

Obras citadas

Culler, Jonathan. *Sobre la deconstrucción*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1992.

Habermas, Jürgen. "Modernidad versus posmodernidad." *Colombia en el despertar de la Modernidad*. Comp. Fernando Viviescas y Fabio Giraldo. Bogotá: Foro Nacional por Colombia, 1991.

Lyotard, Jean Francois. *La condición posmoderna*. Trans. Mariano Antolín Rato. Madrid: Cátedra, 1996.

Mardones, José María. "El neo-conservadurismo de los posmodernos." *En torno a la posmodernidad*. Barcelona: Anthropos, 1994.

Montalbán, Manuel. *El estrangulador*. Barcelona: Mondadori, 1994.

Mora, Rosa. "Si apuestas por la utopía eres un demente." *El País Babelia*. 19 noviembre 1994. 4 diciembre 2001. <<http://vespito.net/mvm/entr1.html>>.

Soja, Edward W. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real and Imagined Places*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996.

Spitzmsser, Ana María. *Narrativa posmoderna española*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1999.

Vattimo, Gianni. *The Transparent Society*. Trans. David Webb. Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1992.

Vattimo, Gianni, et al. *En torno a la posmodernidad*. Barcelona: Anthropos, 1994.

AN ANDEAN RESPONSE TO COLONIAL IDEOLOGY:
GUAMAN POMA'S PORTRAYAL OF *HUACAS*

Steven Pent

University of California, Santa Barbara

The native chronicler, artist, and nobleman Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala is one of the few extant cases of an Andean subverting the process of colonial inscription through the production of both text and image. By way of his *Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno* of 1615, Guaman Poma sought to reverse a Hispanicized version of the colonial enterprise in Peru. As he adopted European art forms and script, he discreetly recontextualized Andean pre-Hispanic traditions for the Spanish reader as part of a coherent ethnohistory on a par with European norms. By rendering Andean images using Spanish models, he was also able to occlude native ritual and practice which may have endangered traditional belief systems represented in Andean iconography. Moreover, his reluctance to fully disclose contemporary hybrid Christian practices in the highlands had as much to do with preservation of self as to do with his own pre-Inca heritage, since a lack of self-censure might have added fuel to the *extirpación de idolatría* campaigns against Andean communities during processes begun in 1609. The idolatry accusation itself was one of the most potent weapons for imposing Spanish control during the colonial era (Griffiths 50). Thus, as Tom Cummins has suggested, the images have as much to say in what they omit as in what they portray (256). I will argue that through the representation of *huacas*, Guaman Poma sought to preserve some vestige of native practices in his drawings and text by appropriating Christian symbolism and myth-history in order to keep alive both Andean social memory as well as ethnic identity.

In the midst of a colonial regime that suppressed public veneration of mummified ancestors, Guaman Poma conflates Andean myth-history with biblical narrative, reconfiguring hero-ancestors from both traditions according to Christian salvation history and Andean timelines. For instance, Adam and Eve in one scene [fig. 1], together with imagined post-diluvian Andean descendants of Noah in another [fig. 2], are pictorially located in the Andes during the first age or *primer generación de yndios*. Engaged in soil preparation for planting, the pair is depicted making use of the native digging stick *taki chaclla* (Guaman Poma 40). As one historian suggests, the "story, like that of the biblical tribes, is intensely concerned with control over specific resources in a sacralized landscape" (Salomon, "Introductory Essay" 2). The presence of a tool, furthermore, implies a mediated external relationship with the environment (Echebarría 99) which, in Guaman Poma's reconstruction, would have meant the domestication of an untamed

Andean topography, in effect, giving a hybrid version of the story of the post-diluvian Noah planting a vineyard. The inclusion of native language accompanying the image of the *taki chaclla*, conversely implies a progressive internalization of the linguistic practices (Echebarria 99) within the Andean environment, in this case that of the Quechua language. Thus, by recruiting pre-Christian hero-ancestors, the chronicler connects biblical sacred genealogy with its Andean counterpart, immortalizing them together within a sacred landscape of mountain peaks, rocks, hills, springs, lakes, crags, caves, and other telluric features. The highlands, in this sense, would be characterized by permanent land features imbued with the presence of petrified supernatural beings, otherwise known by the Quechua term *huaca*, whose tradition Guaman Poma sought to rescue as a means of accessing specific physical and social resources.

