia* [bullfighting breeds]." He explained that the municipality has purchased several bulls of *media casta* to cultivate this reputation. *Media casta* is a designation for a bull or cow that is the offspring of a certified *casta* parent and another of lesser standing. *Casta* is a central concern of *tauromaquia*. The term and concept originated in Spain during the late Middle Ages as a way to police purity of religious identity. As historian María Elena Martínez explains, "the naturalization of a religious-cultural identity coincided with the emergence of a lexicon of terms such as *raza* (race), *casta* (caste), and *linaje* (lineage) that was informed by popular notions regarding biological reproduction in the natural world and, in particular, horse breeding" (2008, 53). Horses and hunting dogs figured prominently in this



discourse because they were seen as aristocratic, mirroring the nobility of “princes of blood” (Nirenberg 2009). *Raza* and *casta* were used interchangeably in “early modern Spain’s lexicon of blood” (Martínez 2008, 161), referring alternately to breed, species, and lineage, characterizing groups of animals, plants, or humans. But the terms increasingly became differently inflected.

In Spain, usage of *casta* on humans gradually receded, with *raza* taking its place in an equivocal designation for humans and domesticated species.<sup>15</sup> In the colonial context, *casta* was applied to tracking various forms of interracial reproduction and generated an elaborate system of classification of the offspring of such unions, as emblemized in the “*casta* paintings”—portraits that produced “a particular narrative of *mestizaje*” (*mezcla de castas*) with the underlying “idea that blood is a vehicle for transmitting a host of physical, psychological, and moral traits” (Martínez 2008, 231). But this colonial *sistema de casta* did not influence notions of *casta* in Spain, which still applies to the breeding of animals. Indeed, *casta* became central to the ideological transformation of *corridos de toros* in Spain from a raucous, carnivalesque event in the plaza to a refined, “noble” art form, as embodied in *tauramaquia*.<sup>16</sup>

In Peru, professional bull breeders regard *casta* as the means to match Spanish standards of *tauramaquia* (Luna 1966). But in Andagua, local ranchers, who perpetuate family traditions of breeding bulls, think a bit more playfully about all of this. The breeding practices here would scarcely register as legible or legitimate to aficionados of *tauramaquia* because they involve a heavy reliance on a category of local bull, *toros cuneros*, that represent an unusual mixture of *toros bravos* or *de lidia* and what are known locally as *vacas nativas* or *oriundas*.<sup>17</sup> Ignacio, a prominent rancher and a veterinarian for the municipality, explained the status of these oddly designated “native cows”: “They brought bulls from Spain, before my grandfather’s time, to Cajamarca. Then they bought them from there to Puno and to Cusco. They bought bulls and crossed them with *vacas salvajes*, *las vacas nativas*, from there came a bull, the *cunero*. Of course, we crossed the native with that of *casta*. My grandfather bred like that, so we got used to it, we bred like that, too.”

The status of cows as “native” got our attention, along with their role in generating *cunero* bulls. This fascinating assertion gets to the heart of how the bull is played in Andagua. Ignacio knows that cattle are not indigenous or native to the Andes. He emphasized this when we asked him about Tarazona. The Spanish brought the bulls, Ignacio explained, “because in Peru, there were no *ganado bovino*, bovines didn’t exist here. There were only camelids, llamas, guanacos, vicuñas.” Yet he and others used “*nativo*” to designate local cattle, in historical terms. This is an opening onto *turupukllay* and how they play with the bull as a subject of breeding. When we asked Ignacio to explain how cows became natives, he offered the following account, which is saturated with colonialist discourse that draws charged parallels

between cattle and humans, but also highlights the local importance of maintaining a multispecies relationship between these two categories of animals. “The Spaniards brought animals and turned them out there in the pasture. They let them loose and they become *salvajes*. It’s the same as with pigeons, when there is no relationship to people. Like the cannibals—they were wild people [*salvajes*], they had no relationship. You looked at them and they were scared, they ran away. It’s same with cattle. When an animal is not in contact with humans they return to *salvaje* [*se vuelven*]. Then it is thus they become wild [*llegan a ser salvajes*].”

