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Retablo: Vindication of Andean Identity

Retablo: reivindicación de la identidad andina

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Abstract

The objective of the research is to analyze the intersubjective communication of the Andean identity, especially of Ayacucho, with the film Retablo [Altarpiece] that vindicates the inhabitants of the Peruvian highlands. The historical process of the Andean communities had its own way until the arrival of Spaniards. These communities remained for years, even today, stable in their organization preserving the order established by their founders. The social justice of the Andean communities apply punishment in public to those responsible for actions that go against the morality of the community. The film Retablo reflects and analyzes the experience of many peasants who cover up their spontaneity largely for fear of rejection. In the structuring of Andean communities, unrestricted respect for cultural individuality is encouraged. On the contrary, state is seen as alien, a powerful apparatus of discrimination compromised with the owners of the broad media, especially in political and social participation in pre- and post-electoral scenarios.

Keywords: Quechua; identity; modernity; decoloniality

Resumen

El objetivo de la investigación es analizar la comunicación intersubjetiva de la identidad andina, especialmente de Ayacucho, con la película Retablo que reivindica a los habitantes de la sierra peruana. El proceso histórico de las comunidades andinas tuvo su propio camino hasta la llegada de los españoles. Estas comunidades se mantuvieron durante años, hasta hoy, estables en su organización conservando el orden establecido por sus fundadores. La justicia social de las comunidades andinas aplica castigos en público a los responsables de acciones que van en contra de la moral de la comunidad. La película Retablo refleja y analiza la experiencia de muchos campesinos que encubren su espontaneidad en gran medida por miedo al rechazo. En la estructuración de las comunidades andinas se fomenta el respeto irrestricto a la individualidad cultural. Por el contrario, el Estado es visto como algo ajeno, un poderoso aparato de discriminación comprometido con los dueños de los amplios medios de comunicación, especialmente en la participación política y social en escenarios pre y post electorales.

Palabras clave: Quechua; identidad; modernidad; decolonialidad

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Introduction

The content of the film Retablo, awarded in international film competitions, reflects the symbiosis of the profane and the sacred, culturally, idiomatically and sexually. In the globalized world, progress and development are presumed to be directed towards the future. The methodology employed is the interpretative contextual analysis of the film, shot entirely in Quechua. The maintenance and sustainability of ancient cultures with their languages and traditions is not promoted, leaving these only as vestiges in the annals of history. The filmmakers of *Retablo* investigated the details of the manifestations of the Ayacucho culture. Its importance lies in the use of the Quechua language throughout the film, since this aspect is little developed in Peruvian cinema because of absence of more native speaking actors.

Due to the national and international context of the pandemic, the premiere in Ayacucho could not be done; but streaming platforms such as Netflix, are aimed at a relatively young audience with economic resources, limiting their access to the majority of the Quechua-speaking Andean population that does not consume cinema, and less has any knowledge of *streaming*. The current young generation, who did not live the social limitations identified in the film, can be an expectant contemplative part of the Andean reality of Quechua-speaking people. "Today Peru is experiencing a new resurgence of writing in Quechua, while continuing to lose speakers of that language. While there are about 3'800,000 Quechua-speakers, these only make up 11.6% of the total population"¹. Public universities ask a knowledge of Quechua as an alternative language among other for gaining a master's and doctoral degree.

The Andean inhabitant with his millenary language Quechua, is lagging behind of the social level dominated by Spanish speakers. When a peasant or their child rise in social status, media through their entertainment programs ridicule them in order to obtain economic profit because of the speech of the Andean people. In the film *Retablo* the essence of life in the countryside and the ancestral customs are left aside for making an artisan altarpiece, in order to highlight the speech of the Quechua language with its dialects. It is important to interrelate and know the manifestations of a culture in the language that characterizes it, for being native bearers of the custom of speaking Quechua from one generation to another; although, losing the essence of their language because it is currently practiced with the linguistic influence of Spanish.

Andean identity

The symbiosis of world wisdom is an undeniable phenomenon of transculturation and superposition from one culture to another, where one almost absolutely dominates the other and the consequent extinction of the millenary traditions of this one.