The Andean escarpment was itself a kaleidoscope of rural, agrarian communities (*ayllus*), who possessed their own unique *huaca* shrines, identifiable with both place of origin (*paqarina*) and mountain dwelling in the form of caves or cavities (*machayes*), from which founder-ancestors (*malquis*) had emerged and were mummified at death. As Susan Ramirez points out, these shrines were:

ritual centers and monuments memorializing the ancestors, their good government, and their wealth, measured not by the accumulation of material goods as much as by the numbers of their subjects or descendants. [This topographical feature] represented kinship, the blood ties that bound society together from the present to the cosmological past. It was an ancient place described as a house. It was a place of devotion and ritual that the living frequented to make offerings and sacrifices to their ancient mothers and fathers, whom they believed still provided for them. The monument served to remind the living of their relationship to and dependence on their ancestors. (Ramirez 148)

Tom Dillehay points out that by constructing these monuments, *ayllus* may have created a "process of transition through which the living and the dead are disentangled and defined contextually, with the former residing outside of the tomb and the latter remaining inside" (8). Moreover, there existed a belief that a breach in a community's relationship to its ancestors would bring about complaints and accusations from their enshrined kin, who might then respond with illness, injury, crop failures, earthquakes, floods, and so on. It is possible to conclude that each community received its life-energy and specific powers through ceremonial commemoration of its own local *huaca* (be it in the form of monolith, statue, or other sacred object), which at the same time provided both myth of origins (social memory) and primordial title to a location on the landscape (ethnic identity) (Salomon and Urioste 54fn86, 75fn287). As Frank Salomon suggests, "the rites [...] resulted in the creation of an everlasting person whose presence throughout the

annual round of celebrations would voice the claims of social structure" ("The Beautiful Grandparents" 336). For Guaman Poma, then, it was imperative to retain this link to both myth-history and sacred topography in order to preserve the seamless web between physical and social resources against a background of Spanish ransacking of sacred places and antagonistic policies begun at the First Council of Lima in 1551.

Furthermore, it seems possible that he purposely masked contemporary ancestral shrines by alleging their pre-Hispanic destruction under the eleventh Inca, Guayna Capac Ynga, as stated in his text: "Y [los huacas] no quisieron hablar ni responder en cosa alguna. Y mandó [Guayna Capac Ynga] matar y consumir a todas las huacas menores [divinidades de nivel local]; saluáronse los mayores" (Guaman Poma 236). This could in fact refer retrospectively to the Inca custom of desecration of local tombs, as a means of occupation and establishment of imperial identity and mytho-historical placement in local affairs (Dillehay 8). On the other hand, the surviving shrines *los mayores*—which Guaman Poma discloses strategically for Spanish extirpation were only those "idols" championed by the Inca empire, such as Guanaeauré and Pacaritambo [fig. 3], from which had emerged their most prominent ancestors. While he is emphatic, for the sake of his Spanish readers, that *huacas* are a thing of the Inca past, Guaman Poma's imagery and text contain secret codes for accessing *huaca* traditions. For instance, the first ancestors, the *Turi Viracocha Runa* [fig. 4], are described as having lived in caves and rocky crevices (*cuevas y peñascos*) which appear to be a means for referencing a long-standing tradition of committing the mummified remains of hero-ancestors (*mallquis*) to these lithic abodes (*machayes*). A second generation of primordial Andeans, the *Turi Runa* [fig. 5], are both described and illustrated as having erected stone dwellings in the shape of ovens, known in Quechua as *pucullo*, "burial house" (Guaman Poma 45). The designation *Pucullo* appears more prominently on Inca ancestral sarcophaguses [fig. 5] (Guaman Poma 231), as mark of the introduction of Inca ritual idolatry. Guaman Poma's insistence on idolatry as a by-product of the Inca age appears to have served as a political weapon for reviving the virtue and legitimacy of pre-Inca rulers from whom he claims ascendancy (1130fn56). Nevertheless, in the image and accompanying text of figures 2 and 4, Guaman Poma attempts to distract Spanish attention from the widespread oral tradition of *mallqui* genealogies. Years later, Spanish extirpators left records of one that was uncovered in the community of Oeros in 1621. That particular myth begins with a supernatural *huaca* founder, then traces the course of its four sons as junior *huacas* and concludes with a transition to a human genealogy made up of three generations prior to the advent of the Incas (Salomon, "Beautiful Grandparents" 339). At this point in time, however, Guaman Poma seeks to establish before the Spanish monarch the innocence of his noble ancestors who had