Ignacio’s mobilization of the “savage slot” (Trouillot 2003) to equate feral cattle with cannibals offers a glimpse of colonialist thinking that informs breeding practices. A racial sensibility that dehumanizes through comparison with nonhumans articulates through a “bovine idiom.”<sup>18</sup> But Ignacio’s account also highlights an important fact about bulls—they are not inherently aggressive, as anyone who has seen bulls for sale in crowded rural markets might attest.<sup>19</sup> The loss of contact with humans is an important feature of how multispecies relations of care are understood and maintained with local bulls. Ignacio continued: “Then these animals begin to reproduce throughout Peru. My great-great-grandparents began to select those cows. In the bullfights, they made them play. They see that the animal is good, goes for the cape [of the torero] and is not scared. Sometimes they see the cape and are scared and escape. Those animals did not serve him. It’s not worth it for him, this cow did not charge. This cow must be killed for human consumption.” However, he added: “The cow that charges, it doesn’t matter how rough [*tosca*] it is; maybe they did not go for the cape, but she was charging. They began to collect those, to gather them.” This selection process resulted in a distinctive kind of bull—the *cunero*—from making these animals subjects of *turupukllay* in the local corrida.

Ignacio elaborated: “*Turupukllay* is like the *toro cunero*. We have to differentiate the *toro cunero* from *toros de lidia*. They are professionals. The bullfighters are professionals, too. They go to school, they practice, they train; they are professionals. For the *turupukllay*, no. They are aficionados who participate in that; they like to do the movement of the cape. All those are aficionados, the *turupukllay* is fought (*lo torea*) by an aficionado, and the *toros de lidia* by a professional.” He added: “Tarazona evolved from those bulls. Tarazona is the bull that plays here. He plays in Viraco, from Viraco he goes to Arequipa, from Arequipa to Lima and from there he goes to Spain. The *turupukllay* is almost the same still, from what they tell me. It’s like I told you, the bulls, almost all of them have the same history as Tarazona. Only Tarazona was highlighted because he was good. The *turupukllay* is the same thing—they played here, they played in another district, they played like that and they were good.”

Ignacio equates *turupukllay* both with a type of bull (*cuneros*) and of people (aficionados). These terms have distinctive meanings in *tauromaquia*. In Spain,

*cunero* designates bulls of unknown origin, who may enter the plaza to play but are not the product of or belong to a breeding operation (*ganadería*).<sup>20</sup> In Andagua, *cunero* references a particular fact of or approach to breeding locally. Jorge, another breeder, told us: “Here we call the *cuneros toros oriundos, del lugar* [a native of this place], but I’m thinking of improving mine [*mejorar*] a little bit.” Jorge’s family is a well-established Indigenous lineage, and one of his ancestors from the 18th century was a central figure in ancestor veneration and resistance to the state (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). Jorge took us to see his bulls and elaborated on his plans for improving them; he is using several *media casta* bulls recently bought by the municipality to develop the area’s breeding stock. Such efforts play into the potential reorientation of Andagua’s *turupukllay* toward a more Spanish-style *corrida de toros*. But this is a deeply contested matter. Jorge underscored this in speaking about bulls being killed in the previous two years: “But here in the town people do not accept that the bull is killed. In part, they disagree with killing it but also because the tradition is not to kill the bull. So it’s a little acceptable to refuse to kill the bull. Like us, we live in caring [*en caridad*] with the cattle. One becomes fond of them [*uno se encariña*]. That’s why people don’t accept the killings. Let the bull play but it shouldn’t be killed.”

Ignacio illustrated this relationship of caring by walking out into the pasture to stand beside his bulls. This would be impossible with *casta* bulls, which professional breeders only ever approach on horseback or in vehicles—both because they are so prone to attack and to prevent bulls from ever seeing a human on foot until they enter the arena (figure 4).

Yet Jorge also was quick to add that local sensibilities about bulls are changing, marked by the corridas in 2017 and 2018: “But people have already accepted it on two occasions, they have already killed bulls here. In any case, there are always differences of opinion, especially with the older people. Because young people already see bullfights differently. The older people are the ones who most oppose the death of the bull.”

This generational shift is crucial to the future of *turupukllay*, in Andagua and throughout Peru. In Celendín, Cajamarca, where Hartigan previously did fieldwork, the local tradition had been to play local bulls and not kill them; now that event features *casta* bulls, brought in at great expense, who all die in the arena.<sup>21</sup> That *corrida* is renowned in Peru.<sup>22</sup>

For more historical perspectives on all this, we talked with two prominent breeders, Leonardo and Alejandro, the latter of whom is a professional breeder who provided the *casta* bulls that were killed in the previous two corridas. But this history is inextricably entangled with the legend of Tarazona, which we turn to now in detail, bracketed by contrasting perspectives on its veracity held by Leonardo and Alejandro.



Figure 4 Jorge standing beside his bulls, which would not be possible with *casta* bulls. (Photo credit: John Hartigan Jr.)