The customs of the peoples are in supposed decay and backwardness in reverse reason to the development of world modernity. These peoples remain ostracized, trying not

¹ MENDEZ, C. (2021). *La escritura en quechua [Writing in Quechua]*. The Republic. https://acortar.link/Dzw23Z

to be completely extinct. In times of great conquests and world discoveries, especially of the European powers of the South American territories, they determined that transculturation became in today's interculturality. Prophesied ideas were always present at all times: "Their central argument is known: the great 'fracture lines of humanity' no longer run along nation states, but the new 'dominant line of conflict will be cultural'"². The first way to subjugate the conquered is by trying to change their culture, which keeps them together in a way that is rooted from generation to generation. Once modified, the phenomenon of transculturation occurs, which does not necessarily destroy, but it is able to produce supposedly liberating repercussions, according to the meaning of the development of modern science; since modernity devalues so called agraph cultures and condemns them to perish.

On the other hand, the Andean settler has a close relationship with mother earth, commonly called in Quechua pachamama, that fertilizes the land and maintains the Andean people. There are other forms of relationship with their land, hills, spring water, trees, sky, rain and everything that concerns nature as a principle of their ancestral divinity. This experiential interrelation is what determines their horizontal identity: "Another important element for intercultural dialogue is the desire to understand and to be understood"3. The spontaneous horizontality of the Andean settlers is confused with ignorance and extreme naivety that produce questioning views which presuppose them as incapable of assuming the modern culture imposed by social development. The trust and attention of Andean people given to their interlocutors such as their visitors, are easily used by the latter to gain advantage in the daily lives of the first. Various forms of mistreatment of the Andean population are common in Peruvian popular culture. They use it as an instrument of gross jocularity, belittling their cultural identity in relation to the capital's centralism, and forgetting the geographical influence on the Andean people. Centralism is a factor of annulation of the Andean provincial influences. The presence of a racial complex of superiority is manifested in the vertical social interrelation towards the Andean settler.

This spontaneous naivety and constant "clumsiness" of the Andeans according to the many inhabitants of the capital Lima, turn out to be the gibberish by which the latter show contempt for the first. Owners of media run under monopoly are taking advantage by ridiculing the Andean population, especially the Quechua speakers with whom they achieve tuning ratings. It is an affront to the Andean aboriginal, who cultivates its identity in the face of the avalanche of expressions of the dominant culture: "A new complaint against 'La paisana Jacinta' has been presented by the association 'Chirapaq, Center for Indigenous Cultures of Peru', before the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD)

² MERKEL, W. (2015). Choque de civilizaciones: la profecía más criticada se hizo realidad [Clash of Civilizations: The Most Criticized Prophecy Came True]. New Society. https://acortar.link/44d34B
³ FLORES, M. (2019). Filosofía intercultural y el allin kawsay (vivir bien andino) en el diálogo de razones [Intercultural philosophy and the allin kawsay (living well Andean) in the dialogue of reasons] (San Marcos) p. 82

of the UN"4. The media entrepreneurs ignored the allegations of glorification of grievances against the Andean citizen, because of media have a great social influence. The struggles of demand in any society considered as an inferior, finds a number of obstacles to be overcome in order to achieve a space of recognition finally:

A new resolution resolved the definitive withdrawal of the parody of internet platforms such as YouTube and Facebook. As it is recalled, the process was initiated by Cecilia Paniura, Rosa Supho, Martha Quispe, and Rosalinda Torres against Jorge Benavides, Frecuencia Latina and the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Women. The main argument was the promotion of discrimination against Andean women.⁵

Many artists personify the peasant with exaggerated transgressions to his cultural identity, making a commodity the supposed naïve side of the Andean resident. A transvestite male artist who defends his transgression of Andean culture says: "'If I had really been a woman, I would have been a chola and I really would have been The Chola Chabuca', they would not have given me any opportunity," said the artist". They are justifications that oversize the rationality of the artist, profiting from the discredit of the Andean identity. The peasants in no way feel identified by the character in question; on the contrary, he further fuels the hatred and racism that prevail in the scenarios of the globalized culture that has no borders. The overlap of the cultures that achieved their development to the rhythm of modernity vilifies the survival of the traditions of the aboriginal and ancestral communities that live permanently in direct relation to their identity.