come prior to the introduction of state-sponsored idolatry in the Andes. And so he claims, "no tenian guacas ydolos ni adorauan a las piedras ni al sol y a la luna ni a las estrellas ni tenian templo cubierto" (58). The encoded meanings, consequently, remain hidden from colonial censure.

Still another code for accessing *huaca* traditions can be located in the same accounts accompanying the images of the first two primordial generations. Andean forefathers are said to invoke their creator by the formulaic, "Señor, hasta cuando clamaré y no me oyrás y daré voces y no me rresponderás?" and "O, señor, adónde estás? En el cielo o en el mundo o en el cabo del mundo o en el ynfierno? Adónde estás? Oyme, hazerdor del mundo y de los hombres! Oyme, Dios!" (Guaman Poma 41, 45) On the surface, these invocations might persuade colonial authorities of the idea of pre-Inca monotheism. But the original version in Quechua is more nuanced, as it betrays an Andean prayer formula consisting of a series of questions that religious specialists would have used to address their local *huacas*. Through an exchange of question, answer, and free-floating statement, the adept were allegedly able to identify the deity and its powers [fig.6] (McCormack, "Religion" 302). The fact that native priests would have given consultations or oracular responses on behalf of *mallquis* in clandestinity was a suspect occurrence in the colonial period (Salomon, "Beautiful Grandparents" 323). The Quechua term used to translate "hacerdor del mundo," furthermore, was Pachacamac, an important oracular shrine and pan-Andean pilgrimage site. Thus, Guaman Poma's subtext may have harbored critical Quechua concepts for accessing *huacas*.

A final resource for retrieving *huaca* knowledge can be located in the Andean grid of pictorial signification that pervades many of Guaman Poma's images. Rolena Adorno summarizes how this graphic code works:

In all the compositions arranged along the primary diagonal, a figure at the upper right-hand portion of the field (the viewer's upper-left) is balanced by a figure at the lower left (our lower-right). The diagonal line thus created signifies a pattern of hierarchy [...]. In the drawings that illustrate humanity's relationship to its gods, the deity is always placed in the upper right-hand position, and the human figures worship below at the lower-left [...]. The *hanan* (upper-right) *hurin* (lower-left) relationship prevails throughout the representation of biblical, Incaic, and [the] modern Andean [...] clearly [a] graphic symbol by which Guaman Poma articulates his views of ancient and modern persons as religious beings. (99-100)

Deviation from this grid can be observed in the disorientation of the Vari Runa ancestor who looks up and leftward to address the deity—instead of rightward, as he should have [fig.4]. It could be argued that his misguidedness is to be attributed to a line of vision directed away from the landscape. As Salomon reiterates, "the horizon, not the cosmos—geography, not metaphysics—poses the questions to

which its most vibrant deities give answers. Andean *numina* lodge in places or placed objects" (Salomon, "Introductory Essay" 16). Conversely, religious images from the Inca age show correct diagonal alignment because of a focus and directional deference to a sacred landscape, immortalized by *huaca* shrines in the *hanan* position [fig.7] So, while Guaman Poma deflects potential charges of idolatry onto the Inca in his Castilian text, the coded images suggest that the Inca had a "right" relationship to their deities, which from an Andean perspective, might be taken as an example to be imitated.