### Tarazona, the Bull That Plays Here

Leonardo's family is also a prominent Indigenous lineage; he works as both a rancher and businessman. He recalled when the *corridos* were held in the Plaza de Armas, when the event was a contest between different communities or neighborhoods within the town, much as in Arguedas's narrative in Poquio. In doing so, Leonardo also told us the origin story of Tarazona. His account was a mix of distant history and personal experience. He laughingly described how, as a young boy, he and his friends would play at being Tarazona while the others tried to cape him. In historical terms, Leonardo described how Spanish cattle traders used to drive their stock from Cusco to Puno or down to the coast.<sup>23</sup> "The Spanish drove their bulls, but they were prohibited here." Yet some got loose and ranged freely, eventually mating with "the *vacas nativas* that people here already had." But locals wanted to improve their cattle and would go to Cusco to buy *toros bravos*, bred for the *corridos*. This trend started in the late 1970s, about the time the Tarazona arena was built and the bullfights moved from the plaza. But there was a problem, he explained, with these new bulls: those *toros bravos* began to pose a risk for local people who might encounter them on the roads or in fields, because they were much more apt to charge at and injure people, unlike the *cuneros*.

When we asked Leonardo about the Tarazona story, he referenced an era before his time, when escaped Spanish bulls mated with free-ranging native cows.<sup>24</sup> He echoed Ignacio, stressing, “With the arrival of the Spaniards, at the cross [*la cruz*, both an act of breeding and religious referent] the animal reacts and becomes the *toro bravo*. That was with the arrival of the Spaniards, because in Andagua there were no *toros bravos*.” This all changed with the birth of Tarazona, whose narrative encapsulates the history of the cattle trading across southern Peru. In the folk accounts recorded by historian Victor Julluyje Leonardo, the story runs like this, with narrative elements highlighted to show how closely the narrative plays with *tauromaquia*.

On a dark and stormy night, a local cow gives birth to an exceptional male calf, whose father is unknown. They name the calf after the local cruel policeman, because he looks like he will turn out bad. The owner’s son raises the calf and teaches him how to *torear*—how to approach the cape correctly and how to avoid the lethal *baderillas* [plumed hooks that are driven into the bull’s hump]. His parents are terrified the young bull will injure the boy, but the bovine shows remarkable restraint, altering from charging to being tame instantly. The son even sets up a Victrola to play *pasodobles* [traditional bullfighting music] while they practice. So Tarazona is quite prepared for his first *corrida*. The bull has grown huge and his appearance in the plaza puts fear in the hearts of all the toreros, whom he battles ferociously. However, when a drunken woman recklessly stumbles into the arena and approaches the bull, “dancing and dancing,” he becomes quite calm, lowers his head toward her, and then turns away, leaving her unmolested. [This ability to break out of the frenzy of being *embestido* distinguishes Tarazona from *casta* bulls.] When it comes time for the toreros to kill him, the people shout in one voice: “protect the bull, protect the bull.” This is hardly necessary, as Tarazona becomes enraged when he sees the *banderillas* and he drives the toreros away, escaping to the street, where another situation like with the drunken woman is repeated—he becomes completely peaceful [turns back into a local bull], though all the pedestrians are terrified he will gore them.

Such a fantastic bull, of course, generates a lot of interest, and several cattlemen from other towns try to buy him. Each time the owner sells him, the buyer is unable to move the bull from Andagua valley by any means. Finally, one buyer, who was knowledgeable of *t’inkay*, managed the feat—he propitiates Pachamama (Coropuna-Achachi) and Pucamauras (local volcano) before taking Tarazona through the pass from Andagua to Viraco.<sup>25</sup> There the people are awed when he appears in the plaza for the *corrida*, with *pasodobles* blaring. Again, he plays magnificently, and when the toreros bring out the *banderillas* and swords, he again terrorizes them, tossing them in the air and escaping once more into the street, where he again acts completely tame. His fame becomes such that a promoter buys him and takes him to Lima, where the scene repeats—he plays

beautifully, the crowd loves him, and the toreros are unable to kill him. Even though bulls do not leave Acho alive, another promoter buys him and takes him to Spain, where he plays spectacularly once more. It is only through tremendous effort he is finally killed, though in Leonardo's account he instead survives and lives out his life as a stud in green pastures.