Philosophical conception

Philosophy in decline in the current scenarios of education at all levels overshadows the true interpretation of man's position in society. In our country, the subject of philosophy was discarded from basic education completely, at the same time in higher education, leaving only vestiges in some universities as a general course of academic complement. There is no matter that rationally nourishes the conception of man and his relationship with his fellowmen, that we are all equal in essence and phenomenon, being important to assimilate and reorient unrestricted respect for others. The condition of superiority encouraged by economic development does not justify the contempt for native communities, whatever their condition of existence or survival over time with their traditions. Philosophy

⁴ RPP. (2014). 'La Paisana Jacinta' fue denunciada ante la ONU ['La Paisana Jacinta' was denounced before the UN]. RPP. https://acortar.link/wBqeQZ

⁵ RPP WRITING. (2020b). "La Paisana Jacinta": Poder Judicial ordena el retiro de sus contenidos en YouTube y Facebook ["La Paisana Jacinta": Judiciary orders the removal of its contents on YouTube and Facebook]. RPP. https://acortar.link/lgYgqq

⁶ RPP WRITING. (2020a). Ernesto Pimentel reflexiona sobre la "Chola Chabuca": "Si hubiera sido mujer y chola no hubiera tenido oportunidad" [Ernesto Pimentel reflects on the "Chola Chabuca": "If I had been a woman and a chola I would not have had a chance"]. RPP. https://acortar.link/gOZJMo

⁷ Within this framework, in the year 2000, the philosophy course was eliminated from public schools nationwide under the argument that it was of little use for the development of the students. https://acortar.link/TooM2x

was the perfect company throughout the historical process of humanity to achieve equity among its members.

Intellectual denunciations and protests ran through winding paths in Peru: "The assumption that the indigenous problem is an ethnic problem is nourished by the oldest repertoire of imperialist ideas. The concept of the inferior races served the white West for its work of expansion and conquest". There is no justification of any kind within the context of the great conquests, that the Indian is inferior in race and, therefore, synonymous of commercial mockery for the Peruvian companies that profit with the nature of the people of the highlands. Film *Retablo* shows the link between the Andean worldview and at the same time the practice of the Catholic religion, which is the majority in Peru. In the ceremonies of individuality and community, the rite to nature is primary and the Catholic rite is complementary.

The disturbing need to identify with a nation state brings with it feelings of extreme patriotism that generate resentment *a posteriori* and that involves emotions of false nationalism that manifests themselves in theory, because in practice patriots and nationalists are not worthy of the products that nature provides them. This phenomenon transgresses the recognition of the other as such in its essence, regardless of human existence in a certain geographical environment. But a philosophical conception of man can be associated with mysticism, a symmetrical complement to human existence as such:

And Apus (called Wamanis in Ayacucho), to whom payments are also offered, are the spirits of the hills, placed by God to watch over and protect the Quechuas of each community, although they can also punish them; such belief in Apus dates back to the ancient Quechuas, who said they descended from the hills and considered them their paqarinas [places of origin].9

It is essential to consider the Andean settler's conception of mysticism as a generator of their existence. *Apus* imply a certain interference in the *modus vivendi* of the Andean inhabitant with which it is completely identified, this situation breaks the supposed good customs. This scenario shows their real action in society, but in the cities of Peru, especially those on the coast, the *Apus* are not conceived as a divinity in relation to Catholicism as an official element of the mystical conception of man. The Peruvian State, supposedly secular, gives historical recognition to a single religion in its Political Constitution; in addition, it imparts the Catholic religion as if it were official at all levels of regular basic education and the ancestral practices of living culture are perceived by some so-called artists and communicators with disdain and solely for the purpose of racist and commercial mockery.

The need to recognize the variability of mystical conceptions in the Andes, could stir up the discredit to the Andean culture: "Between science, as an ideology or scientism, and critical science there is an analogous difference as that between the philosophy of

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⁸ MARIÁTEGUI, J.C. (2011). Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana [Seven essays on the interpretation of Peruvian reality] (Linkgua US), p. 33

⁹ MARZAL, M. (2005). Religiones andinas [Andean religions] (Trotta, S.), p.142

domination, of the system or ontology, and the Philosophy of Liberation."¹⁰. State as the governing body of science ignores the multiplicity of conceptions within its territory, to which is added the usufruct of the customs of the Andean inhabitants as a synonym of naivety in their daily lives. Philosophy is a kind of question-and-answer maker with which man is guided: "When you enter the philosophical dialogue, you do it wanting to understand what are the reasons given by the person who thinks differently, understanding that the person who thinks differently from me is my collaborator"¹¹. The social interaction of man's nature requires a certain dose of philosophical dialogue to bear the heavy burden of existence until its sunset. Just as in the film *Retablo* the Andean Quechua-speaking man implores the firmament which is related to a horizon of infinite hills.