Imperial *huaca*-worship, on the other hand, would have been an unfortunate Inca deviation from the pre-Inca monotheism that had prevailed during the first generations of *indios*. But this political ploy was only a means for Guaman Poma to assert, from his father's side, royal lineage from a competing ethnic group out of Huánuco, the Yarovilcas; and from his mother's side, a line of Inca that was suppressed by the more belligerent branch out of Cuzco. As a result, Guaman Poma appears to reproach the Inca usurpers for their subsumption of regional and local myth-histories and local *huaca* cults in order to "legitimate political power by establishing and then articulating consensus" (McCormack, "Religion" 57) under a centralized imperial cult.

One of the foundational myths that was co-opted by the Incas was that of the Aymara hero-ancestor Tunupa, situated around Lake Titicaca. Southern Titicaca had been an important pilgrimage center during the pre-Inca eras. But under Inca colonization, the myth became part of the state-sponsored Viracocha Ayar twins cycle of mythical journey along an imperial landscape. The purpose had been to assert dynastic themes of "territoriality, militarism, politico-religious organization and hierarchy," while subordinating universal themes of civility and industriousness that had characterized previous mythology (Sallnow 34). Thus, for the Incas, Lake Titicaca represented "a global space that stretched across the central Andes" (Sallnow 33). Guaman Poma rescues the pre-Inca myth by appropriating a Christian hero to fill the shoes of Tunupa as a means for masking the continuance of shrines in the area.

According to Guaman Poma's hybrid mythical narrative, the pre-Inca era comes to an end with the murder of his maternal ancestor *Tocay Capac* by the usurper *Cinche Roca Ynga* and the implantation of *huaca* worship (70). Not long afterward, Saint Bartholomew arrives to preach in the Titicacan Callao province. Initially, he is forced to seek shelter in a cave in order to get out of the cold. Once inside, however, he finds an oracular *huaca* stone guarded by a local sorcerer or *hechicero*. The *huaca* is not able to speak in the presence of the Christian saint, but once left alone with the sorcerer, it declares the saint to be more powerful than itself, which wins over the *hechicero* in the process [fig.8] (Guaman Poma 72). According to a late colonial account in Arequipa, a group of worshippers, upon

arrival at the mouth the cave of their *mallquis*, "whistled to ask for entry. Inside the cave they greeted the ancestors, who sat or stood among their offerings in a lifelike tableau" (Salomon, "Beautiful Grandparents" 324). Guaman Poma suggests in his reconstruction that the more powerful Spanish *huaca* had come to replace the local one, while taking on the miraculous *Cruz de Carabuco* as its avatar and ancestral marker on the Titicacan landscape, thus laying claim to irrigation water, the greatest sign of agrarian wealth in the central Andes (Salomon, "Introductory Essay" 9).

Guaman Poma emphatically claims before his Spanish audience that the Inca empire centered in Cuzco reversed the earlier christianization process, and instead forced—through threats of genocide and ethnocide—imperial *huaca* worship upon its subject peoples:

De cómo dio los Yngas modo y orden y sacrificio a los yndios para mochar¹ al sol y a la luna y a las estrellas y uacas y piedras y peñas y lagunas y otras cosas. Y a los que no la hazian luego lo mandaua matar y consumir toda su generación de ellos y en su pueblo mandaua sembrar sal para memoria. (239)

Conversely, the royal lineage from which Guaman Poma descended, including the first Incas, are said to have had nothing to do with these idolatrous practices: "Pero el primer Ynga, Tocay Capac, no hubo ydolo ni serimonias; fue limpio de eso hasta que comenzó a freynar su madre y muger de Mango Capac Ynga y su casta" (63). In Guaman Poma's myth-history, this female progenitor of the usurper Incas, *Mama Huaco* [fig.9], was the sorceress responsible for the introduction of idolatry. As such, she took on the role of one of humanity's greatest sinners, the biblical primordial mother, Eve (Adorno 75). Guaman Poma's motivation for tarnishing the Incas, moreover, belies an underlying need to resurrect the ancient and competing dynasty of the Yarovilca out of Allauca Huánoco, from which he claims descent and lordly status (Guaman Poma 130-31).