There are several features of the Tarazona narrative that help make clear the contours of *turupukllay* as it is understood in Andagua, especially as they subvert or burlesque key tenets of *tauromaquia*. Tarazona is distinctive for several reasons: he grows up in close contact and affectionate relations with humans; he plays multiple times in corridas; his life trajectory reverses the Spanish conquest, at least that of their local bulls; all of this is predicated on acts of *t'inkay*, which catch Tarazona up in ancient relations of propitiation and reciprocity with Andean deities (Gose 1994). A basic principle with *casta* bulls is they cannot see a human on foot before they enter the arena for the first (and last) time. They are only worked by men on horseback. This gives the torero an advantage in the ring, because the bull will be confused. The idea that children played with Tarazona and prepared him to *torear* turns such dictates upside down. Crucially, *casta* bulls can only play one time—once they are no longer confused by the man on foot and, importantly, once they learn that the cape is just a distraction, they become too dangerous. They would charge straight at any subsequent torero, and so they must be killed. Then it is a basic tenet of *tauromaquia*—in Peru and in Spain—that the best bulls come from Spain. The idea that one might travel from the hinterlands of southern Peru, first to the famous arena in Lima and then on to Spain is a burlesque version of how bull breeding is supposed to operate and matter, as Alejandro would emphasize (see below). Finally, there's the matter of *t'inkay*—the bull only is moved at the pleasure of Andean deities. This is a strong parallel with Misitu in *Yawar Fiesta*, which also cannot be moved from his mountain stronghold without proper propitiations.

Leonardo's telling of the Tarazona story hews broadly to the documented version recorded by Julluyje Leonardo, but with its own details and divergent points. Here we will only quote a substantial analogy he drew between Tarazona and the great soccer player, Pelé: "Tarazona was a bull, and it is something strange, what he knew. Like, how Pelé was a soccer player trained in a soccer school, a little boy from the street, who played with a ball made of cloth. Suddenly comes out Pelé!" Leonardo continued the parallel: "Similarly, this specimen, Tarazona, was raised by a meek cow. She lived in the highest part of the volcano, Tischu, in that area. And the Viraquen cattlemen [from Viraco] passed by and, coincidentally, it is assumed, that a bull from the mountains that came with good blood, good genetics, crosses with the cow, and the little bull is born to a citizen of Collocolloc [an Indigenous lineage, related to one of Leonardo's ancestors]."

Initially, Tarazona develops like any other another animal, "But the bull had some daring instincts because they insinuated themselves. And when it comes time

for everyone to cooperate to put the bulls in the Plaza de Armas for the Corrida of the Asunción, they discover that this animal is *bravo*. He had qualities other than all the other bulls they brought. He was a bull with good blood, good physique. He played well, as a *toro bravo*.”

To illustrate the qualities of *toros bravos*, Leonardo pointed to Alejandro, “a breeder of good genetics, of *bravos*.” Alejandro’s bulls, indeed, cast in great relief the local festivities and breeding practices, as did Leonardo’s invocation of Pelé to characterize Tarazona.

Alejandro belongs to the wealthiest family in Andagua; his breeding operation is well financed and quite professional. He trained as a geneticist in Sevilla, Spain. We spoke with him inside the large, luxurious lodge his family has built on the outskirts of the pueblo, in anticipation of a surge in local tourism. Seated on plush leather seats, he delightedly informed us that some of his bulls had been selected to participate in Feria del Señor de los Milagros at the Plaza de Toros de Acho in Lima that year—a most prestigious event in Peru. “Here in Andagua,” he assured us, “the only one who can talk about cattle is simply me. You don’t have to believe me, but I was the first to bring the *casta* cattle here.”

Though Alejandro hopes to transform the local corrida into one featuring *casta* bulls, he proudly has nothing to do with local breeders. He told us: “In 2010, the Association of Cattle Breeders [*Asociación de Criadores de Ganado de Línea*] was formed here in Andagua. But I never belonged to that association. I have not been a participant in their meetings, absolutely nothing.” Instead, he belongs to the *Ganaderías de Pura Casta* [Breeding Ranches of Pure Caste] in Arequipa. He keeps his stock separate and will not even sell them a stud; yet he laments of local breeders that “the vast majority buy *vaca cunera*, *media casta*, and they buy an informal *casta* bull and they cross them!” Alejandro’s concern, and that of the Association in Arequipa, is that this slippage and confusion might contaminate *pura casta* stock, perceptually or reproductively. His concern is distinctly inflected by class and race. “The breeding animal I refer to, it is necessary to differentiate cattle that is *arisco* [rude/surly/rough] and cattle that is *cunero*, of the hill zone [*cunero de la zona*]. The *arisco* and the *cunero* are from the local area but the *cunero* comes from these lines that have something, some blood and *embiste* [willingness to charge], but doesn’t have the quality. In contrast, the *arisco* also is from the zone but runs off, he won’t charge. It’s like a servant [*siervo*] who sees people and *poof*, he runs off.”

