

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: *UKHU MANKAKUNA: CULINARY REPRESENTATIONS IN QUECHUA CULTURAL TEXTS*

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This dissertation explores culinary representations within colonial and contemporary Quechua texts selected from the genres of oral narrative, photography, painting, historical chronicle, song, poetry and the novel. The first chapter presents a cultural history of Andean foodstuffs, as well as an ethnographic narrative based on interviews with vendors and cooks in the Cuzco Central Market. The ensuing analysis reveals some of the conflicts and negotiations associated with the market's hierarchy of profits and prestige. Chapter two focuses on pre-colonial and colonial culinary representations as portrayed in various Incaic Quechua hymns, the *Comentarios reales* and religious canvases, while the third chapter explores contemporary representations of Quechua female cooks in *Los ríos profundos*, Asunta Quispe Huamán's *Autobiografía* and the photographs of Martín Chambi. Chapter four discusses the representation of the malevolent *layqa wayk'uq* ('witch cook') in a number of Quechua *willakuy* (oral narrations) which I recorded, transcribed and translated in highland villages of Southern Perú.

In analyzing the nuances and levels of meaning contained within examples of Quechua expressive art, I offer semantic and syntactic readings of the texts while also considering the socio-economic, historical and political contexts in which they were created. I also explore the ways in which Quechua artists manipulate the representation of Andean foodstuffs and cooks as an oppositional tactic for evading and manipulating the repressive tendencies of powerful political, economic and social discourses. I argue that in these texts, the 'everyday practice' of cooking allows Quechua women to take an active role in shaping their society and the lives of their families and community.

In addition to exploring some of the unique aspects of Quechua aesthetic expression in both colonial and contemporary texts, this dissertation concludes with a discussion of food politics and policies in contemporary Perú. Scholars studying food's role in society have long provided important insights in disciplines such as history, philosophy, anthropology, literature and sociology. By strategically crossing over these disciplinary boundaries in choosing theoretical and methodological tools, this dissertation creates a dialogue with the fields of Andean Studies, Latin American Studies, Native American Studies, Comparative Literature, Anthropology and Food Studies.

UKHU MANKAKUNA: CULINARY REPRESENTATIONS IN QUECHUA CULTURAL
TEXTS

by

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For my parents who never once allowed me to doubt myself, supporting me always.

*

Para Gustavo que me ha acompañado durante tantas aventuras, explorando tantos caminos, siempre ayudándome a ver y a entender las cosas desde nuevos puntos de vista.

*

*Qankunapaq ñañaturaykuna: Raquel, Hernán, Millie, Josúe, Dennis, Lucho, Wency, Rosa, Grimaldo, Paulina, Elisa, Dominga, llipin Quico llaqta runakunapaq-- qankuna yachachiwrankichis, yanapawarankichis, mihuyta qowarankichis, ñanta rikuchiwrankichis—
Tukuy sonqoywan, yusulpayki.*

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Introduction

An entire 'world' is present in and signified in food . . . [it] transforms itself into situation and performs a social function, it is not just physical nourishment.

Roland Barthes "Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption"

An Overview of the Multiple Significances of Food in Society:

In all societies and cultures food and its acquisition, preparation and consumption are --at least to some extent-- symbolically loaded.¹ Even when expanding the comparative periscope to encompass remote historical and geographical contexts, it is impossible to encounter a society in which the function of food does not rise above the purely nutritional. As the philosopher Louis Marin asserts, "all cookery involves a theological, ideological, political and economic operation by the means of which a non-signified edible foodstuff is transformed into a sign/body that is eaten" (121). A concern with the 'meaning' of food, however, does not exclude an interest in the 'social role of food' (Goody 33). Indeed, studies focusing on the importance of food as an indicator of the political, economic and cultural intricacies of a society have provided important insight for disciplines such as history, anthropology and sociology for many decades.

For historians, studying the production and distribution of certain foodstuffs often illuminates complex aspects of demographic patterns, or the political economy of a particular moment in history.² Sidney Mintz's excellent study entitled *Sweetness and Power*, traces the ways in which increased sugar consumption in eighteenth-century

England contributed to the sense of a new 'respectability' among working class Britons, while concomitantly increasing the demands placed on the imperial political and economic system of West Indian slavery. In this way, studying the new uses of one sort of food serves to illuminate processes occurring both on the micro stage of English domestic life and also within the complex, macro web of international cultural, political and economic histories.

For anthropologists, the study of food often serves as a tool for understanding kinship relationships, marital customs, religious rituals, inheritance patterns, or cosmological myths.³ In her ethnography *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, Audrey Richards presents her oft-cited argument that food is more fundamental than sex and that hunger (that is to say the search for, or the lack of food) is the "chief determinant of human relationships, initially within the family, but later in wider social groups, the village, age-grade, or political states" (ix). She goes on to demonstrate how the giving or receiving of certain cooked foods often symbolizes the acceptance of various legal or economic relationships (ibid. 127). Yet the most well-known anthropological text regarding food is arguably Claude Lévi-Strauss' study of mythologies entitled, *Le cru et le cuit*. In this book Lévi-Strauss observes that food (particularly the initial discovery of essential subsistence crops: corn, potato, wheat, yams, rice) plays an important role in the mythology of most cultures. His notion of the raw and the cooked locates food as the primary distinguishing characteristic of all humanity. Cooking he declares, ". . . has never been sufficiently emphasized, [it] is with language a truly universal form of human activity" (ibid.). He argues that the rise of cooking signals a move towards civilization, thus the difference between raw and

cooked foodstuffs becomes the major distinction between animals and humans. As the anthropologist Edmund Leach explains in his interpretation of Lévi-Strauss, “Men do not *have* to cook their food, they do so for symbolic reasons to show that they are men and not beasts. So fire and cooking are basic symbols by which Culture is distinguished from Nature” (*Introduction to a Science* 92).

Similar to many anthropological and historical studies, sociologists and philosophers often consider the role of food in the construction of gender, class and ethnic identities, while also exploring such complex questions as the links between food and sex, food related taboos, preferred tastes and flavors, as well as food inspired pleasure and disgust.⁴ For the sociologist Michel de Certeau, the act of cooking forms an integral part of his theory of ‘everyday practices’— ways of operating which allow one to elaborate and deploy clandestine ‘tactics’ in order to creatively elude the institutional, ‘disciplinary’ pressures of society’s hegemonic forces. Studies of the role of food in literature by scholars such as Diane McGee, Sarah Sceats and Gian-Paolo Biasin reveal that important insights can be gained from the investigation of the literary intersections of consumption habits, women, culture and history.

This dissertation was conceived with the intention of adding to the rich scholarly tradition of ‘food studies’ carried out predominantly in the social sciences and as a contribution to the growing body of work that considers the importance of food for literary studies. The title of this dissertation refers to a Quechua adage, “*Ukhu mankakuna*” which literally means ‘deep cooking pots’, an expression used to describe a particularly resourceful or creative woman who can always cook a quick and delicious meal in the spur of the moment and with surprisingly few ingredients. The

cooking metaphor is often extended, so that it may also refer to a woman capable of coming up with a quick and substantial answer or solution when one is unexpectedly demanded of her: ‘even when life became quite difficult at least my sister could count on her *deep cooking pot*’ (Rosa Quispe, personal communication). In the Quechua texts described below, the women who prepare and serve food in markets, restaurants, street corner stalls and kitchen tables depend on their ‘*ukhu mankakuna*’ to solve all manner of problems and obstacles—personal, political, economic, sentimental and otherwise.

Cooks traffic in the marketplace of taste and part of their power lies in their unique ability to manipulate and inspire our senses. One’s enjoyment of a meal depends on the complex sensory perception of the colors, smells, textures and, of course, tastes of the food arranged atop the plate. Of all of our five senses-- the oral, visual, tactile, aural, olfactory-- the sense of taste has been deservedly accorded the lion’s share of attention in culinary practices and studies. Scientists and our tongues have identified the human palate’s ability to perceive five fundamental tastes: salty, sweet, sour, bitter and umami.⁵ Like the cook who seeks to balance these *tastes* in a meal prepared for an esteemed client, the multi-genre study of Quechua texts in the following pages will engage the five senses --either directly or in the imagination-- as the reader listens to and views the complex tastes, smells and textures presented in these artistic assemblages. The following chapters explore the representations of food and cooks within a variety of colonial and contemporary Quechua texts selected from the genres of lyrical poetry, novel, testimonio, oral narrative performances, photography, painting and the historical chronicle. The analyses presented below seek to reveal the layers of

meaning and Quechua cultural categories carefully constructed just below the surface of these texts.

Jack Goody, in introducing his own ethnographic and theoretical study of cooking, argues for the division of food studies into four main areas: growing, allocating, cooking and eating which he envisions as representing the phases of ‘production’, ‘distribution’, ‘preparation’ and ‘consumption’. While the present study discusses all four of these areas, most chapters primarily focus on the latter two phases of these divisions-- ‘preparation’ and ‘consumption’. The use of the term *food-universe* in the pages that follow refers to the multifarious details involved in choosing, preparing, presenting and consuming different foods. Although Goody places ‘the market’ under the category of ‘Allocating/Storing’, in this study market cooks and vendors will be considered as key elements of the Quechua food-universe. The cook’s construction of menu for an ‘everyday’ or ‘holiday’ meal for her family or clients, her resourceful substitution of the ingredients at hand for the items called for in the old family recipe, her decision as to whether she should use her ‘everyday set’ of plates and mugs or her ‘guest set’, the order in which the courses are served and the table manners of her hungry guests would, however, all be considered integral elements of the food-universe.⁶

Methodologies and Theoretical Perspectives:

The Importance of an Interdisciplinary Inquiry

In order to most effectively carry out a multi-genre inquiry one must adopt a methodological approach informed by the studies of scholars working in a variety of disciplines.⁷ The use of this sort of comparative framework creates a more rich and nuanced study characterized by strategic expeditions across disciplinary boundaries in search of relevant primary texts, or theoretical and methodological tools. Food is a topic of interest in many different disciplines, thus it should come as no surprise that scholars working in various academic fields have published important studies that focus on the complex subject of food.⁸ In discussing the relationship of food to language, identity construction and ‘everyday tactics’, the arguments and observations presented in the following chapters benefit from the theoretical formulations and scholarly contributions published by scholars working in many different academic disciplines.

The present project benefits intellectually from the contributions made by scholars in various fields while avoiding the danger of depending too heavily on any one discipline’s academic jargon or theoretical paradigms. For instance, many of the textual analyses presented in this dissertation draw on theoretical works written by scholars working in academic disciplines such as: anthropology (Clifford Geertz’s notion of ‘thick description’, Claude Lévi-Strauss’ concept of cooking as language), sociology (Michel de Certeau’s ‘tactic’ and ‘everyday practice’) and history (Sidney Mintz’s categories of ‘inside and outside meanings’). The texts of these scholars as

well as others working in fields such as literary studies, linguistics and cultural studies will be discussed in the chapters that follow.

In several sections of this dissertation (particularly in chapters one and four), the technique of participant-observation allowed me to obtain important information related to the Quechua food-universe and to interview market cooks, food vendors and storytellers who generously offered to help me understand more clearly, some of the complex meanings associated with certain food related behaviors, practices and vocabularies. While the technique of close-reading is a key tool for understanding many aspects of the narratives explored below, most of these interpretations also reference significant historical, economic, social, political and cultural contexts which contribute to the creation of a particular text's meaning.