Intersubjectivity in Retablo

Regardless of the contributions of German idealism and the Husserlian theory of intersubjectivity, this film attempts to communicate the essence of the problem in interpersonal relationships in a society marked by machismo and the supposed vigilance of the prototype morality of social guidance. Peruvian politics has manifestations of constant subtle racism from the essence of the three powers of the state, the "ninguneo" to the people of the Peruvian interior is evident an example of many works: "The ways in which writing and spelling are perceived have become sources of discrimination or racialization in Peru" Ancestral cultures and customs were subdued by cultures apparently superior to them that tried to eliminate the vestiges of Andean survival at the level of their actual existence. It is necessary to follow a re-educational path to restructure the methodologies that interpret a phenomenon of the real culture of the peoples, as in the case of Ayacucho with the film *Retablo* that reveals unconscious feelings of a tradition marked by the prevailing morality. The film questions the coexistence of individual cultures in conflict in a society that disguises this. One must resort to Cartesian methodical doubt to question the defining teachings:

According to this philosopher, "once in a lifetime" we must question all the inherited knowledge, everything that our family, our teachers and the books we have read have taught us, and pass all this information through the sieve of methodical criticism. In conclusion, much of what's on our minds was placed there when we were very young, and we didn't have the right lights to judge for ourselves¹³.

The categorical truth interposed in the context of the film is questionable by the teachings that justify the methodical doubt. Having a concept analyzed with rationality

¹⁰ DUSSEL, E. (2011). Filosofía de la liberación [Philosophy of Liberation] (Fondo de Cultura Económica), p.165.

¹¹ MARTINS, A. (2021). "Filosofar es examinar la vida, cuestionarla, interrogarla, precisamente para poderla vivir humana y cabalmente." ["To philosophize is to examine life, to question it, to interrogate it, precisely in order to be able to live it humanly and fully"]. BBCMundo. https://acortar.link/wZM7ax

¹² LOVÓN CUEVA, M. (2020). "La literacidad para legislar": Una ideología hegemónica reproducida por el diario peruano Correo. Literatura y lingüística, ["Literacy to legislate": A hegemonic ideology reproduced by the Peruvian newspaper Correo. Literature and linguistics] (41), 413-454. https://dx.doi.org/10.29344/0717621x.41.2271

¹³ CABRERA, J. (2015). Cine: 100 años de filosofía: una introducción a la filosofía a través del análisis de películas [Cinema: 100 years of philosophy: an introduction to philosophy through film analysis] (Gedisa).

according to the structural changes of society allows us to understand the private individuality of human beings. The reflection of the truth of an empirical knowledge of the Quechua-speaking Andean conception is unquestionable. The free entry of information to the most remote villages of Peru broke the rigid line of social stereotypes of the community by interpreting the false gods of Catholicism as a divine curse. The education that overvaluates the Andean totems up to the levels of the world cultures allows to understand the Andean experience in its true dimension. The categories of classification within a genre is an interpretative criterion:

This fictional drama, shot in Quechua in the Andean region of Ayacucho (in southern Peru), won the Teddy Award at the Berlinale last year – the award for the best LGTBI-themed film – and has added more than 20 international distinctions since its premiere at the Lima Festival in August 2017, where the jury rated it as the best Peruvian film¹⁴.

The questioning of human sexuality and its practice has been the subject of debate for millennia. In the Andean communities it is a deep-rooted that love is born in coexistence and the best witnesses will be the godparents who interact as guarantors of convenience. Intimacy is a personal matter; however, the public delves into life through society and the cultural development of each people: "Narrated in Quechua, from the point of view of the adolescent, it tells his story as the son and apprentice of a recognized and admired master retablist and a young and strong mother" 15. Maternal authority in this case is preponderant, given the supposed weakness of the father figure due to his homosexual orientation; however, this phenomenon is not evident in the film. The manifestations of homosexuality are severely questioned in the Andean community, being seen as diabolical perversion in relation to the Christianity that is practiced in the community. In the Andean construct, it will be a foretaste of natural disasters leading to the destruction of peaceful experience in harmony with nature. The prompt removal of these aberrations means safeguarding the good coexistence that has been implanted for years.