Alejandro’s class discourse brings out the double dimensions of “breeding” to reference both high social status and directed reproduction of domesticates (on this doubled connotation, see Cassidy 2002; Derry 2003). Alejandro uses “*arisco*” instead of “*salvaje*,” locating his perspective in a class rather than colonial discourse, as voiced by Ignacio earlier. This is underscored by his comparison to a servant or serf being afraid, instead of a “cannibal.” This class dimension became sharper as he contrasted the local breeding categories (*arisco* and *cunero*) with

those of *tauramaquia* broadly (*media casta* and *casta*) via a soccer analogy. He tells us that breeding in Peru was utterly transformed in 1986, when Roberto Castro brought two herds of *casta* cows and bulls from Spain. Serious breeders would no longer need to bother with *cuneros*. “Now I argue that *el ganado de lidia* [bullfighting stock] is like comparing with the soccer player. In what way? I have a friend who goes to the soccer matches to watch. Why? Because you pass him the ball and he can’t stop it; he can’t play! That’s the *arisco*.”

Elaborating the continuum that would lead us to the professional player, he continued: “The *cunero* is a player from here, from Andagua, that can stop the ball, he can get his touches, he can play, but poorly.” Better still, he said, is “the *casta* player of Real Madrid, Barcelona; that genetic quality that Messi has. He is so gifted with his genes that he has to play. It’s the same way with the *casta*. I therefore compare the fighting bull a lot with the footballer, so that he can differentiate himself.”

Alejandro’s account of how *media casta* bulls arrived in Andagua highlights how the Tarazona legend structurally inverts this history: “The first one who bought *media casta* cows in this way was in Viraco. Sr. Augusto Cárdenas bought a bull from Spain that came to Acho and then brought it to Viraco as a breeder with cows from Alvarez de Cusco, so he made the cross and it took. That means that good offspring [*crias*] came out.” That development changed local breeding practices but also provoked a shift in sensibilities about the *corrida de toros* in Andagua, as in the generational divide acknowledged by Jorge. “Now all the people no longer want to see cattle at the bullfights, the cattle *arisco*, cattle *cunero*. Rather, they want to see *media casta* or *casta*, and today that is what the eye wants; it has already become used to it, and little by little it is advancing. The *tauramaquia* is at a level now,” he conceded, but then assured us it is improving.

Alejandro’s characterization of a shift in sensibilities regarding the breeding of bulls and their killability in the arena aligns with Jorge’s account of a generational shift in thinking about the *corrida* and the bull. Alejandro characterizes this tension and shift by returning to his analogy with professional soccer: “Here they respect traditions and customs a lot. And I do not want them to be lost. On the contrary, they should preserve them. But within a bullfight [*una corrida*] you can have the Spanish style, or you can have the Andagueño style, preserving the customs and traditions. But, as I was saying about the footballers, why would one watch thirty from Andagua if he can see a Cristiano Ronaldo? I prefer to see Cristiano Ronaldo than to see those thirty who cannot stop the ball.”

But in promoting the idea of shifting sensibilities in Andagua toward *tauramaquia* standards, Alejandro confronted the figure of Tarazona.<sup>26</sup> He brought up the legend of his own accord, only to dismiss it as a delusional myth: “I am a cattleman [*ganadero*] but we also have to be realistic, we cannot talk about fantasies.” Alejandro acknowledged being a believer in the Virgin Mary but also “a believer



in things that are proven and of which there is no doubt,” such as the land. “But here there is a bull, a bull that has believers. It is the Tarazona bull.” Alejandro’s historical narrative hews closely to Leonardo’s, describing how roughly “80 years or 100 years ago, these animals came along the routes of Cusco, when they brought bulls to the coast. The bulls here always stayed in the enclosure. Then they stayed in place. Well, some got loose and crossed with the cows and it was achieved. These offspring, they have played in the Plaza de Andagua, yes; no one denies it, certainly not I. And it has been very good for that moment, for that place.” He suggests they may have had some of the qualities noted by Ignacio and Leonardo, such as a quickness to charge, *embestir* (Quijano Larringa 1969). But he took pains to warn us against believing in the Tarazona “myth.” “They are going to tell you that Tarazona played in Andagua; a rancher came from Viraco, he played in Viraco; a rancher came from Lima, he played in Lima; a Spaniard saw him and he took the bull to Spain—that is something illogical!”

He was indignant at the thought, though he conceded: “I think we can say that the bull played well in the Plaza de Andagua. He was perhaps the best, and he probably reached Viraco. But that he goes to Lima, and then from Lima you take him to Spain, it is something crazy. For those of us who know, this is something insane. I mean, you are not going to bring firewood to the forest. That bull is definitely not going to Spain. Spain is the cream, is where everything is born.” Alejandro concluded by invoking another impossibility: “They want to praise something that isn’t. It’s like saying the best olives are in Andagua. It’s not even the coast! You don’t even have land [*tierra*]! I say that because of the questionable quality of the cattle.”