A Case for the Detailed Textual Analysis and the Multi-Genre Narrative Study

The texts discussed in this study contain multi-valenced levels of meaning which invite close-reading analyses. Indeed, many Quechua texts call for a carefully nuanced reading due to the fact that often times Quechua writers, storytellers, painters and photographers must code—either consciously or unconsciously-- the presentation and elaboration of their texts as a tactic for avoiding the repressive or censorial tendencies of hegemonic forces. The detailed reading of cultural texts shares much in common with the ethnographic technique described by Clifford Geertz as 'thick-description'. This methodology identifies key moments in the 'text' which may be partially hidden under complex layers of language, symbols, stylistic devices, ritual, or even everyday tactics.⁹ 'Thick-description' requires the cultural critic (and I would

argue, the literary critic a well) to pay close attention to context in constructing a textual reading:

If anthropological interpretation is constructing a reading of what happens, then to divorce it from what happens—from what, in this time or that place, specific people say, what they do, what is done to them, from the whole vast business of the world—is to divorce it from its applications and render it vacant. (Geertz 18)

In all of the analyses presented below I have carefully considered the historical, social, cultural and economic contexts in which a particular text was created, while also considering the narrative moment in which a particular passage or chapter appears within the body of the text in question.

Geertz's conception of the ethnographer's task can also be applied to that of the literary critic who constructs detailed textual analyses:

What the ethnographer is in fact faced with . . . is a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render . . . Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of 'construct a reading of') a manuscript—foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries . . . (ibid. 10)

In constructing the textual analyses in this dissertation I have confronted many of the challenges described above by Geertz. The interpretation of transcribed Incaic hymns, testimonios, songs, riddles and *willakuy* oral performances always requires the critic to confront the issue of mediation (from oral to written form and from the narrator, via the editor, to the written page and the reader). Moreover, all of these Quechua texts invoke culturally specific aesthetic categories and techniques which must be carefully considered and unraveled in the process of creating an analysis. By identifying and analyzing these Quechua aesthetic categories and other key textual moments I do not

solely intend to persuade the reader to accept my answers and assertions, but I also hope to pose questions that will spark further speculation and research.

This dissertation illustrates the manner in which the Quechua food-universe both affects and inspires creative and constructive participation in the process of adapting to social, political and economic pressures in the Andes. In light of this goal, chapters two, three and four present close-readings of texts in which the presence, preparation, or consumption of food serves as an important source for the conveyance of the text's meaning. These analyses focus on important narrative moments in the colonial chronicles of Cristóbal de Molina and the Inca Garcilaso, paintings pertaining to the artistic movement known as the 'Escuela Cuzqueña', the José María Arguedas novel *Los ríos profundos*, the testimonio *Autobiografía* by Gregorio Condori Mamani and Asunta Quispe Huamán, images created by the photographer Martín Chambi and in several narratives pertaining to the Quechua oral tradition. In each of the written, oral and visual genres explored below, the representation of the Quechua food universe functions as a narrative device that aids in developing (either subtly or explicitly) the author(s)' argument, moral lesson and/or critique. The detailed analysis of culinary representations in these texts also demonstrates how Quechua aesthetic categories—in particular, the importance of creating both semantic and syntactical equilibrium—function on the level of both form and content in various genres.

While the concept of genre originated with the Greeks and their distinctions between dramatic, epic and lyrical forms of literature, since the nineteenth century genre has come to be understood as a 'category' of painting, novel, or film which is characterized by its particular form or purpose (Chamberlain and Thompson 1-3, Culler

74).¹⁰ In literature, genre can be defined by form (poetry, drama, letters, song, long narrative vs. short narrative), by mood (comedy, tragedy, critical, romantic), or by content (history, autobiography, fantasy, mystery). Genre can be understood “not as a rigid form of classification but more akin to language, with its fundamental flexibility, but at the same time its common assumptions between writer, speaker and audience of conventions, manner and tone, forms of delivery, timings, settings, shapes, motifs and characters” (Chamberlain and Thompson 4). Given that texts pertaining to the same genre often share similar conventions (in terms of form, mood and content), communication between author, text and reader is facilitated through genre’s ability to focus attention and expectations (Ryan 19). As Northrop Frye points out in his “Theory of Genres”, generic distinctions in literature are primarily based on the question of presentation: “Words may be acted in front of a spectator; they may be spoken in front of a listener; they may be sung or chanted; or they may be written for a reader” (247). This dissertation discusses culinary representations in genres such as: testimonio, novel, historical chronicle, painting, photography and oral narrative performances known as *willakuy*. These texts will all be considered as polyvocal works of art that present characters, events and settings in a determined time and space. In these narrative texts, meaning is created through the complex and dynamic interaction between the audience, the text and the text’s creator.

In chapter one for instance, information and excerpts from interviews with market women, together with my own observations of the market, inform the chapter’s ethnographic narrative which describes hierarchies of prestige and profit present within the Cuzco marketplace. In chapter two, the discussion of genres such as Quechua lyric,

colonial chronicle and painting reveal how these texts' narrative devices use the representation of food as a rhetorical strategy. The Incaic hymns transcribed by Molina narrate the needs, struggles and desires of the Inca rulers through lyrical, one-way conversations with the gods. The Inca Garcilaso creates a complex narrative in *Comentarios reales* by masterfully weaving songs, myths, stories and poems from the Quechua oral tradition together with anecdotes from his own youth, while concomitantly maintaining a 'dialogue' with other historians, chroniclers and linguists of his time.

The discussion of *Los ríos profundos* in chapter three reveals the complex, intertextual nature of this novel since Arguedas draws on the Quechua oral tradition in creating characters, points of view, as well as plot conflicts and resolutions. The narrative quality of the testimonio genre also becomes evident in this chapter since like many of the texts mentioned above, *Autobiografía* also integrates anecdote, practical advice, Quechua songs, stories and myths in the process of recounting of a life history. Finally, the fourth chapter of this dissertation focuses on examples of oral narratives which often utilize non-verbal signals—such as hand gestures, facial expression, sound effects and body position—in order to construct characters, deliver dialogues and advance the action of the plot. As a primarily oral language, it should not surprise us that throughout history Quechua cultural narratives have been created in a variety of different genres and that even those narratives which do pertain to written genres most always incorporate aspects of the oral tradition into their pages. Of course, each of these genres uses different narrative or lyrical devices in different ways, but in each of

the Quechua cultural texts discussed below, the representation of food serves a key role in the development of the text's meanings, messages, central arguments and critiques.

The Categories of Inside and Outside Meanings

In the texts explored below, representations of the Quechua food-universe reveal the complexities of various political, economic and cultural situations. In these contexts, the 'everyday practice' of cooking becomes a complex act infused with meanings that extend well beyond the serving platters placed atop the table. The preparation, allocation (whether sold or offered for free) and consumption of food often conveys cultural, political and economic meanings explicitly addressed within a text, or which may only allude to a larger, historical context in which the text was created. For this reason, Mintz's categories of *outside* and *inside* meaning serve as useful analytical tools for the construction of the literary analyses that follow. Mintz describes two types of meaning; *outside* meaning refers to "what consumption, and its proliferated meanings for the participants, can signify for a society as a whole" with regards to ". . . economic, social, and political (even military) conditions", while *inside* meaning describes "daily life conditions of consumption" which are created "by imparting significance to [one's] own acts and the acts of those around them" and that arise after the creation of outside meanings has already commenced (*Tasting Food* 153, 20, 23). Inside meanings are those created "—inside the rituals and schedules of the group, inside the meal or eating event, inside the social group itself—" (ibid. 151). In many of the texts explored below, representations of the Quechua food-universe often convey meanings that concomitantly lie *outside* [the text and the immediate experience of the

cook and the diner] and *inside* [the text and the character/individual's daily life] and. In the analyses of nearly all of the texts discussed below, the impossibility of discretely separating 'outside' from 'inside' meanings becomes clear.

Beyond the notions of 'outside' and 'inside' meanings described by Mintz, these spatial and conceptual categories can also help to establish the important distinction regarding the location in which a cook serves her dishes. In the following pages it will become evident that the 'tactic' of cooks who serve their wares 'outside' a private home can generally be summarized as the exchange of culinary knowledge for cash. The income resulting from this exchange usually offers a woman increased independence in terms of her choices of whom she will live with (a man, family members, friends, or alone), in which neighborhood she will live, where her children will attend school, or how she will spend her leisure time. On the other hand, cooks who serve their food 'inside' a private home (whether this be with or without cash remuneration¹¹) may not enjoy the same degree of independence as 'outside' cooks. In chapter four, however, it becomes clear that they use their access to ingredients as a tactic for manipulating the diner's body both physically and mentally. In the chosen texts, cooks working both inside and outside the family home utilize their access to the Quechua food-universe as a vehicle for increasing socio-economic independence, the continual (re)construction of unique group and individual identities, the infusion of meaning into everyday existence and the communication of desires, gratitude, or even violence to family and community members, clients, or deities.

Finally, the categories of *inside* and *outside* also help to describe the critical approach which I have implemented in constructing the literary analyses that appear

below. In most all cases, I have sought to interpret the meaning(s) of a particular text by considering both its formal literary qualities contained *inside* the text, as well the importance of *outside* contextual information regarding relevant social, historical, economic, political and cultural phenomena. While it is neither possible nor desirable to consider inside and outside meanings as entirely independent from one another, the categories are useful for articulating my strategy of fusing close-reading literary analyses with a discussion of the socio-cultural, economic and historical contexts which inform both the form and the content of the narrative.¹²

The Aesthetics of Semantic and Syntactical Balance in Quechua Cultural Texts

Using the categories of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ to describe my strategy for constructing textual readings seems particularly appropriate given the importance that Quechua creators place on the creation of balance or symmetry within their poems, hymns, riddles and songs. In analyzing instances of symmetry in Incaic texts, Regina Harrison discusses the Incaic semantic categories of *yanantin* and *pacta* (“perfectly matched objects”), *chacu* and *chuullu* (“deviance from the ideal of a matched pair”), in addition to the complex notions of *ayni*, *mita* and *mink’a* (described in detail in chapter two) (*Signs, Songs and Memories* 49-53). Bruce Mannheim notes the importance of the Quechua poetic device of the ‘semantic couplet’ which creates both syntactical and semantic balance within hymns, songs and poems, while Billie Jean Isbell analyzes reciprocity and semantic balance and structural opposition in Quechua riddles (Mannheim *The Language of the Inka* 133-134, Isbell “The Ontogenesis” 39, 46-47). Studies of the concept of *camay* in pre-colonial Andean texts reveal the importance of

cosmic doubling in Quechua culture, whereby all humans and animals on earth possess a “double” which animates and infuses them with life (Taylor *Camay, camay y camasca* 3-9, Harrison *Signs, Songs and Memories* 76-79). In some instances these “primordial” doubles are visually apparent, as in case of the llama constellation in the sky which serves as the cosmic double and animator of all earthly llamas (Taylor *ibid.* 7-8). Examples of semantic and syntactic balance in both Incaic and contemporary Quechua texts suggests the importance of this cultural concept and poetic device in Quechua aesthetics. The manner in which different genres of Quechua expression use syntactical and/or semantic symmetry in the construction of a text will be considered in the following chapters.

Everyday Tactics and the Act of Cooking

Runa is the Quechua word for ‘human’ or ‘people’, so that the word used by Quechua speakers to designate their language—*runasimi*-- literally means ‘the people’s tongue’. In a generic sense, *runa* often exclusively refers to Quechua-speaking indigenous people of peasant origin.¹³ The following chapters explore the ways in which *runa* have manipulated their food-universes in pre-conquest, colonial and contemporary times as an adaptational tactic for both evading and manipulating the repressive strength and discipline of powerful political, economic and social discourses.¹⁴ Certeau’s notion of the ‘tactic’ will be central to this project. Unlike the ‘strategy’ of a proprietor, city, enterprise, or institution, the ‘tactic’ does not benefit from any spatial or institutional location and functions without a base of operations from which it can set out on campaigns or hoard its winnings: “[the tactic] must play

on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power . . .