In spite of his aversion toward Inca hegemony, Guaman Poma the artist appears to affirm and maintain the dignity of Andean lords, including the Incas. Though he might accuse, on the one hand, *Mama Huaco* and her son / husband *Manco Capac Inca* of meddling in idolatry—a punishable crime during the Spanish era—on the other, he pictures them both in poses of great dignity according to Western conventions. For instance, in one image they kneel together for prayer according to Christian, rather than Inca, decorum, and the ruler uncharacteristically removes his headband [fig.7] (McCormack, "Time" 318). The accompanying text also describes Inca succession in a similar vein to biblical chronicles of Israelite dynastic traditions. References to extent of rulership, heroic

¹ *Mochar*: to adore.

feats, religious advantages and faults, as well as divine judgments on any given ruler abound in the text. These rulers at one time would have been immortalized at death through mummification and commemoration, but under Spanish occupation their cult and material remains were now destroyed. However, Guaman Poma attempts to keep alive their memory as symbols of pan-Andean identity in order to counter the widespread dislocation of communities during Spanish-era *reducciones*, a radical program of resettlement and draft labor that began under the draconian viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1570. Because of this community displacement, there remained the danger of erosion of ties to mythic origins and hero-ancestors linked to local or regional *huaca* shrines. Finally, some form of collective memory would have been especially important to hold onto in light of the extirpation campaigns that ferreted out clandestine mortuary cults which reverted back to *pueblos viejos* (pre-contact sites) (Salomon, "Beautiful Grandparents" 320).

A final historical reconstruction in the *Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno* is that of a return of Christianity to the Andes at the close of the Inca age. To that effect, the Spanish conquest is reconfigured as the miraculous rescue of the Spanish population of Cuzco including the conquistadors, Francisco de Pizarro and Diego de Almagro from an Andean siege of the city. The protagonist of this rescue is the Christian icon, Santa María de Peña de Francia, set in the clouds [fig.10]. According to European myth-history, she had originally appeared in Asturias upon a boulder facing France (Guaman Poma 1141fn405). At the time of the chronicle, she was but one of many figures introduced in the Andes as part of a project of Marian colonization of the religious landscape. Guaman Poma, however, seems to fuse her features and lithic associations with those of autochthonous telluric deities. For instance, he describes her dress as snow-white, an association with water common to major *huacas* such as Pariaecaca, the creative snowcapped peak. He then depicts her face as being bright like the sun, itself a major Inca *huaca* enshrined at Coricancha in Cuzco. The Quechua verbs that describe the Marian image are reflective of both an attitude of awe on the part of the Andeans, as well as to a sign of discontent on the part of the deity. The latter proceeds to shower the former with dirt, in a behavior reminiscent of displeased telluric deities that precipitate landslides (Guaman Poma 375, 607).

The Spanish icon of the conquest, Santiago, is likewise conflated with telluric deities. In another episode of the conquest, Guaman Poma again locates the *cristianos* at Cuzco besieged by rebel armies. On this occasion, the apostle of Christ falls out of heaven in the form of lightning, striking with the force of thunder the Inca fortress of Saesa Guaman, thus breaking up the Andean host and putting it to flight (377). The chronicler's image reinforces the European notion of Santiago as the prototype of knighthood and patron of triumphant crusades [fig.

[11]. But his written narrative appears to associate Santiago with *illapa* (lightning), a major Inca *huaca*. In fact, when an Inca ruler died, he was said to become lightning (239, 351). For Santiago to be perceived by Guaman Poma as becoming lightning reflects upon his need to fill a power vacuum left over by the absence of major *huacas* in the highlands. Lightning was an important harbinger of rain, the life-giving substance of the Andean landscape, without which agrarian communities would cease to exist. In effect, Guaman Poma boldly fuses the official image of the saint with its Andean associations despite being familiar with the prohibition placed by the Third Council of Lima in 1583 on popular devotions of Santiago.