Rigor and violence were essential characteristics of informal education within the Andean communities of macho conception. The stigma of a weak father figure is synonymous with the fact that the child is homosexual. *Retablo* is a film about "becoming a man" or what that means. But also about the tolerance to accept in the family what the environment rejects with violence" ¹⁶. The spontaneous coexistence of society in the world in general slightly questions female homosexuality in relation to history and current affairs. The adjectivations about female homosexuality are sublime in their appraisals, they do not provoke a great condemnation as the male type. In the Andean conception, such practices are not allowed in any kind. Single women with ages outside of conventional marriage are stigmatized as butches, reluctant to accept a man's courtship. In some more closed

¹⁴ FOWKS, J. (2019). 'Retablo', la película en quechua que aborda la homofobia ['Retablo', the film in Quechua that addresses homophobia]. https://acortar.link/MAj2qi

¹⁵ SAEZ, L. (2017). *La vida en miniatura [Life in miniature]*. The Spectator. https://acortar.link/GY2pTq
¹⁶ ESCALANTE, J. (2019). Crítica | "Retablo": La mirada del hijo [Criticism | "Altarpiece": The look of the son]. https://acortar.link/w1wb4F

communities, the concern to eradicate bachelors and spinsters is a priority for social order and harmonious coexistence.

Quechua and its intercultural expression

The Quechua language, like others in the world, had its heyday with a mastery of vast imperial territories. In circumstances of invasion and war, the imposition of Quechua as the official language of the conquered territory was brutal, it was necessary to eliminate the vestiges of the native language of the conquered peoples and at the same time impose the culture of the conquerors. This phenomenon similar to other cultures in the world characterized men at different stages of their social development. The essence of these conquests is to expand their territories with a desire for economic domination and thus reach the historical process of society as indicated here: "The post-capitalist society will be, for Drucker, a non-capitalist and non-socialist society, but not acapitalist one nor anticapitalist. It will be an educated society and of large official and private organizations that necessarily operate by virtue of the flow of information" Finding an intercultural society to the perfection of political decision-makers of all eras and in different social and geographical spectrums is illusory, because it ends up being the conquest with economic and cultural domination from one nation to another.

The interest in world domination occurred at different times in the history of humanity where the victorious countries impose their culture and especially their language. The Peruvian territory was a Spanish domain, but the fact that Spain was the conqueror does not prevent the comparison of the marginalization of Quechua in the Andes with that of other languages in its own European territory. It is common to find traits of marginalization in the use of different languages, especially those who hold the power of the day; here you are example of political marginalization in Spain:

"In Andalusia expressions such as 'chiqui', 'mi arma', 'cariño', 'niño' or 'chiquillo' are used every day by all citizens; therefore, when you criticize me for the use of these frequent expressions in Andalusia, you are criticizing the speech of Andalusia," said the minister to applause from her government team. "Stop using it. I'm not going to remind you anymore, I'm just saying that you have a deep history of contempt for Andalusia," he ended by reminding them¹8.

The injunctions towards minority speakers are accompanied by strong adjectives that describe contempt for aboriginal culture in its manifestation of interculturality. Spontaneous tolerance towards other cultures within a single nation is nil. Constantly repeating and scrubing against minorities is a common practice of television and radio show hosts. The model of tolerance that politicians want to impose is questionable; well, they

¹⁸ CABO, N. (2020). María Jesús Montero planta cara al PP y defiende su acento: "Dejen de utilizar el andaluz para desprestigiar a Andalucía [María Jesús Montero stands up to the PP and defends her accent: "Stop using Andalusian to discredit Andalusia"]. https://acortar.link/LhecG1

¹⁷ VILORIA, O. (2005). Reseña de "La sociedad poscapitalista" [Review of "The Postcapitalist Society"]. Revista Venezolana de Análisis de Coyuntura, XI(1), 324–330. https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/364/36401114.pdf, p.326

appeal to freedom of expression to belittle an entire millenary culture. The case of Peruvian discrimination within the political scene is evident in every question when it comes to vindication or the mere fact of participating in politics:

"I don't know what intellectual work she has, but I have 30, 40 books cited and translated" [said linguist Martha Hildebrandt] in reference to Quechua congresswoman Maria Sumire. "They are people who have no intellectual capacity or professional training" and alluded to the fact that she could not compare with her because she have held high positions such as the global sub-directorate of UNESCO¹⁹.