The space of a tactic is the space of the other” (36-37).¹⁵ The tactic is a flexible, mobile and an opportunistic tool:

because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time—it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized ‘on the wing’. Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into ‘opportunities’. (ibid.)

Whereas open insurrection is clearly an extremely risky undertaking for an oppressed and disenfranchised population, the relatively low-risk venture of ‘tactics’ carried out through one’s manipulation of a food-universe offers an intriguing and tempting alternative.

The ‘outside’ cooks discussed below utilize the everyday practice of cooking as a tactic which helps them to alleviate the effects of racism, sexism and poverty.

Chapters one and three explore the ways in which ‘outside’ cooks working in the Andes use a variety of tactics in order to increase their socioeconomic independence. These analyses reveal the ways in which the creative, everyday practice of cooking often allows Quechua women to take an active role in shaping their society and in limiting the control of external, hegemonic powers on the lives of their families and community.

Food and Language:

In each of the Quechua texts selected for analysis food serves a communicatory function, expressing a determined message in a highly complex and detailed set of culturally encrypted codes. In his extremely influential trilogy *Mythologies* (consisting

of the translated titles *The Raw and the Cooked, A History of Table Manners* and *From Honey to Ashes*), Lévi-Strauss conceives of a society's cooking rituals as "a language through which it unconsciously translates its structure—or else resigns itself, still unconsciously, to revealing its contradictions" (*The Culinary Triangle* 35). In this way, when we conceive of cooking as a kind of language, we realize that it is actually "a set of processes permitting the establishment, between individuals and groups, of a certain type of communication" (Lévi-Strauss *Structural Anthropology* 61).

Roland Barthes has come to term the particular ways in which we choose to serve and prepare foods, as well as the nuances inflected by certain dishes as a "veritable grammar of foods" ("Toward a Psychosociology" 22). He equates food with language in an effort to express the ordered manner in which certain foods appear in certain situations, carrying certain nuances. This apparent order inspires him to pose the question --and then to provide his own answer-- "For what is food? . . . a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations, and behavior" (ibid. 21-22). This notion of food as a 'system of communication' informs the analyses of the Incaic verses in chapter two, the paintings and photographs in chapter three and the contemporary oral narratives in chapter four.

A common aphorism states that 'animals feed, humans eat', thus suggesting the involvement of some element of choice (and therefore deeper signification) in the act of human food consumption. Barthes summarizes the implications of this choice in the following paragraph:

When he buys an item of food, consumes it, or serves it, modern man does not manipulate a simple object in a purely transitive fashion; this item of food sums up and transmits a situation; it constitutes an information; it signifies. That is to say that it is not just an indicator of a set of more or less conscious motivations,

but that it is a real sign, perhaps the functional unit of a system of communication . . . Substances, techniques of preparation, habits, all become part of a system of differences in signification; and as soon as this happens, we have communication by way of food. (ibid.)

He concludes that beyond providing physical nourishment, food is capable of transforming itself into *situation*, thus performing a social function (ibid. 26). This realization leads Barthes to declare: “Like sex, the taking of food has a social component, as well as a biological one. Food categories therefore encode social events” (ibid). He then proceeds to reconstruct a system of syntaxes and styles of food in order to uncover their significations in particular situations, or ‘food-instances’. Barthes’ notion of food as a vehicle for communication and a transmitter of situation are integral concepts for understanding arguments presented in this dissertation. Indeed, this concept will be invoked in several analyses including: the hierarchy of power among Quechua market cooks and vendors in chapter one, the subtle messages encoded in Incaic verse, Inca Garcilaso’s *Comentarios* and the ‘Last Supper’ paintings of Quispe Titu and Zapata in chapter two and the foreshadowing of impending doom in the oral narratives presented in chapter four.

Perhaps the link between language and cooking is most obviously located ‘at table’. As the well-known gastronomical philosopher Brillat-Savarin muses with regards to the collective meal:

ces reunions, bornées d’abord aux relations les plus proches, se sont étendues peu à peu à celles de voisinage et d’amitié . . . c’est pendant le repas que durent naître ou se perfectionner les langues, soit parce que c’était une occasion de rassemblement toujours renaissante, soit parce que le loisir qui accompagne et sui après le repas dispose naturellement à la confiance et à la loquacité. (*Physiologie du goût* 201)¹⁶

Conversations with Quechua cooks and market vendors as well as close-readings of oral narratives reveal the ways in which Brillat-Savarin's nineteenth century observation of French diners also holds true in the Andes. This idea that language (communication) is somehow encouraged or even perfected during repast and that sharing food encourages both conversation and confidence will become an important concept for understanding a number of situations and scenes described in chapters one and four below. In the close-readings of the various Quechua texts that follows, this concept of cooking as a form of communication will be continuously invoked in order to more fully understand the implications of the relationships and interchanges between the cook, the meal she prepares and her customer, family, or community. Language often serves as a pragmatic tool: a way of expressing opinions and questions, uttering complaints and asking for assistance. It can also, however, become the symbolic representation of an emotion, sentiment, or a passion. Similarly, food can serve a straightforward purpose as a 'pragmatic tool' for physical satiation; after all, it does provide us with the caloric energy needed to grow, think and work. Yet like language, food can also serve as a symbolic expression of, or an allusion to class, gender, regional origin, latent desire, longings, or even antagonistic resentment.

Jorge Luis Borges insists on the superior power of allusion as opposed to overt expression when using words to craft poetry. He declares:

I believe only in allusion. After all, what are words? Words are symbols for shared memories. If I use a word, then you should have some experience of what the word stands for. If not, the word means nothing to you. I think we can only allude, we can only try to make the reader imagine. The reader, if he is quick enough, can be satisfied with our merely hinting at something. (117)

Food is not so different from Borges' characterization of words in the above statement. Like words, food also serves as a symbol for shared memories or experiences. Like the reader who encounters a never-before-experienced-word that remains meaningless, so too does food lose its meaning when consumed without any notion of the accompanying nuances, connotations and cultural significance(s). We can understand and interpret the world around us precisely because the majority of the words, signs *and* food we encounter appear familiar to us; they are already loaded with so many levels of implied meaning that they can be used to allude to something more distant, less tangible.

As Mintz notes, "food and eating afford us a remarkable arena in which to watch how the human species invests a basic activity with social meaning—indeed, with so much meaning that the activity itself can almost be lost sight of" (*Tasting Food* 7). It is important to realize, however, that it is the particular cultural context that infuses food –its selection, preparation, presentation and consumption- with this sort of 'social meaning'. Thus, "meanings ascribed to foods are, like all meanings, agreed conventions about usage: ultimately they are arbitrary" (Fernández-Armesto 32). In order to understand the ritual and symbolic meanings of the various foods that make up a meal, one must already understand the predetermined code of the host culture's food-universe. For instance, any Incan child would know that when her mother brings home the family's allotted portion of the blood bread *yahuarçanco*, this means that it is August and time to carry out the rites of the *Çitua* festival. As in Borges' example above, the appearance of *yahuarçanco* in an Incan household *alludes* to the imminent celebration of the yearly, ritual feast.

In many key instances in the texts considered below, food replaces spoken or written language in communicating religious, confrontational, erotic, or nostalgic sentiment—at times by choice and at times because all other expressive avenues have been blocked. A great admirer of G.K. Chesterton, Borges quotes the famous English story spinner and essayist as having once said, “I suppose a nation evolves the words it needs” (81). Borges then goes on to note:

This observation amounts to saying that language is not, as we are led to suppose by the dictionary, the invention of academicians or philologists. Rather, it has evolved through time, by peasants, by fisherman, by hunters, by riders. It did not come from libraries; it came from the fields, from the sea, from rivers, from night, from the dawn. (ibid.)

Of course this Borgesian observation can also be extended to the realm of food. In order to grasp the important communicatory function played by food in many Quechua texts, one must note that like the written and spoken word, the complex meanings associated with the food-universe remain in constant flux, capable of withstanding manipulation in order to deliver the necessary message of the moment.

Just as the language of the dictionary does not perfectly reflect the living words of markets, school yards and nightclubs, carefully calibrated, standardized recipes in mass produced cookbooks generally do not reflect the ‘living language’ of the world’s many different food-universes. Recipes evolve and change as the need for alterations arise, while “food choices and eating habits reveal distinctions of age, sex, status, culture, and even occupation. These distinctions are immensely important adornments of an inescapable necessity” (Mintz *Sweetness and Power* 3). Yet even *within* any particular age, sexual, or cultural group, food choices and eating habits may change, depending on the sort of communicatory or tactical function required at any given

meal; these food-related distinctions often become an important locus of meaning in the texts discussed below. The present project looks at the ways in which the creators of written, oral and visual texts utilize the language of the Quechua food-universe as a vehicle for the communication of desire, protest, sorrow and gratitude, while also considering the effectiveness and possible reasons behind the implementation of such strategies.

A Taste of the Chapters that Follow:

For us humans, then, eating is never a 'purely biological' activity. The foods eaten have histories associated with the pasts of those who eat them; the techniques employed to find, process, prepare, serve, and consume the foods are all culturally variable, with histories of their own. Nor is the food ever simply eaten; its consumption is always conditioned by meaning. These meanings are symbolic, and communicated symbolically; they also have histories.

Sidney Mintz Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom

Chapter one of this dissertation begins with a presentation and brief cultural history of the Quechua food-universe. In this context, 'Quechua food-universe' will refer to those foodstuffs cultivated, prepared and consumed by *runa* families both before the arrival of the European invaders. Today many of these foods continue to be enjoyed today by non-runas living both in the Andes and abroad.¹⁷ In addition to discussing the unique qualities of Quechua agricultural methods and philosophies, this first chapter will also discuss some of the nutritional, symbolic and ritual values of Quechua foods and cooking methods, as well as the intricacies of the power hierarchy among female vendors and cooks within the Cuzco central market.

When Spanish ships landed on what is now Perú's northern shore in 1532, their hulls contained cannons, swords, stale bread, salted fish and scores of sea weary

sailors. While the firepower and disease of Spanish soldiers may have managed to overwhelm the sophisticated citizens of the Inca Empire, without the food cultivated, store housed and prepared by indigenous Peruvians, the newly arrived Europeans would not have survived for long in such unfamiliar surroundings. Thus, the second chapter of this dissertation discusses the roles and representations of the Quechua food-universe soon after the conquest. Chapter two begins by exploring the ritual role played by women in the preparation of sacrificial meals in the Andes prior to the arrival of the Europeans. As we lack any written record of Incan society, or the everyday practices of Andeans in Tahuantinsuyu before the arrival of the European invaders, our knowledge of the food-universes and gender roles of pre-conquest Perú is obviously extremely limited. One must keep in mind that the written accounts of political, economic and cultural life in the Andes both prior to and following the arrival of the Spaniards has been filtered through the particular ideological and personal projects of each Quechua or Spanish chronicler.

Nevertheless, the descriptions of Incaic verse and rituals transcribed by Cristóbal de Molina in his *Relación de las fábulas y mitos de los Incas* provides important insight for understanding the roles and representations of the Quechua food-universe in pre-conquest Perú. Father Molina's descriptive narration and the verses he transcribes are analyzed by highlighting the manner in which the food-universe becomes an indispensable medium for the realization of religious communication and expression in pre-colonial Perú. The discussion of Father Molina's manuscript is followed by a brief consideration of the ways in which the exceptional narrator and chronicler 'el Inca Garcilaso', juxtaposes the meanings, values and descriptions of

Andean and European foods in his *Comentarios Reales*. Garcilaso's commentary on these two very different food-universes serves as a tool for critiquing the arrogance of Iberian discourses of superiority—an arrogance which did not fail to extend into the realm of food. In addition to discussing Garcilaso's clever presentation of pre-colonial and colonial food-universes, chapter two also briefly considers the representation of Andean foods in several paintings produced by indigenous artists during the 16th- 18th century artistic movement known as the 'Escuela Cuzqueña'.