Ultimately, it must be noted that Guaman Poma adopts Christian symbolism in order to bridge the time gap between pre-Inca (represented by St. Bartholomew and the Cruz de Carabuco) and post-Inca religiosity (represented by Santa María Peña de Francia and Santiago), as well as between disappearing local *huacas* and introduced hybrid ones. By associating these pre-Inca icons with the Titicaca region and the post-Inca icons with Cuzco, the Yarovilca nobleman lays claim to what he considers resources (physical—water sources and human political centers) that are rightfully Andean. At the same time, his inclusion of hybrid *huacas* are an asset for Andeans in their recovery of both social memory and control over the sacred landscape. This phenomenon was described by Salomon in the following terms:

Individual *huaca* myths seem to accord the *huaca* cults many of the same attributes as Christian religion: for example, a covenantal concept of obligation, an image of superhuman action as law giving, a notion of history as the continuing interaction of deity and society. ("Introductory Essay" 3)

At the same time, Guaman Poma's visual and written narrative contains enough orthodox elements to satisfy his immediate Spanish audience.

The chronicler's Andean landscape, however, has been generally altered by the colonial project. Sabine McCormack considers his images empty, devoid not only of native deities but of saints and shrines that normally would have cluttered European landscape images (McCormack, "Time" 329, 335). The colonial landscape seen in this light tends to be more subtle, unavailable for public consumption, but still alive for clandestine observation by native communities in their continuation of agrarian rites: "lo eiguin en el senbrar la comida, en qué mes y en qué día y en qué ora y en qué punto por donde raya el sol. Lo miran los altos serros y por la mañana de la claridad y rayo que apunta el sol a la uintana" (Guaman Poma 210). I believe that Guaman Poma held onto the same ideology as the ethnic *Checa* storytellers of the Huarochiri Manuscript, who considered the makeup of society and its genesis "to be written out in the landscape, even where

Spaniards had wrecked every visible monument or substituted crosses for *huacas*" (Salomon, "Introductory Essay" 24).

Guaman Poma's project, furthermore, runs counter to prevailing colonial ideology—with writers such as Francisco de Avila, Cabello Valboa, or Antonio de Calancha—that denigrated Andean antiquity as being either diabolically-influenced or hopelessly confused (Salomon, "Introductory Essay" 3). Practical considerations also conspired against native myth-history, as Spanish clerics and laymen alike ransacked *huaca* shrines in search of treasure. Meanwhile, contemporary clergymen, such as Francisco de Avila, sought career promotions through extirpation campaigns. In short, practices of colonial inscription run the gamut from census visits, *relaciones*, and trial testimonies to reports of extirpation of idolatry and "writings directed to Spanish authorities by 'transcultural' frontier authors like Guaman Poma" (Abercrombie 417). I argue, however, that the Andean nobleman attempts to give his own particular vision of Andean myth-history a "biblical architecture" as a means of recovering some degree of autonomy from colonial inscription. By developing his own inscribing practice,

he passe[d] meaning through time by vesting it in objects other than living people, such as texts, monuments, etc. Because inscriptions unlike corporeal acts have independent physical existence beyond the moment when a meaning was expressed in them, "inscribed" objects can become problematic, enigmatic, or contradictory vis-à-vis each other and their context. (Salomon, "Beautiful Grandparents" 346)

Thus, though his images and text are on the surface orthodox echoing in many instances the decrees of the Third Council of Lima and sympathizing with extirpators such as Cristobal de Albornoz—there are enough Andean elements to argue for a subtle heterodoxy that would have remained enigmatic for his Spanish audience. As Abercrombie suggests, "heterodox meanings could still be parsed in [...] public performances [i.e. devotions], especially when clandestine practice [i.e. agrarian rites] was employed as a supplement to public cult" (262). Ultimately, his was a need to affirm identity and to assert "the moral superiority of Christianized Indians to most missionizing Spaniards" (Abercrombie 263), within a colonial system that disenfranchised many ethnicities including his own.

EL PRIMER MUNDO
ADAN-EVA



Figure 1

EL PRIMER MUNDO
VARI VIRACOCH

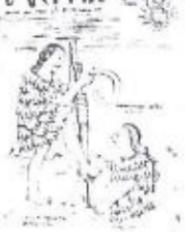


Figure 2

PRIMER CAPITULO DE LOS
ARMAS PROPIAS



Figure 7



Figure 8

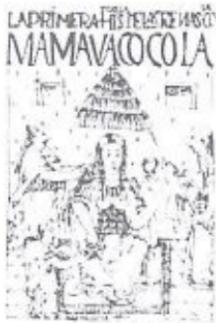


Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12

Works Cited

Abercrombie, Thomas A. *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History among an Andean People*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1998.