## Conclusion

Alejandro’s consternation over the figure of Tarazona, and his concern that we might succumb to its allure, underscores the power of *turupukllay* in Andagua. *Turupukllay* plays with the bull as an ongoing reworking of colonial legacies in Peru, by insisting on maintaining local bulls within multispecies relations of care, such that they can still be approached on foot in the fields and played with by locals in the arena. When Leonardo, Jorge, or Ignacio speak of Tarazona, they tell the story of a local bull who reverses Spanish dominance and awes wealthy Peruvians in Lima. *Turupukllay* in Andagua catches up breeders and cattle in a rambunctious sense of possibilities for locally overturning the dominance of *tauromaquia*. This is the power of *turupukllay*—to play with bulls in a manner that deeply disturbs and disquiets professional breeders like Alejandro. But they also describe Tarazona as a bull who showed remarkable discernment, who quickly transformed from a wild rage against professional fighters to display a mild comportment when facing a drunken woman in the arena or other locals when he escaped into the streets. During the corrida of 2019, when a bull bolted from the arena and ran around its

exterior—similar to Tarazona in Viraco—it did not wreak bloody mayhem; rather, it provoked a carnivalesque delight for the people who playfully chased it back into the ring. Such bulls are a reminder that this creature is not inherently violent and aggressive; it is bred to be so as part of its professionalization in *tauromaquia*.<sup>27</sup>

To grasp the figural power of Tarazona and what he reveals about how *turupukllay* plays with bulls in Andagua today, it is useful to contrast him with the mythic bull Misitu, in Arguedas's account of *turupukllay* in *Yawar Fiesta*.<sup>28</sup> Aptly, the scene Arguedas sets offers an historical parallel with the situation in Andagua. In Puquio in the 1930s, professionalism also was being deployed against *turupukllay*.<sup>29</sup> An edict arrives from the Ministry, prohibiting "*corridos sin diestros*," without a professional bullfighter, and characterizing *turupukllay* as a "*salvajismo*," or vestige of savagery ([1941] 1973, 64). The prominent citizens agree that this tradition "makes us look like African savages" and so they hire a professional from Lima, who will fight in the "Spanish" tradition ("*a la española*").<sup>30</sup> They anticipate that the *comuneros* will now be relegated to docile spectatorship, hypnotized by the shiny attire and graceful artistry of the professional torero. This is a "civilizing" vision by which the unruly "people" will be reduced from lively actors to mere spectators. But the *comuneros* refuse this vision and the Ministry's edict, storming the arena, demanding their right to play with the bull. A bloody confrontation ensues at the novel's climax—Misitu is too ferocious; even the Spanish professional torero is unable to face him. In the end, the bull is dynamited by the *comuneros*; *turupukllay* destroys the bull that cannot be played and then dissipates on the wind, as the haunting music of the *wakawak'ras* fades away.

Instead of being left with the bloody mass of a dynamited bull as a symbol of *turupukllay*, in Andagua we have the narrative figure of Tarazona, in which Spain's ancient "lexicon of blood" (*casta*) converges with the local "bovine idiom" (*cuneros*). *Turupukllay* continues to thrive in Peru today because Andean bulls have proved more pliable and resilient than their symbolic representation in Misitu. Spawned from "native cows," the bulls that play in Andagua, like their predecessors, move in and out of the agricultural cycle of labor, into the arena and then back again, performing more than one role, rupturing the exclusive, restrictive world of corridas in *tauromaquia*.<sup>31</sup> The playfulness they embody and enact is threatening to professional breeders like Alejandro, as evident in his consternation over Tarazona. How could people believe in such a bull or imagine his capacity to overturn the established dominance of *tauromaquia* in defining the bull? Yet, Alejandro, like the prominent citizens in Puquio, similarly invests in the vision of a more docile form of spectatorship for the people of Andagua: "They want to see *media casta* or *casta*," he confidently opined, "and today that is what the eye wants; it has already become used to it." Remember, people want to watch high-quality professional soccer players over local ones. And as local breeders begin working *casta* into their bulls, how will their comportment and relationality change?

The bulls of Andagua confront both the professionalization of breeding and the powerful embodied institution of *casta*—“blood” that is not just pure but improved. Where *casta* requires bulls that are detached from humans, *turupukllay* maintains the opposite: a bull like Tarazona can be threatening to the professional bullfighter but tolerant and docile with caring humans. With recent changes in Andagua directed toward tourism, it is an open question as to how long Tarazona’s figural power will hold. But given the depth and inventiveness of *turupukllay*, such playful bulls likely have much life left.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *O* and *u* are interchangeable in Quechua.