The decision to explore colonial cultural texts stems from my commitment to the importance of framing studies of both social phenomena and literary texts within a historically informed context. Analyses that incorporate “multiple time scales” into the “vision” of the project will likely produce a more sophisticated, comprehensive and compelling study of the subject matter (Stern 12).¹⁸ In the literary analyses presented in the following chapters, it has been my intention to utilize historical contexts as more than a ‘background’ orientation for the reader, but as a “source of explanatory tools explicitly incorporated into the analysis” (ibid). If, as Mintz argues, “social phenomena are by their nature historical, which is to say that the relationships among events in one ‘moment’ can never be abstracted from their past and future setting”, then the literary scholar should take historical contexts into careful consideration when interpreting literary texts which focus on social events and struggles (Mintz xxx). Following this logic, it becomes clear that in order to understand contemporary acts of resistive adaptation occurring within the realm of the Quechua food-universe, one must also consider pre-colonial and colonial experiences, so as not to violate “the historical memory and consciousness of the rebels themselves” (ibid.).

A study of the manuscripts written by colonial chroniclers in the Andes supports Barthes' assertion about the social function of food cited in the opening of this introduction. Food as an abstraction-- as an object-- cannot transform itself into situation, but instead must be actively transformed by *someone* within a particular context. Likewise, a piece of vegetable, fruit, grain, tuber, or meat must be acquired, prepared and served for its nourishing quality to be appreciated by a hungry body. It is the particular *context* in which food is acquired, prepared and served which allows for it to perform not only a physical, but also a social function. Throughout history, in both the Andes and around the world, women have overwhelmingly taken center stage in this transformative performance. In addition to presenting close-readings of the symbolic role of food in colonial texts produced and transcribed by Cristóbal de Molina, the Inca Garcilaso and the *Escuela Cuzqueña*, chapter two also briefly explores the economic role played by food during the colonial period, as well as women's roles in carrying out the transformation of food into a social function laden with meaning.

The third and fourth chapters of this dissertation explore textual representations of food and cooks in post-conquest Perú. Just as a few Incan women enjoyed a degree of influence in their roles as preparers of the sacred feast, the third chapter of this dissertation analyzes a novel, testimonio and photographs which represent Quechua women from seemingly 'oppressed' social classes who utilize the everyday practice of cooking as a 'tactic' for achieving a degree of socioeconomic independence. This chapter discusses depictions of Quechua chicheras and cooks as they appear in José María Arguedas' novel *Los ríos profundos*, in the images of the Peruvian photographer Martín Chambi and in the Quechua language testimonio *Autobiografía* by Asunta

Quispe Huamán and Gregorio Condori Mamani. In the following pages, the complexities of the Quechua culinary tradition will be considered as everyday practices that serve both pragmatic and symbolic purposes and which may alternately or simultaneously restrain (physically, intellectually, socially, economically, emotionally) and liberate a cook.

Ironically, while all of the professional cooks and chicheras explored in these narratives are women, their authors are predominantly men. As Sara Mills points out, “[the] paucity of material produced by colonized subjects, itself symptomatic of colonial relations, forces us to examine a range of other textual and theoretical options” (695). In the centuries following European conquest, in the Andes and throughout the Americas, indigenous women’s artistic assemblages have only infrequently been published, viewed, experienced and supported by the members of the largely white, male, urban power elite. In the interest of seeking ‘a range of other textual options’, this dissertation concludes with examples of Quechua language oral narratives produced by indigenous women.

Chapter four focuses on the depiction of cooks in the Quechua oral tradition. The analyses of these narratives unpacks ‘double’, ‘ambiguous’ and ‘coded’ meanings while also asking questions such as: ‘What symbolic function does food serve in each text?’, ‘Where and by whom is this meal served and what sorts of meanings does this contextual information reveal?’, or ‘How, why and to what extent is food preparation and consumption linked to the constructions of a particular character, or instrumental in foreshadowing future events?’. In addition to discussing some of the unique aesthetic categories and techniques of Quechua oral narrative, this chapter also considers various

textual representations of the longstanding fear that a female cook may actually be a witch, capable of adulterating the meal of those she serves in order to achieve her own malevolent ends.

The cultural texts studied in the following four chapters have been chosen from the genres of the historical chronicle, the contemporary novel, as well as the testimonio, Incaic hymn, song, poetry, oral narrative performance, photography and painting.

While the conventions and aesthetic effects of each genre are both unique and varied, in all of these texts the role of the Quechua food-universe serves as an important locus for meaning, identity construction, or the communication of culturally important messages. In several of these texts, Quechua cooks utilize their access to food preparation and distribution as a tactic for evading the attempts of the patriarchal hegemony to silence their voices, desires, values and traditions.¹⁹

¹ For the purposes of this study, the ‘symbolic’ will be understood following Jack Goody’s definition: “two languages, objects, words (or concepts) that are logically and perceptually separate are brought together and interpreted in relation to one another by operations of a graphic, ritual or linguistic kind” (30).

² Mintz (*Sweetness and Power, Tasting Food*), Coe, Tannahill, Fernández-Armesto, Symons, Super, Ritchie and Schenone have also written about food’s role in history.

³ Early anthropological studies which focus on the intersections of food and culture include: Lévi-Strauss, Maus, Mead, Richards and Douglas. For more recent studies, consult: Goody, Armelagos and Farb, Weismantel, Seligmann and Babb. See also López, García and Pró for a detailed review and bibliography of anthropological studies of food (primarily in Latin American societies) from 1932-1988.

⁴ For important philosophical studies of food, taste and cooking consult Jean François Revel and Anthelme Brillat-Savarin’s well-known treatises on cuisine and taste. Roland Barthes, Michel de Certeau and Louis Marin have also published important meditations on the linguistic, ideological and sociological roles played by food and cooking. Interesting studies concentrating on the intersections between food, culture and society have also been written by Luce Girard, Claude Fischler, Roy Wood, Edmundo Morales, Steven Mennell, Anne Murcott and Anneke van Otterloo.

⁵ Umami is described as: “the proteiny, full-bodied taste of chicken soup, or cured meat, or fish stock, or aged cheese, or mother’s milk, or soy sauce, or mushrooms, or seaweed, or cooked tomato” (Rozin 132).

⁶ This notion of the food-universe is similar to what Ellen Messer refers to as the ‘food code’: “Elements of diet have been analyzed alternatively as aspects of a “food code” in which foods or components of foods-especially their manners of preparation or transformation or serving- express other aspects of social relations, cultural identity, and the sexual division of labor” (223).

⁷ Goody is a strong supporter of interdisciplinary research and he insists, “. . . the attempt to incorporate the most insightful elements should not be limited to the prepositional frames current in one’s own field alone. Those findings should relate to the broader context of the study of human society by historians, economists, political scientists and others . . .” (39). Comparative Literature is an inherently interdisciplinary field of study which has always encouraged this sort of scholarship.

⁸ While it is of course important to situate an academic study within the work of one’s scholarly predecessors, it should also be pointed out that throughout most of history the secrets of cooking have been elaborated and disseminated by word of mouth, thus remaining outside the formal scholarly accounts of history, culture and society. Many of the texts considered in this study pertain to the Quechua oral tradition; a rich collection of creative assemblages which has long existed on the periphery of scholarly studies.

⁹ See Geertz’s essay “Thick Description: Towards and Interpretive Theory of Culture” for an extended description of this ethnographic technique. Michel de Certeau’s collection of essays exploring the ‘Practice of Everyday Life’ (*Arts de faire*) also supports the method of close-reading as a tool for providing meaningful analysis of key textual moments since “the characteristically subtle logic of these ‘ordinary’ activities comes to light only in the details” (ix).

¹⁰ It should be noted, however, that in the visual arts the term ‘genre’ generally refers to a specific type of painting which depicts scenes from everyday life (Steiner 147).

¹¹ Although they are almost always paid for their labors, domestic servants who cook in private homes do not enjoy the same degree of independence and social interaction as ‘outside’ cooks, a point confirmed by Quechua women themselves and that will be discussed below.

¹² Paul Gilroy’s *There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack*. and Dick Hebdige’s *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* provided me with useful models for how this sort of *insidel/outside* analysis might be convincingly constructed.

¹³ For more on the semantic reaches of this word see Gelles’ introduction to *Andean Lives* (6-9).

¹⁴ References to *discourse* in this dissertation follow Michel Foucault’s notion of the term as a societal process of understanding and self-definition that is discontinuous, risky and often used as a form of violence (Foucault 55). Like Foucault, this study pays attention to the manner in which discourses are organized and constructed and who is included or excluded in their production. Of course power is

always a central component of any discourse and a key contributor in the definition and dissemination of knowledge (ibid. 32).

¹⁵ James Scott's description of the 'weapons' of the relatively powerless such as: "foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage . . ." are an unattributed version of Certeau's 'tactic'. Like Certeau, Scott notes that due to the institutional invisibility of such activities, most are accorded little 'social significance' and since there is "no center, no leadership, no identifiable structure that can be co-opted or neutralized" such forms of resistance enjoy certain advantages (*Weapons of the Weak* xvi, 35).

¹⁶ See also Georg Simmel's essay "The Sociology of the Meal" for a discussion of the meal's importance of ordering human socialization.

¹⁷ A discussion of the new flavors and reaches of the Quechua food-universe in the new millennium will be discussed in the concluding pages of this study.

¹⁸ Goody also laments the lack of consideration of historical contexts or data in most anthropological studies of food. He blames this oversight on Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown's objection to "any confusion between history and anthropology, between diachrony and synchrony" (33). He argues convincingly: "Even if one is trying to analyse meaning, symbolic structures cannot be treated as timeless . . ." (37).

¹⁹ In the following pages, the term patriarchy refers to "control over productive resources, labor force, and reproductive capacities, based on notions of superiority and inferiority legitimated by differences of gender and generation" (Cadena "Women are More Indian" 345). Hegemony is understood following Antonio Gramsci's notion of the process of ideological domination whereby the ruling class controls both physical *and* symbolic production in a given society. The control of the ruling class over ideological institutions of society such as: culture, religion, education and the media, allows for this class to disseminate its own values in an effort to reinforce its ruling position (Gramsci qtd. in Forgacs 76; Hebdige 16-18). This *ideological hegemony* often leads to the subordinate classes' consent or passive compliance to the values and will of the ruling class (ibid.). It is this kind of ideological hegemony that remains most prevalent in the Peruvian Andes, with white, male, urban, coastal dwellers occupying the most dominant position in the power hierarchy, while rural, indigenous subsistence farmers (particularly women) are most vulnerable to their political, economic and cultural aggressors. Urban and rural mestizos and mestizas occupy varying positions of domination and subjugation in this 'power pyramid'. As Martin Lienhard notes, "En América Latina, el marco socio-político de los procesos de interacción entre la cultura de los sectores hegemónicos y la de las subsociedades indígenas, mestizas o populares, se caracteriza en mayor o menor grado por una evidente asimetría: los dueños de la primera, dueños también del poder global, fijan las reglas del juego, mientras que los sectores marginados, salvo en momentos de contraofensiva general, no tienen otro recurso sino el de reaccionar más o menos creativamente a la imposición de los valores o anti-valores hegemónicos" (98).

Chapter I: A Cultural History of the Quechua Food-universe

Sinchi wiksayoq, kusi sonqoyoq (Full stomach, happy heart)

Quechua proverb

The Universe is nothing without the things that live in it, and everything that lives, eats.