Adorno, Rolena. *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*. 2nd ed. Austin: U of Texas P, 2000.

Cummins, Thomas. "Images on Objects: The Object of Imagery in Colonial Native Peru as Seen Through Guaman Poma's *Nueva Crónica I Buen Gobierno*." *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 25.1 & 2 (1997): 237-73.

Dillehay, Tom D. "Introduction," *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1991, 1-13.

Echebarria, Echabe, and José Luis Castro. "Social Memory: Macropsychological Aspects." *The Psychology of the Social*. Ed. Uwe Flick. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988. 91-106.

Griffiths, Nicholas. *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru*. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1996.

Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *El nueva crónica y buen gobierno*. Eds. John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno. Trans. George Urioste. 3 vols. Mexico City: Siglo XXI IEP, 1980.

McCormack, Sabine. *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991.

—. "Time, Space, and Ritual Action: The Inka and Christian Calendars in Early Colonial Peru." *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*. Eds. Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno. Berkeley: U of California P, 1991. 295-343.

Ramirez, Susan Elizabeth. *The World Upside Down: Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996.

Sallnow, Michael J. *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cuzco*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute P, 1987.

Salomon, Frank. "'The Beautiful Grandparents': Andean Ancestor Shrines and Mortuary Ritual as Seen Through Colonial Records." *Tombs for the Living Andean Mortuary Practices: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1991, 315-47.

—. "Introductory Essay." *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*. Trans. Frank Salomon and George Urioste. Austin: U of Texas P, 1991. 1-38.

Salomon, Frank and George Urioste, trans. *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*. Austin: U of Texas P, 1991. 54fn86, 75fn287.

CONSTRUCTING CULTURES OF *CHICHA*: FUSING FRONTERAS IN A LIMA SOUND-SCAPE

Alison Krogel

University of Maryland, College Park

Beginning in 1940, waves of Peruvian peasants began to migrate to the capital city of Lima in hopes of finding enough economic security to build a stable life for themselves and for their families. The majority of these peasant migrants came from rural communities of the Central Andean highlands, from provinces such as Ayacucho, Junin, and Huancavelica. In these rural highland towns, the most common (and almost always the only) source of mass-media was the radio, which aired musical programs (primarily featuring international genres variety shows and advertisements for urban job offers or consumer goods).¹ Traditional Andean music was not broadcast and, according to Raúl R. Romero, that fact conveyed a strong ideological message: local musical traditions are not important and are neither admired nor respected by the outside world where urban, modern values reign, and are disseminated through the mass-media (Romero, "Preservation" 196).

On the outskirts of the city of Lima, the newly arrived highland migrants began to hastily construct *pueblos jóvenes* (young towns). Located far from the financial and service center of the capital, the *pueblos jóvenes* emerged atop city garbage dumps, while the refuse of others served as the construction material for migrant housing. Services such as electricity, sanitation, running water, or public transportation rarely reached these neighborhoods. It was in this squalid, marginalized space in which the second generation of highlanders was born. The lives of these children would begin on the outskirts of the Peruvian capital and, in some ways, this relegation to the space of the outsider would become a defining characteristic of the generation's existence. Considered *cholos* (provincial highlanders) by their *limeño* classmates, and *limeños* by first generation highlanders, these children were forced to create an identity of their own, as they simply did not fit into any of the discrete categories of identity available.

Perhaps the most important defining and unifying symbol of this second generation is the music called *chicha*. Like the fans and the performing artists of this music, *chicha* is a complex fusion of the urban and the rural, the very modern trends, and the highland traditions. It is a cacophony of layered rhythms, complex syncopations, unintelligible shouts, and intersecting instrumentations. To attempt to tell even a part of *chicha*'s story—to describe such elements as socio-historical

¹ Such 'international genres' most commonly included *cumbia* and *merengue* music from Venezuela, Colombia.