<sup>2</sup> On connotations of *pukllay*, see Domingo de Santo Tomás ([1560] 2006) and Diego González Holguín ([1608] 1989). The notion of play is central to *corridos de toros*, which is poorly translated as “bullfight.” Fundamentally, the *torero* “plays” (*juega*) the bull by manipulating it into a series of movements and violent encounters that result in its death. This notion of “play” also includes the potential death of the *torero*, who “plays with death” (*juega con la muerte*) when he enters the arena. *Juego* also characterizes the “comportment” of bull, as in *buen juego* or *mal juego* (see Marvin 1994; Quijano Larinaga 1969; Villán 2012).

<sup>3</sup> For anthropologists, “play” ranges from the undirected activities of little children to the “serious,” highly structured forms of professional games (Appell-Warren 2000; Malaby 2009; Walker 2013). “Form,” here, refers to durable patterns that pass through various signifying mediums. In contrast to the focus on representation in symbolic analysis, in nonrepresentational theory, form is attentive to propagation of shapes in living beings; consider, for example, understanding how the formal features of *tauromaquia* (codified over the 150+ years) consequentially shape life forms through breeding practices. See Eduardo Kohn’s, “The Efficacy of Forms,” in *How Forests Think* (2013) and Stefan Helmreich’s chapter, “Life Forms,” in *Sounding the Limits of Life* (2015).

<sup>4</sup> With “burlesque,” we aim to invoke additional dimensions of “play” captured in the verb *burlar*, with its varied connotations of outwitting, taunting, spoofing, hoaxing, and jesting. “*Burlar*” was fundamental to the definition of festive play (*pukllay*) in early Colonial Quechua dictionaries.

<sup>5</sup> <https://elcomercio.pe/blog/fiestabrava/2018/01/repasando-2017-cada-vez-es-mayor-el-auge-taurino-en-el-peru-con-videos-de-las-ferias-en-el-interior-del-peru/>. There are oft-repeated claims that bullfighting is as (or more) popular in Peru than soccer: <https://laeconomiadeltoro.wordpress.com/2014/10/13/en-peru-acude-mas-gente-a-las-plazas-de-toros-que-a-los-estadios-de-futbol/>. These claims were underscored in response to the temporary suspension of *corridos* in 2020 due to COVID-19: <https://www.lanacion.com.py/mundo/2020/10/21/la-pandemia-priv-a-peru-de-las-populares-corridas-de-toros/>.

<sup>6</sup> Care is a crucial concern for multispecies ethnography (see de la Bellacasa 2017; Hartigan 2017).

<sup>7</sup> Arguedas was a Peruvian writer and anthropologist, who wrote novels, short stories, and poems in both Spanish and Quechua. He blended both in his debut novel, *Yawar Fiesta* ([1941] 1973). In subsequent footnotes, we develop the comparative contrast between Tarazona and Mitsu, both of which are situated roughly 100 years ago.

<sup>8</sup> The *gamonal* was a local landlord who operated at the margins of the state and the intersections of the colonial products of race and class to exploit local populations to perpetuate a servile labor order. The *gamonal* lived in the community, as a *misti* (or creole) who was intimately familiar with “In-

dian culture” while systematically separating himself from it in order to subjugate Indigenous residents (Arguedas [1941] 1973; de la Cadena 2015; Gose 1994; Poole 1987, 2004; Thurner 1997).

<sup>9</sup>The contemporary town of Andagua was constructed as a Spanish colonial *reducción*, which involved the forced resettlement of Indigenous people to nucleated settlements composed of an urban grid with a church at its center. In the mid-18th century, a six-hundred-page court case recounts how residents of Andagua nearly incited a rebellion rejecting regional Spanish colonial authorities; it involved one of the last known cases of mummy worshipping in the Andes with ancestor cults as a locus of resistance (Menaker 2019a, 2019b).

<sup>10</sup>In addition to Inka and local pre-Hispanic pottery, painted stone and ceramic discs are strewn across the area surrounding the bullring. Painted stone discs are ubiquitous across the valley, marking a landscape of power and meaning for hundreds of years before Inka arrival. Aware of the long-term inhabitation in the valley, residents maintain a complex and ongoing engagement with the material remains of the pre-Hispanic past. Stone discs now adorn a fountain in the town plaza, where earlier forms of bullfighting were performed. For further discussion of archaeological evidence, see (Menaker 2019a, 2019b).

<sup>11</sup>As in Penelope Harvey’s account of the carnivalesque aspects of *turupukllay*, “the town hall is converted from the space in which elaborate speeches were made in florid Spanish to the scene of a wild party of unrestrained drunkenness and where all talk is in Quechua” (1997, 35).

<sup>12</sup>*Peleas de toros* are a regional activity in which bulls fight each other; in a manner approximating sumo wrestling, the two bulls push against each other until one is forced backward. Bulls are not killed in these contests.