Anselme Brillat-Savarin The Physiology of Taste

Hierarchies of Prestige and Profits in Cuzco's Culinary Marketplace:

By now it is nearly noon on a mid-August Saturday and inside Cuzco's Mercado Central, shoppers busily stride up and down the aisles that separate various food and beverage vendors. Entering off Calle Santa Clara, marketgoers pass the dozens of fruit juice vendors perched upon stools and presiding over their *Oster* blenders and enormous multi-colored pyramids of fruit. Waving daily tabloids in front of the noses of those passing by, the women call out a few of their endless, fruity combinations in hopes of tempting at least a few thirsty shoppers – ¡zanahoria con naranja!, ¡papaya con plátano!, ¡mixto, mixto!, ¡fresa con leche!, ¡el especial!

On weekends, adolescent girls and elderly women spread out their blankets in the hallway near the boisterous juice vendors and set to work preparing colorful bouquets of red and yellow carnations, delicate, white *ilusiones* and various other fragrant herbs and blossoms. Continuing down the hallway, one encounters the aisles of fruit vendors who sit in front of stalls stacked high with papayas, at least three types of bananas-- *seda, isla, para sancochar*-- along with apples, mandarins, grandadillas, chirimoyas. It is as if the flower, fruit and juice vendors had conspired to join together in hopes of creating the most multi-colored, aromatic section of the market. In the central aisle of the market blankets are laid out by mostly older women who cannot

afford to rent or buy a permanent stall and instead arrange their wares on the ground in small one sol or fifty centavo piles.¹ These women sell mostly carrots, lima beans, *ch'uño*—dehydrated potatoes², cilantro, mint, oregano, or small plastic bags of *recado*-shelled green peas, sliced squash and chopped carrots, prepared and ready to add to the afternoon soup. Such products usually come from their own gardens and can be sold for a bit of extra cash whenever a surplus is harvested. While food choices and eating habits in Cuzco certainly reveal “distinctions of age, sex, status, culture, and even occupation” (Mintz *Sweetness and Power* 3), it is also clear that the types and quantities of food, as well as the locations in which they are sold announce many of these distinctions between market women.

In the aisles radiating out from the central hallway, one encounters the row of astute businesswomen selling coffee, tea, cacao and maca-- a commercial enterprise that requires considerable capital in addition to well-cultivated business relationships with various producers, truckers and wholesalers. Many of these luxury beverage vendors inherited their business from mothers, aunts, or grandmothers who have carefully constructed a chain of suppliers near the warm, humid climes of Quillabamba where rich coffees and cacao are nurtured to a pleasant perfection (Sonia Quispe, personal communication).

In the aisle adjacent to the beverage vendors, shoppers encounter tables arranged with piles of pale, cream-colored disks called *tarwi* (or *chocho*) throughout the Cuzco region. While *tarwi* vendors clearly possess more capital than the informal vegetable and herb vendors, their product is also grown locally and processed in their own homes, thus acquiring and processing it does not require the extensive business

relationships and cash outlays administered by the luxury beverage vendors. Although tarwi vendors offer a pre-prepared version of their product that has already undergone a lengthy cooking and ‘debitting’ process³, they begrudgingly admit that each year fewer customers regularly purchase this Andean legume. Younger generations tend to prefer the comparably priced (though most all market goers and vendors agree, nutritionally inferior) white rice, while many older clients must choose to spend their very limited soles on potatoes and tubers that cost up to four times less than tarwi per kilo.

Even a brief stroll through the upper level of the Cuzco market confirms the observation made by scholars such as Mary Weismantel and Florence Babb—that Andean markets are more than just a non-productive space for exchange. Many of the tasks carried out by market women involve processing and preparing vegetables and fruits for more rapid cooking and consumption within the home or commercial kitchen (Babb 119-30; Weismantel *Cholas and Pishtacos* 70-71). Thus these resourceful women-- with their ‘ukhu mankakuna’ always at hand-- should also be acknowledged as playing an important, productive role in the Quechua food-universe. In addition to prepping and preparing ingredients and meals and offering culinary advice and recipes to customers, these women organize, regulate and secure the stable supply of food for large percentage of the city’s population.

Three steps down from the ‘juice, flower, fruit, coffee/cacao/maca, tarwi, cheese and chicken’ level, the Saturday marketgoer enters the central aisle of some of the most established vendors (many have personally sold for twenty-five years or more and may occupy the space previously held by their mothers, aunts, or grandmothers)

who don starched white aprons and sell wheat, *quinua* and corn flour; various types of *trigo machucado* (the unlikely moniker for whole or rolled oats, while all processed oats are called ‘kwa-cker’ in honor of the famous brand up North); raisins, figs, shredded coconut and dried plums; lentils, pinto beans, white beans and navy beans; and the Andean grains quinoa and kiwicha. The twelve dry goods stalls are arranged in a similar fashion: beans bagged by the kilo fill the upper wooden shelves, grain products stored inside forty-five kilo sacks line the floor and terraced platforms (their tops folded down to reveal the quality of the product within), while costly dried fruits rest securely behind clear glass or plastic cases, safely removed from stray fingers eager to sample, but not to purchase.

Interspersed with the saleswomen dedicated exclusively to dry goods sales are the ‘nearly-one-stop-shopping’ vendors. Like the luxury beverage and dry goods vendors, most of these women (there are only twelve of them) have also been selling in the market for twenty years or more; by now they have established business relationships with numerous wholesale suppliers and can offer their clients a wide variety of products: whole grains (quinoa, kiwicha, oats, rices), flours (wheat, quinoa, corn), vegetables and fruits (spinach, carrots, onions, eggplant, tomatoes and cucumbers), squash (*zapallo ruru*, *achoccha*, *lakawiti* and *ancara*), legumes (lentils, pinto, brown and white beans), red and green bell peppers, assorted hot peppers (*uchu*, *chinchu-uchu*, *roccoto-uchu*, *asnacc-uchu*, *mucuru-uchu*, or *q’ello-uchu*) salt, herbs and spices (cinnamon sticks, whole cloves, ground and whole black pepper, dried oregano, cumin seeds, fresh mint, camomile, *huacatay*, *muña* and peeled or whole garlic), as

well as miscellaneous remedies and mix-ins (baking powder, *arrampo*, prepared baggies of sauces and condiments).

One such vendor is Elisa, a sixty-year-old woman who has worked in the market for the past twenty-six years. Like other vendors in her section of the market, in addition to dispensing an impressive variety of products, Elisa also offers helpful (although sometimes unsolicited) culinary advice (in either Spanish or Quechua, depending upon the preference of the client). Elisa's transmission of culinary knowledge in the Mercado Central is an example of how the richness of the Quechua language and oral tradition is communicated daily in Cuzco's public spaces. A customer requesting a kilo (2.2 lbs.) of brown beans is often asked whether she or one of her neighbors owns a pressure cooker, if the answer is negative, Elisa usually inquires, “¿Quieres gastar dos semanas de gas en una sola olla de frijoles? No, no, llévate un kilito de lentejas que también son ricos y que cocinan en la mitad del tiempo” (‘Do you want to use up two weeks’ worth of gas in just one pot of beans? No, no instead, buy a kilo of lentil—they’re just as tasty and they cook in half the time’). New cooks and coastal transplants are often unaware of the fact that cooking beans without a pressure cooker at an altitude of over 11,000 feet requires a ridiculous amount of fuel.

On another day at Elisa's food stall a nervous young woman carrying an infant on her back is reminded to rinse her quinua grains thoroughly before cooking—“. . . *chaytaq yuraq phosoqo mana kaqtinchu, chhaynaqa wayk'uyta atinki*”⁴ (‘. . . now when there is no longer any white foam, only then can you cook it’). Later in the week, a customer glancing at a stack of pale green *achochcha* squash receives a recipe for

stuffing the vegetable: “*Nishu sumaq chay achoqcha... questuta q'allanayki, suyt'u papatawan hik'inayki, q'omerkuna pikanayki, rocotota khallanayki, chaymanta anchaytawan achoqchata hunt'achinayki, ima theqtichinayki*” (‘Absolutely delicious that achoqcha squash . . . you have to cut cheese in chunky strips, chop some ‘red’ potatoes, vegetables and bell pepper, then you have to stuff the achoqcha squash with all of that and then fry it’). In just this one line of the recipe dictated by Elisa, the richness of the Quechua’s language becomes apparent. The language boasts a wealth of precise and evocative adjectives, verbs and interjections and in this case, while English uses the same verb ‘to chop’ as a signifier for the act of cutting cheese, potatoes, or vegetables into small pieces, the Quechua languages designates a different verb in order to express the act of chopping each of these ingredients. Thus, ‘to chop’ vegetables, squash, or olluco tubers is ‘*pikay*’ (likely from the Spanish, ‘picar’), while ‘to chop’ rocoto peppers, cheese, or fruits is ‘*khallay*’ and ‘*hik'iy*’ designates the chopping of a peeled potato. The verb *q'allay* on the other hand, signifies the cutting of cheese or potato into chunky strips. Food-related interjections also offer the Quechua speaker an array of specific expressive options including: “*Haw!*” (‘Too spicy!’), “*Hak! Ak!*” (‘So sour!’), ‘*Añakaw!*’ (How sweet!), “*Achakáw!*” (‘It’s too hot!’), “*Añañaw!*” (‘How delicious!’).

Elisa does not, however, cook for herself at home:

“*Mana, wasiypi mana hayk'aq wayk'unipaschu. Uhúy! Uh! Imanaqtin? . . . No, ¿cocinar para mí no más? No, no tiene sentido y es más, hace daño. . . ¿Por qué voy a preparar una olla entera de comida para mí? ¿quedarían sobras para toda la semana! Nah-- ¿Qué voy a andar preparando comida solita en casa si todos sabemos que no es igual el sabor cuando uno cocina solita? . . . no te hace bien cocinar así. . .*”

'No, in my house I never cook, what a hassle! And for what reason? . . . No, cook just for myself? No, it doesn't make sense and what's more it's not good for you . . . Why should I prepare an entire pot of food for myself? There would be leftovers for the entire week! Nah—Why should I go around preparing food all alone in my house if we all know that the flavor is never the same when one cooks all alone? . . . it's not good for your to cook like that . . .'

For more than ten years, Elisa explains, she has maintained an arrangement with one of the market cooks who brings her hot soup and a *segundo*-main dish every afternoon in exchange for a pan filled with chopped carrots, garlic and *uchu*-chile pepper that Elisa prepares for the cook each morning. Many vegetable vendors establish similar relationships with the market cooks; in these reciprocal agreements no money changes hands, yet both parties routinely receive a necessary service or product in exchange. *Cargadores* whose job requires them to haul large sacks of products into or out of the market often engage in similar long-term reciprocal arrangements, whereby they deliver necessary ingredients to the cooks' stalls free of charge in exchange for their daily afternoon meal.

The far southeastern section of the market offers an assortment of hot meals prepared from many of the delicious ingredients sold within the market. In fact, prepared food stalls fill more than half of the market's lower level and a few aisles in the upper half as well. These stalls are divided into the small, family-run counters in the central aisles and the larger operations occupying the outer walls, where three or four young women are typically employed as cooks. In the bigger market restaurants a male owner/boss typically receives customer orders, shouts them to the female cooks, passes out the meals and collects the payments.

As Florence Babb points out in her discussion of *runa* kitchen culture, although men are generally capable of preparing food for themselves if necessary, in most

circumstances women are solely responsible for cooking and serving a family's daily meals (139; see also Symons 26). In Cuzco the kitchens in nearly all market restaurants, *chicherías* (a small 'bar' or 'cantina' specializing in cornbeer) and small, family owned establishments are run by women, although the food preparation in larger, more profitable and prestigious tourist-oriented establishments is carried out by men. Representations of male cooks in Quechua texts are rare, however, and in the close-readings presented in the following chapters, analysis will strictly focus on the depiction of female cooks.