The parallelism of the scenarios in different contexts and political circumstances, where aborigines and minority speakers of other languages are despised, is not yet legislated clearly for their legal and moral condemnation, as this would generate an intercultural tolerance. In each electoral participation, the most important space is occupied by the inhabitants of the centralist metropolis, Lima. When a personality from the interior of the provinces appears, the media immediately react with pejoratives and accusations of ignorance of Peruvian politics. Without focusing on a single example of many, the political situation in Peru can be highlighted:

Newspaper Correo (2009a) lamented the writing of Hilaria Supa, who noted among her notes: "comgress Of the rePoBlec they Discossed thesituashion of Brai [instead of the Vrae region] there wos Manys ParticiPashion" without considering, from a linguistic point of view, the influence that the mother tongue exerted on her writing, represented in the vowel changes; or from a social point of view, it did not contemplate the lack of schooling to explain the practice of writing of Supa, who despite this became a parliamentarian in Congress during the period 2006-2011 in which former President Alan García governed²⁰.

As already indicated, the media play an informative role, but the essence is to stigmatize the culture of the Andean population, minimizing the much-mentioned interculturality. In times of supposed normality, where Quechua-speaking peasants must be used as an instrument of identity, the owners of the large media disseminate images and videos extolling their spontaneous experiences. Discrimination against Andean people in the participation of political life and the social scale shines through, meanwhile they fight against the pitfalls of contempt for their condition as peasants evidenced by the color of their skin and their linguistic failures. On many occasions, those of the province, especially the Andean inhabitants, were described as second-class citizens. Added to this is the stigma of "terruqueo" or calling the Quechua-speaking Ayacucho population terrorists due to the internal wars that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s caused by the parts in conflict: the Shining Path subversives and the Armed Forces, with peasants crossed by the two sides of

²⁰ LOVON, M. A. (2020). "La literacidad para legislar": Una ideologia hegemonica reproducida por el diario peruano Correo ["Literacy to legislate": A hegemonic ideology reproduced by the Peruvian newspaper Correo]. Literature and Linguistics, 41, 415–456. https://doi.org/10.29344/0717621X.41.2271, p.415

SERVINDI. (2006). ¿Martha Hildebrandt debe ser sancionada por el delito de discriminación? [Should Martha Hildebrandt be punished for the crime of discrimination?] https://acortar.link/GcG5HC
 LOVÓN, M. A. (2020). "La literacidad para legislar": Una ideología hegemónica reproducida por el diario

military siege. That stigma is used in every political event as a threat to the resurgence of Shining Path and to eradicate it no better than Lima politicians.

Conclusions

As in any culture, and especially language, the Quechua language underwent transformations, changes and manipulations by the governments of the day, but also by the hegemony of one language over another. The loss of the words of its millenary culture is linked to its gradual extinction. Independent of the qualifying adjectives imposed by the inhabitants of the metropolis, there are important works that vindicate the validity of the Quechua language and its common speech, as is the case of the film Retablo, because there a philosophical symbiosis of conceiving the world is analyzed. This conception of man in particular of the Quechua-speaking Andean and who practices his own rites directly linked to the *Pachamama* (Mother Earth), complements in a balanced way the alien belief of the faith in the Catholic religion. The Quechua language withstood stages of Spanish conquest, the colony, the independence process and the republican era until the present day: "According to 2017 census figures, about four and a half million Peruvians have a native language as their mother tongue and 13.6% of the population has Quechua as their first language.".21 Reason enough that the film in Ouechua has an acceptance and identification in its population as a mother tongue. The participation of the community in eradicating amoral practices of behavior, established as a norm for good coexistence, is manifested with iron physical and psychological punishments.

The Quechua language is still valid and one sign is that the all the film *Retablo* was filmed entirely in that language *rimarisum* (let's all talk) "giving strength to the voice" is Andean popular culture, an open struggle against colonialism and domination with orality, writing and filmic image. The experience of the peasants in their interrelation with nature and the overlap with another religion such as the Catholic, did not eliminate their Andean conception of nature. Economic trade as a way of survival of the protagonists of the film and inhabitants of Ayacucho, is currently still practiced: there are groups of artisans organized in guilds that are dedicated to the craftsmanship of altarpieces that are disseminated internationally. It is a priority the unrestricted respect for the identity of cultures in the process of extinction due to contempt for the state entities, who have the obligation to defend them.

²¹ OLMO, G. (2021). *Quechua en Perú: por qué es polémico su uso si es una lengua oficial en el país*. [Quechua in Peru: why its use is controversial if it is an official language in the country] BBCNews https://acortar.link/obrJeZ



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