<sup>13</sup>All interviews were in Spanish. Quechua is used sparingly in the discourses referring to bullfighting and *ganaderia* (cattle raising), but is occasionally deployed with consequence and power. This is exemplified by the use of *camay*, meaning “to animate, to impart specific form and force” (G. Taylor, cited in Salomon 1998) to identify power of and over a bull’s will, and the role of *t’inkay*, meaning “to toast by spraying drink as an offering” (Gonzalez 2013, 96).

<sup>14</sup>All names are pseudonyms.

<sup>15</sup>John Hartigan examines this use of *raza* in Spain and Mexico (2017); see also Marisol de la Cadena and Santiago Martínez (2020).

<sup>16</sup>On the history of *tauromaquia* in Peru, see Luna (1966). On *casta* and notions of the bull’s nobility in *tauromaquia*, see Cossío (1943).

<sup>17</sup>*Vaca nativas* resonates with the categories “*montañeras, indias, aindiadas*” (de la Cadena and Martínez 2020).

<sup>18</sup>“Bovine idiom” derives from E. E. Evans Pritchard’s classic ethnographic work with the Nuer, but was recently updated by de la Cadena and Medina, who “use ‘bovine idiom’ to name those cattle-related vocabularies and practices following which enables us to explore sections of the dense material-semiotic grids of cow-making in Colombia” (2020, 381).

<sup>19</sup>Agusto Goicochea Luna, in *Tauromaquia Andina*, describes a protracted historical process by which farmers sought to get rid of ferocious bulls that weren’t useful in the fields; they were sold for corridas in which bulls were killed. But the “traditional” style of corridas predominantly was for the bulls to return to plowing after the *turupukllay* (1966, 19, 39–40).

<sup>20</sup>*Cunero* etymologically derives from *cuna* (crib), with the suffix “-ero” added. The connotations, thus, are potentially broad, with meanings such as “place of birth” or “known from” or “learned in” the cradle. From *Real Academia Española* (1914, 309).

<sup>21</sup>In Harvey’s account of *turupukllay*, “at the end of the day, the bulls are released to find their way back to the high pastures” (1997, 34).

<sup>22</sup>In Celendín, each year a four-story arena is constructed entirely from scratch, which holds upward of 10,000 people; it is disassembled at the end of the corrida.

<sup>23</sup>Arguedas relates this history in the second chapter of *Yawar Fiesta*: local herders, *punaruna*, are dispossessed of their cattle by wealthy landowners, looking to feed insatiable markets for meat that have opened in the coastal cities. Not only are their cattle seized but their farmlands are turned over to graze the cattle on alfalfa. Arguedas depicts tearful scenes as tame bulls (“he would let the boys pet him, gazing at them with his big eyes”) are torn from their weeping humans, who cry, “*turullay turu, turuchallaya* [my bull, bull, my little bull]” ([1941] 1973, 42–43). The only bulls remaining took shelter near the highest, remotest peaks, and became dangerous to humans.

<sup>24</sup>A colonialist coding of sexual relations.

<sup>25</sup>*T'inkay* here resonates with the invocation of *camay* by Leonardo; see note #13.

<sup>26</sup>Donna Haraway defines figures as “performative images that can be inhabited” and that “always bring with them some temporal modality the organizes interpretive practices” (1997, 11).

<sup>27</sup>In *Los toros: Tratado técnico e histórico* (1943), the three-volume “Biblia del toro” (Bible of the Bull), José María de Cossío writes: “It must be admitted that in most cases the bull lacks bravery, that is, it lacks aggressiveness, lacks fierceness, the temperamental conditions that make the fight.” Against this lack, *casta* secures these ferocious qualities through selective breeding. Without *casta*, “the bullfight will be no more than a pantomime or a parody”—much as achieved through the burlesquing power of *turupukllay*.

<sup>28</sup>Misitu is mythic in that “he had neither father nor mother,” but arose from a whirlpool in a high mountain lake following a tremendous storm. Also, Misitu is ferocious all the time: “By day he grew furious looking at the sun, and by night he’d run leagues and leagues, chasing the moon”; he even gored his own shadow ([1941] 1973, 113–14).

<sup>29</sup>Puquio is roughly 130 miles northeast of Andagua.

<sup>30</sup>In racial terms, this torero is described as a “*misiti rubio*,” a fair-skinned Spanish banderillero who worked in the Acho bullring but was no longer good enough to return to Spain ([1941] 1973, 137, 184). He dislikes the mountain bulls because they are “*rejugados*,” having played multiple times.

<sup>31</sup>The word *native*, whether used on humans or nonhumans, features competing racial connotations of otherness (in a colonial view of “natives”) and of sameness, as in European ethnonationalist assertions about “native” speakers belonging to their “native land” in the state (see “Are Natives Plants or People” in Hartigan [2014]).

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