Prices in market restaurants range from a bowl of *caldo* (either chicken or beef broth) for one and a half soles, a three sol *caldo de pata, panza, ojo, cabeza, or lengua*, to a five sol meal including of a small bowl of *caldo* and a *segundo* consisting of a serving of roasted or stir-fried chicken or beef, accompanied by two medium-sized boiled potatoes and a choice of either white rice or spaghetti. Market restaurants and *chicherías* in Cuzco serve mainly 'low status' foods --organ meats and broths-- and the customers are almost exclusively *runa* or mestizos, with male clients outnumbering women, particularly in the *chicherías*. Plastic tablecloths cover the long tables and diners sit next to each other on long, wooden benches. Small dishes of chopped *uchu* and rolls of toilet paper are interspersed along the length of the tables—the former can be added to spice up any dish, the latter serves as a practical substitute for individual napkins. The simplicity of these establishments' service, recipes and décor, along with the communal fashion in which meals are eaten make it unlikely that one will come across white Peruvians, middle class mestizos or tourists eating in such establishments.

The socio-economic roles of Quechua market vendors and cooks in Cuzco can be similar to those described by Silva Dias in her study of food businesses run by female slaves, ex-slaves and poor white women in colonial Brasil:

By buying basic goods in bulk and reselling them, these women were guaranteed important social roles, and within this sphere of their own they acquired independence from men and, if not prestige, certainly the role of thrifty provider and of organizer of the circulation of foodstuffs. (99)

Silva Dias argues that since Bantu and Yoruba women sold foodstuffs in the markets and streets in Africa, they were able to use these same skills and talents to improve their socio-economic position in the New World (98-99). Similarly, within the domestic sphere of runa families, women control the storage and processing of foodstuffs, the decision as to whether or not surplus foods can be sold and they also carry out the sale or exchange of these goods within the marketplace (Harrison *Signs, Songs and Memories* 119).

Scholars such as Bunster and Chaney who describe market women's work as simply an extension of their domestic duties present a picture which is both reductive and inaccurate (Bunster and Chaney 107). Weismantel's characterization of cooking within the market as a sort of "housewifely work that market women do" is similarly problematic (*Cholas and Pishtacos* 70). These scholars' insinuation that the market cook's profession is synonymous with the housewife's preparation of family meals fails to credit the professional cook with the independence and agency she has gained precisely through her decision to work outside (and/or in addition to) the domestic sphere. While the same woman may prepare meals both within her family home and in the market, these processes are decidedly not one in the same.

Although the market cook may know many of her clients' names, hometowns, occupations and personal struggles, it is unlikely that her service will be as easily taken for granted as it might be in her own house. In exchange for the meal that she serves her clients, the market cook expects to be remunerated with either service in kind or with a monetary payment. If her clients fail to provide her with a payment, she is under no obligation to continue serving them. Market cooks may appear to be "blurring the line between business and friendship" (ibid. 72) in their relationships with clients, yet in the end, the meal is being served in a public space; a location that involves a series of codes and behaviors that certainly differ from those performed within the home. While it is true that the binary between the private/public sphere has often been artificially and uncritically constructed, it is also important to avoid conflating 'housewifely work' with a woman's profession. Unlike the 'inside cook', the professional cook selling food outside the family home receives cash or service in kind in exchange for her efforts, thus providing her with an opportunity for improving or increasing her socioeconomic status and independence.

In seemingly every corner of the market, vendors arrange their tables and shelves piled high with roots, grains, legumes, leafy vegetables, flowering herbs, ripened fruits, pungent spices and pockmarked tubers. Despite the chaotic sounds, smells and colors that permeate the atmosphere in and around the Mercado Central, each food is displayed and sold within its own designated area. The internal logic of the market forbids a potato vendor from swapping stalls with a fruit vendor, or for a woman selling chocolate and coffee to set up shop near the vegetable stalls. Market women (for there are only a handful of men who administrate the peripheral dry goods

shops and larger market restaurants) claim that no 'official' rule dictates which products may be sold where and assert that it is just 'costumbre' that dictates the specific section in which vendors may sell their particular products. Thus, the tin-roofed, cement-walled interior Cuzco's Mercado Central is divided into regions divided by invisible boundaries. Each province is traversed by aisles of stacked up cheeses, mounded up potatoes and tubers, lined up chicken, hanging up beef, piled up vegetables and buckets of frogs, trays of fish, bunches of herbs and baggies of spices.

According to more than twenty Cuzco market women interviewed between the months of July and November 2005, the female food vendors who manage the greatest amount of capital and number of business associates usually enjoy the most clout within the market hierarchy, control the best locations within the market (usually on a corner, or at the end of an aisle) and thus not surprisingly, take home the most net profits. In order to better understand this hierarchy, four different categories can be used to describe the vast majority of the women who sell and prepare food in and around Cuzco's Mercado Central: those who work in a chichería or small restaurant, those who cook or sell food in market stalls, those who cook and/or sell food from a street corner stall and those who sell food as ambulatory vendors on the city streets.

Clearly all of these women must be considered 'outside cooks' (as described in the introduction) since they sell their food outside the private home (although cooks who sell food from street corner stalls, as ambulatory vendors, or on the floor of the market almost always prepare their wares in their own home). The possibility of gaining social prestige and economic benefits from the occupation of cooking descends significantly from the first to the fourth category and even within each of these four

groups, smaller hierarchies-- each corresponding to different socioeconomic benefits— exist within each of the groups. For example, the owner of a *chichería* obviously earns more money and demands more respect than the woman in charge of preparing the spicy ‘picante’ snacks, who in turn earns more and has gained the right to give orders to her prep cook or any of the waitresses-- employees who rank just ahead of the dishwashers in terms of both status and salary. Such ‘mini hierarchies’ exist within the tiny market kitchens and amongst the market, street corner and ambulatory vendors whose relative rank is largely decided according to levels of seniority and reflected in terms of the control of coveted locations within a targeted vending zone.

Occupying a position of relative power within these hierarchies translates into increased economic benefits which in turn allow the cook or vendor to achieve an improved level of socioeconomic independence. Certeau’s concept of ‘culture’ is useful for understanding the purpose and effect of the unspoken rules, hierarchical (re)positionings and constant negotiations which characterize the ‘culture’ of the ‘food business’ in the Cuzco markets and streets. In this formulation, culture is conceived as an entity that develops in environments full of tension and which alternately legitimizes, displaces and “provides symbolic balances, contracts of compatibility and compromises, all more or less temporary” (Certeau xvii).

Women from rural villages who arrive in the city of Cuzco without a family network generally experience great difficulty when attempting to improve their position on the food-vending ladder. Recent arrivals and women without family contacts are usually forced to confront the multiple disadvantages associated with selling wares in an unstable location: a constantly fluxuating customer base, vulnerability to police

harassment and fines, extreme weather, physical exhaustion, or thieves. On the other hand, women who own their own chichería or work as the head cook or vendor in a restaurant, market kitchen, or market stall benefit from the opportunity to network with other women entrepreneurs and to establish a stable group of ‘regular’ customers.

As mentioned in the introduction, Certeau’s concept of ‘tactic’ describes a tool deployed by ‘the other’ in order to seize advantageous opportunities, even without the benefit of any spatial or institutional stability. In Cuzco, cooks who sell their wares on the floor of the market or while walking around the city also lack spatial stability and thus, like the tactic, in order to survive they must increase their dependence on the resource of time. While market cooks and vendors with permanent stalls work days that are considered extremely long by North American and European standards (5am-8pm, six days per week), full-time ambulatory vendors must often work seven days per week to earn enough money to cover basic expenses and family financial obligations. The fifteen ambulatory food vendors that I interviewed in October, 2005, stated that their workdays began by at least 6 am and that they often continued to sell until 10pm or later-- when party-going Peruvians and tourists are often on the look-out for a cheap late night dinner. As exhausting as this occupation might sound, many ambulatory food vendors claim that they would prefer the uncertainties of selling food in the streets to the relative stability of working as a live-in cook or domestic servant.

Although women hired to work as cooks in restaurants or chicherías do not have to endure most of the ambulatory vendor’s hardships, many women are hired to work in restaurants owned and managed by abusive overseers. As the colonial chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala reminds us, such situations can potentially lead to

violent abuse wherein Indian women employed as cooks or kitchen assistants soon discover that their job requires them not only to cook, but also to perform sexual favors for their bosses. Guaman Poma reports cases in which cooks working in mining camps suffered from rape at the hands of camp directors and their assistants and also accuses parish priests of harboring such intense greed for monetary gain that they force indigenous women to serve them as cooks and bakers without pay “as if it were a punishment or penance” (Guaman Poma de Ayala 2: 489). Such potential dangers in a cook’s workplace are not unheard of in contemporary times and must also be considered.

The notion of the ‘food instance’ (Barthes) presented in the introduction is also useful for understanding the productive function market cooks and vendors, since these professionals do indeed ‘transform food into situation’. In the moment that they sell food to a client, these women carry out an economic exchange which in turn performs a ‘social function’—supplying the city’s residents with food and also helping to increase their own financial stability. In the case of market cooks and vendors, the location of their stall, restaurant or vending zone, the position they occupy within the kitchen and the type of foods they sell can all be considered as examples of “syntaxes and styles” within the Quechua food-universe. The syntax of a sentence creates order and meaning among its various grammatical components, while the style infuses the phrase with a particular personality or flavor. Likewise, then the system of hierarchies established by these culinary entrepreneurs creates a sense of order and meaning within Cuzco’s culinary marketplace, while still allowing each individual woman to impart her own

unique style in the food she creates or the way in which she presents or sells it to her customer.

A Brief Cultural History of the Quechua Food-universe:

There is no history of cuisine that is not also a history of prevailing appetite, habits, and taste.

Jean François Revel Culture and Cuisine

The intention of this verbal, ‘virtual tour’ through Cuzco’s Mercado Central is not to exoticize the products for sale or the persons who sell them in a ‘far-away-land’. Indeed, for this reason an attempt was made to avoid overly sensual descriptions of the market. While the tastes, smells, sounds and textures of the this market are remarkably intense, the above narrative is generally limited to visual descriptions, in hopes of avoiding the creation of a circus-like picture of the Cuzco market-- an effect which all too frequently plagues anthropological studies of market women and marketplaces of the so-called ‘developing world’. This brief description of the Cuzco market and the people who work within it is intended to serve as an introduction to some of the nuances, inflections and subtle meanings associated with the preparation and selling of an immense variety of Perú’s fruits, vegetables, herbs, spices, legumes and grains.⁵

Cuzco is Perú’s largest highland city and the Mercado Central is the city’s biggest market, thus it arguably serves as a useful starting point for an exploration of the Quechua food-universe. In order to discuss the representations and roles of Quechua food and cooks, the reader must first be introduced to some of the ingredients that appear time and again on restaurant menus and in family cooking pots throughout the Andes. The following pages present some of the most important Andean food

products from various points of view including: nutritional values, historical uses, prejudices and descriptions given by chroniclers, contemporary preparation and cultivation techniques, medicinal and ‘supernatural’ uses, as well as cultural, economic and historical nuances associated with various foods and beverages. As it was not possible to include a discussion of every important Andean food product in this chapter, I have focused on presenting those products which play an important role in the arguments and discussions presented in chapters two, three and four.

Not all of the key ingredients of the contemporary Quechua food-universe are native to the Peruvian highlands. Few soups or segundos are prepared without onions for instance and many popular dishes include ingredients such as garlic, eggs, cheese, or asnapa-- a mixture of the aromatic herbs: parsley, oregano, peppermint, huacatay and—a uniquely Andean combination no doubt, but a blend which nonetheless includes various herbs of Old World origin. The following pages, however, will concentrate on introducing a number of food crops originally domesticated and cultivated by Quechua farmers, while also exploring their uses and meanings within Incan, colonial and contemporary kitchens throughout the Andes.

As mentioned in the introduction, cultural historians are increasingly interested in how food relates to the creation of group and individual identities, the roles it has played in the rise and fall of civilizations throughout history, as well as its link to the successes and failures of a society’s intellectual, bellic and diplomatic practices.

Histories written and/or edited by Redcliffe Salaman, Reay Tannahill, Carson Ritchie, Michael Symons, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, George Armelagos and Peter Farb, Sophie Coe, Sidney Mintz, Jean François Revel and Laura Schenone demonstrate the

importance of considering food and cooking as inseparable from all of the other historical, economic, political and cultural events and interactions involving human beings and the world that surrounds them. All of these authors emphasize aspects of the role of food in ritual (and/or magical) practices, as an indicator of social differentiation, as an encoder of meanings, or as a vehicle capable of achieving metaphysical, religious and moral transformations.

As Fernández-Armesto points out, “there is now no society which merely eats to live . . . a change as revolutionary as any in the history of our species happened when eating stopped being merely practical and became ritual too” (29). Yet it is also important not to become so intent on discovering the symbolic loading associated with a particular food practice, ingredient, or consumption pattern that one neglects the nutritional and economic motivations that contribute to the selection or inclusion of certain foodstuffs in a meal (Beardsworth and Keil 149). The interrelationships between human biological needs and their cultural values must be understood if one seeks to learn how food-related habits emerge and are sustained (ibid.). By recognizing our biological imperatives “in their culturally mediated manifestations”, we come to understand food systems as both dynamic and complex processes (ibid.). According to this point of view, the biological necessity of eating is not considered solely responsible for determining food preferences, nor is the symbolic quality of food understood as an arbitrary coincidence. In this way, the argument follows, the need to eat influences food symbolism that subsequently affects biological imperative. A frequently cited observation that would seem to support this argument is concept formulated by Levi-Strauss’ (1970) and discussed above in the introduction; that most cultures’ oral

traditions narrate the mythical discovery of their primary food staples which in turn, often play an important role in religious rituals.

The discussion of Andean foodstuffs in the following pages seeks to strike a balance between the exploration of the uses and meanings of food in terms of their nutritional, economic and symbolic importance in Quechua culture. Achieving such an equilibrium is far from simple and previous studies of Andean foodways have tended to opt for an investigation of either nutritional and economic values, or strictly symbolic meanings, while only rarely considering both the economic and symbolic significance of a food product.⁶ In the following pages, sometimes these three perspectives are quite interrelated and a division between them would seem artificial, while in other instances a discussion of the economic implications associated with a particular foodstuff will be discussed independently of any symbolic or ritual values it might possess.

Classical texts such as Xenophon's *Oikonomikos*, reveal that the word 'economy' originally referred to the management of the *oikos* (meaning 'house' in Greek). In late sixteenth century Europe, however, the phrase 'political economy' began to designate the management of public financial affairs and by the eighteenth century this expression had been shortened to 'economics' (Symons 194). The three basic historical modes of economic distribution can generally be described utilizing the following broad categories: reciprocity (an exchange or 'gifting' wherein immediate repayment is not expected), redistribution (implying a central organization that collects and then redistributes goods, thus generating a greater division of labor and more complex social relationships) and market exchange (involving a marketplace and bargaining relationships that place a premium on price) (ibid. 252-253). Prior to the

arrival of the Spaniards in present-day Perú, the Andean economy involved a combination of reciprocity and redistribution, whereas market exchange was not practiced.⁷

John Murra's essay "El control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas" [1955], explains a fundamental aspect of pre-Incan, Incan, colonial and contemporary Andean economies of reciprocity and redistribution. Murra's original argument has remained essentially unaltered by subsequent scholars and ethnographers who have largely confirmed his thesis in their own research.⁸ His essential assertion claims that instead of maintaining a system of marketplaces similar to Old World or Mesoamerican models, in the Andes, ethnic groups gained access to the products of a variety of ecological niches by establishing members from their group in different microclimates (Murra 240).⁹ He refers to these ecological niches as part of a 'vertical archipelago'; in order to facilitate the exploitation of diverse resources, a community establishes a series of permanent colonies at a distance of one to several days journey from its primary population center.

The islands of this 'vertical archipelago' remain functionally linked as part of an integrated system providing the more densely populated 'nucleus community' with a variety of foodstuffs, building materials, wool, guano, wooden dishware and a variety of other necessary products. Murra emphasizes the importance of understanding the permanence of these 'island' niches:

. . . no se trata ni de migraciones estacionales, ni de comercio, ni de transhumancia. La población hacía un esfuerzo continuo para asegurarse el acceso a 'islas' de recursos, colonizándolas con su propia gente, a pesar de las distancias que las separaban de sus núcleos principales de asentamiento y poder. (ibid. 87)¹⁰

Murra hypothesizes that the system of vertical archipelagos existed in the Andes long before the rise of the Incan Empire. He also asserts that once conquered by the Incas, subjugated ethnic groups largely retained their access pre-incaic 'ecological islands', although he concedes that in some cases the Incas transported entire ethnic groups from one corner of the empire to another (ibid. 120).¹¹ Other imperial strains that weakened this system included the Incas' obligation for workers to participate in far removed *mitmaq*¹² state projects or agricultural fields.

While not able to completely dismantle the Andean vertical archipelagos that fueled an economy of reciprocity and redistribution, the Spanish invasion delivered a severe blow to the integrity and efficiency of the centuries old system. The discovery of silver in Potosí in 1545 (and to a lesser extent the mercury deposits found in Huancavelica in 1560) rapidly transformed the Southern Andean highlands into an enormous international marketplace. By the late 1500s more than 100,000 people lived and worked in Potosí; this population's demand for both imported and local goods and services consequently inserted the Southern Andes into the global political economy just a few decades after the arrival of the Spanish (Stern 73). The Spanish colonial chronicler, Pedro de Cieza de León describes the Potosí market as "el más rico mercado del mundo" and claims, "se vendía cada día en tiempo que las minas andauan prósperas veynte y cinco y treynta mill pesos de oro . . . cosa estraña, y creo que ninguna feria del mundo se ygulo al trato deste mercado" (1: ch. cx). He describes Potosí's central plaza as a marketplace divided into areas for selling coca ("la mayor riqueza de estas partes"), finely woven cloth, shirts and blankets and food ("montones de mayz y de papas secas y de las otras sus comidas") (ibid.). As Stern points out,

“Andean peoples intervened in the colonial market economy from its very beginnings”-
- indeed, most of the food crops and textiles purchased in Potosí were produced and
transported by Quechua farmers of the Cuzco region who quickly became adept
participants in the inter-regional mercantile economy of the early colonial era
(*Ethnicity, Markets* 76).¹³

In order to avoid unfavorable and forced participation in the market economy,
Stern demonstrates that Quechua men and women often became shrewd participants in
colonial markets as sellers of raw materials and finished textiles, as transportation
providers and as vendors of foodstuffs and prepared meals and beverages (ibid. 77, 75).
While some *runa* living in rural villages permanently moved to urban centers in the
early colonial era in order to escape family or ayllu tensions or to seek a more
comfortable and economically secure existence, participation in the mercantilist market
economy did not necessarily mean that Quechua entrepreneurs abandoned the
organizational and subsistence strategies of their ayllu groups. On the contrary, market
participation often served as a ‘tactic’ which provided a Quechua family with enough
currency to satisfy tribute requirements without having to give up their own agricultural
products (ibid. 90). Ironically, further outside interference in the ayllus’ economic,
political and cultural practices was averted by the members’ participation in the
mercantilist economy instituted by the invaders.

The Quechua Food-universe and Gastronomical Colonialism

Food—at least as much as language and religion, perhaps more so—is cultural litmus. It identifies and, therefore, necessarily, differentiates. Fellow members of cultural communities recognize each other by what they eat and scan the menu to spot the excluded.

Fernández-Armesto Near a Thousand Tables, A History of Food

Throughout history, colonizing nations have often attempted to consolidate their power through the control and even the eradication of the languages of a colonized people. As the Kenyan novelist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o eloquently puts it: “The domination of a people’s language, by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised” (16). Another tool of domination that is perhaps not as frequently acknowledged is the colonizer’s attempt to replace the food-universe of a colonized people.¹⁴ In the Andes, Spanish conquistadors, priests and administrators attempted to attain their respective ambitions through projects of linguistic and gastronomical colonization of the indigenous Quechua culture. Spanish colonizers initially encouraged the spread of Quechua (called *runasimi* by those who speak the language) in order to further their project of evangelization and to facilitate the collection of tribute payments and other administrative duties. Instead of translating catechisms, sermons, prayers and the Bible into the numerous indigenous languages spoken throughout the present-day countries of Ecuador, Perú and Bolivia, they simply continued the Inca practice of requiring all subjugated groups to learn Quechua. After the insurrections of the 1780s, however, attempts were made to restrict the production of Quechua theatre and the dissemination of Quechua songs and tales in the hopes of preventing future uprisings (Mannheim *The Language of the Inka* 71). Regardless of such efforts to restrict communication and cultural production in Quechua, the language continues to flourish throughout the Andes.

Similar to their attempts to restrict the use of Quechua for purposes not directly linked to the Church, Spaniards also attempted to encourage Andeans to shift their gastronomical preferences to European fare (Kubler 355). Yet while the Inca Garcilaso admits that at first Andeans were quite curious to try new Spanish foodstuffs, after the novelty waned most *runa* still preferred to eat the Andean products that they were accustomed to cultivating and preparing (Garcilaso bk. IX ch. XXX; Kubler 355; Super 88). A similar attitude towards ‘European’, ‘urban’, ‘white’ foods such as rice, bread and pasta seems to exist in the Andes today. In the parish of Zumbagua in highland Ecuador, Weismantel notes:

. . . today, the aggressive presence of ‘white’ foods is met by the stubborn, uncelebrated existence at the core of indigenous *doxa*¹⁵. If children’s longing for bread and the fetishization of white rice as the sign of superiority represent pressure to assimilate, barley products stand for cultural resistance . . . [Barley] is referred to as ‘good, substantial food’ as being ‘as filling as meat’ as ‘food that warms you up’. (*Food, Gender* 159-60)

Even though white rice enjoys a certain allure as a prestige food eaten by whites and is purchased in the market, “it is acknowledged to be a less substantial food than barley, fava beans, or potatoes” (ibid. 149). In her ethnographic study of a community near Juliaca in the Southern Peruvian department of Puno, Edita Vokral observes a similar attitude towards rice (and other ‘city’ foods such as cheese and meat) versus papas. She notes:

Las papas son estimadas como nutritivas” and while rice is considered a delicious treat, “. . . se enfatiza siempre que del arroz se consume poco y que se completa siempre con chuño o quinua; de esa manera se obtiene supuestamente una comida balanceada. El fideo, el pan, y el arroz . . . son considerados como pobres en nutrientes. Solamente pocos dicen que la carne o el queso son nutritivos. (301)

The allure of white rice in Zumbagua and Juliaca is analogous to Audrey Richards' observation made in the 1930s while living among the Bantu peoples of Southern Africa. The anthropologist notes that the 'practical' values of cattle actually paled in comparison to their symbolic value: "the herd is less important as a source of meat, milk, and leather, than as the object of social ambitions, rivalries and emotions" (*Hunger and World* 97).

In rural communities of highland Perú the attitude towards *hatun llaqta*--city foods such as rice, pasta and bread as compared to the local staples of papa, ch'uño and moraya parallel those noted by Weismantel and Vokral. When visiting rural villages in the Q'eros region of Southern Perú, children excitedly accept my gifts of bread and packaged cookies, while their mothers always thank me for the packages of pasta and bags of rice that I offer them. I have noticed, however, that when finishing a meal of pasta or rice in the home where I usually stay, my hostess Luisa inevitably passes around a small pot of boiled potatoes. When on one particular occasion I declined to accept a boiled potato, I was sternly reminded by Louisa that while pasta and tomatoes are a nice treat, it is impossible to warm up and maintain one's strength against the icy winds without eating at least a few small potatoes.¹⁶ Languages and food-universes both possess important symbolic and pragmatic functions that a colonized people must often defend against the destructive ambitions of a hegemonic power.

More than four hundred and fifty years have passed since the Spanish first arrived in Perú declaring Quechua 'manjares' ". . . tan rústicos y groseros, que no había más que mal cocido y peor asado en las brasas" (Cobo 1: bk. XIV, ch. V). Regardless of the conquerors' low opinion of their cuisine, Quechua cooks have retained countless

recipes calling for Andean ingredients, while also integrating many European (as well as Asian, Middle Eastern and Mesoamerican) food products into their culinary repertoires. The inhabitants of the Andes developed a stunningly diverse array of agricultural products, many of which serve as important food staples for the world's population today. These agricultural innovations include more than twenty varieties of corn; at least two-hundred varieties of potato; as well as one or more varieties of squash, beans, peppers, peanuts, cassava, avocado, highland tubers and grains such as quinoa, kiwicha and cañihua (Cabienes *Cien Siglos* 78). Pre-conquest runa agriculturists had also carefully tended, selected and cultivated a wide variety of both highland and tropical fruits including: papaya, pineapple, chirimoya, maracuyá, lúcuma, avocado, guava, tomato, tomate de árbol and granadilla.

Food, Cooking and the Construction of Identities:

For many people, eating particular foods serves not only as a fulfilling experience, but also as a liberating one—an added way of making some kind of a declaration. Consumption, then, is at the same time a form of self-identification and of communication... much of the symbolic overloading of food rests particularly in its utility for this purpose.

Sidney Mintz Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom

Throughout history, the Quechua food-universe has influenced the construction of oppositional tactics designed to resist social, political and economic oppression within Andean homes, communities and cities. Food (and its preparation and consumption) also occupies important roles in the construction, negotiation and interpretation of Quechua identities in both colonial and contemporary Andean societies. As Mintz points out in the passage cited above, food plays an important role in the construction and creation of both individual and group identities. Moreover,

“food crosses the border between the ‘outside’ and the ‘inside’ [worlds] and this ‘principle of incorporation’ touches upon the very nature of a person” (Fischler 275). For this reason, in most cultures it is assumed that peoples eating similar foods are “trustworthy, good, familiar”, a characteristic which allows for cookery to help “give food and its eaters a place in the world” (ibid. 276).

After analyzing the results of his extensive surveys of French ‘taste’, Pierre Bourdieu comes to a similar conclusion, determining that taste can be correlated not with beauty or abstract aesthetic categories, but with social position. He asserts: “Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by the classification, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make”, so that while the working class tends to prepare and consume substantial meals, other social classes have largely abandoned this practice (*Distinction* 6). Increased income he posits, “is accompanied by a strengthening of the social censorships which forbid coarseness and fatness, in favour of slimness and distinction” (ibid. 185).

The concept of identity is as complex as it is important. Indeed the notion of *identity* should actually be referred to as *identities*, since in the Andes as elsewhere, identities are flexible, multiple and under constant revision and reconstruction.¹⁷ When Homi Bhabha asks which of the identities of a working woman determines her political choices (we might also add: her artistic choices, or her choice of ingredients for the evening meal) he can only answer that such a choice depends on:

. . . the production of alternative or antagonistic images [or identities] that are always produced side-by-side and in competition with each other. This side-by-side nature, this partial presence. . . gives meaning to a politics of struggle as the struggle of identifications and the war of positions. (29)

The question of identity is never an affirmation of a pre-given descriptive category, but instead exists in an atmosphere of uncertainty that always surrounds the body (Fanon *Black Skin White Masks* ctd. in Bhaba 45). In this way, “identification, identity is never an *a priori*; nor a finished product; it is only ever the problematic process of access to an image of totality” (Bhaba 51). This concept of identity as process echoes Stuart Hall’s formulation of cultural identity as “becoming” and not simply “being”; since it belongs to the future and not only to the past, it undergoes constant transformation (“Cultural Identity and Diaspora” 112). Instead of conceiving of identity as “an already accomplished fact”, he suggests that cultural identity should be thought of as “a ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside representation” (ibid. 110).

During the reign of the Incas, then the Spaniards and now in contemporary times, food has served as an important tool in the process of constructing identities in the Andes. Likewise, it should be pointed out that the symbolic and social significance of foods are as mutable as the identities of those who prepare and consume them, so that the *meaning* attached to a certain dish may change over time or may depend upon the context in which it is served. Invoking Derrida’s play with ‘differ’ and ‘defer’, Hall reminds us that “meaning is never finished or completed, but keeps on moving to encompass other, additional or supplemented meanings, which—disturb the classical economy of language and representation” (ibid. 115). In light of such flexibility and impermanence, it does not seem overly cautious to posit that the relation between food and identity can only be established in relative, or temporary terms. Just how, for

whom and in what contexts such identities are constructed will be explored in the following chapters.¹⁸

The Role of Food in Peruvian Quechua Communities: Examples Past and Present

In addition to its role as a tool in identity construction, throughout history the Quechua food-universe has also been responsible for carrying out a number of both ritual and mundane functions within the community. For instance, food sacrifices and remedies play an important role in healing diseases within Quechua communities. This fusion of food and medicine is by no means unique to the Quechua culture. Written in Latin around 1465 by a scholar and humanist named Platina, *De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine* became Europe's first international cookbook best-seller. The entire first half of the large tome is comprised of a humanist treatise on health and well-being and includes suggestions for food and herbal recipes believed to cure a plethora of common ailments. American cookbooks published in the nineteenth and early twentieth century also frequently included a chapter of 'home remedy recipes' suggesting food and herbal concoctions as cures for many common illnesses.

In Tahuantinsuyu, local curers known as *camasca* or *soncoyoc* prepared different food sacrifices depending on the type of malady suffered by a patient. For an illness caused by "religious neglect", the *soncoyoc* would place a mixture of black and white maize flour and ground seashells in the hand of the ailing *runa*, ask her to repeat certain words and then attempt to appease the deities by blowing the powder in their direction (Kendall 93). An illness caused by the "neglect of ancestor worship" could be cured by placing food and chicha on the ancestor's tomb or near the ancestor's

possessions in a corner of the home (ibid.). ‘Cleansing cures’ involved the preparation of a bath of maize flour, while certain ‘internal disorders’ suffered by the elite involved opening the stomach with an obsidian knife and proceeding to pretend to remove “snakes, toads, and other foreign bodies” (ibid.).

Food sacrifices still play an important role in the healing of diseases in the Andes, particularly in rural villages with little access to westernized medicines, hospitals, or medical professionals. Once when I came down with a respiratory infection in an isolated rural Peruvian village, my hostess insisted that we burn a small *despacho*-offering of ch’uño, coca leaves and *trago*-liquor for the local deity, Apu Ñañantiyoq. She explained that the Apu had become angry with me for having remained in the village for several days without introducing myself and thus he had sent a *ch’iri wayra*- cold wind into my lungs in order to demonstrate both his power and his disapproval.¹⁹ My hostess prepared a coca leaf infusion to warm my lungs and within a few days Ñañantiyoq had accepted my presence and allowed for the *ch’iri wayra* to seep out of my lungs.

While a food sacrifice or remedy may be prescribed to treat an illness, the symbolic pairing of alimentary and mortuary forces suggests the close relationship between these two energies within the Quechua worldview. The strength of this association is confirmed by the *runa* notion of a “communion of stomachs” which exists between the living, or between the living and the dead (Allen). This ‘communion’ means “. . . the dead and the absent may on occasion be fed through the medium of the body [of a present, living eater]” (ibid). Amongst the *runa* of Southern Perú, it is also common knowledge that an empty stomach leaves one dangerously

susceptible to potentially deadly illness. Such hunger-induced ailments may take the form of the much feared ‘sickness of the winds’, an illness which occurs when malignant energies penetrate a human body weakened either by the rapidly receding light of dusk or by hunger.²⁰ *Runa* do not, however, consider just any sort of food as adequate protection against malevolent spirits. While on long walks between villages in the Q’eros region of the Southern Peruvian Andes, I have often been scolded for attempting to quell my hunger pangs with a raw (thus cold) apple instead of boiled (warm) potatoes, or for drinking cold water with a warm meal. According to my hosts, mixing warm food with a cold beverage could prove just as harmful to my health eating nothing at all. The cold outside air must be countered by warm liquid within the body, just as the Incaic verses below carefully balance expressions of gratitude with petitions and inventories of fears with optimistic hopes for healthy crops and animal herds.²¹

Garcilaso mentions that traditional medicine in the Andes focused a lot of attention on the need to balance hot and cold: “Al frío de la terciana o quartana llaman –*chucchu*-, que es temblar; a la calentura llaman –*rupa*-, que es quemarse. Temían mucho estas tales enfermedades por los extremos, ya de frío, ya de calor” (bk. II ch. XXV).²² Similarly, eating too much ‘cold’ food can also cause serious illness. In his seventeenth century text Guaman Poma describes this belief system explaining, “llouía muy mucho este mes [febrero] y auía abundancia de *yuyos* [planta acuática comestible] pero muy mucha hambre de comida . . . ay mueren muchos biejos y biejas y niños de cámaras y frío del estómago y por comer todo uerde y mucha fruta fresca y tener hambre; prosede todo mal humor del cuerpo con el uapor de la tierra se ajunta” (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1: 213). In the month of March, however, eating *yuyos* no

longer causes illness, as they are paired with the consumption of warm *llullo papa* [papa primeriza] and *michica sara* [maíz temprano] (ibid.). Here Guaman Poma refers to the need to balance warmth and cold within the human body in order to protect against disease, a belief which echoes Greek humoralism—the medical philosophy which called for the balance of the four liquid humors of the body in order to ensure proper health. In various regions of Iran, India, Malaysia and China, food has been classified according to temperature for centuries. In Iran for example, all foods except salt, water, tea and some fungi are categorized as either ‘hot’ or ‘cold’ (Fernández-Armesto 34-35, Sahar Mughadam, personal communication).

If an empty stomach invites sickness, it is a satisfied belly that protects one from harm and encourages future prosperity and health. In the Quechua worldview, excess protects, paucity endangers and one’s fate quite often depends on the ability to successfully avoid slipping into scarcity’s cold, hostile clutches. In order to enhance the chances of attaining a prosperous future, a child’s *chukcha rutuy*- first haircut ceremony cannot be carried out if a lavish meal and ample alcohol are lacking. The definition of a *lavish* meal is of course relative and the type and quantity of food and drink differ according to the host’s income level and the proximity of their home to a road or a marketplace. A feast served at a *chukcha rutuy* in an isolated highland village will likely consist of boiled, then pan-fried *cuy*-guinea pig, boiled potatoes, corn chicha and *cañazo*--cane liquor. Amongst lower/middle class mestizos residing in the city of Cuzco, a *chukcha rutuy* banquet often consists of roasted chicken, beef and/or *cuy*, rice, french fries, *rocoto relleno*, *Cuzqueña* beer and soda and a decorated cake ordered from a neighborhood bakery.

Similar feasts are held in honor of the formal engagement of a couple known as *casarakuy*. As in Richard's formulation of the role of food in establishing legal and economic contracts (discussed in the introduction), during this Quechua ritual the offering and accepting of food and drink signals a variety of long-term pacts. Accepting the generous servings of food and alcohol offered by the groom's family, signals that the bride and her parents approve of the marriage proposal. Similarly, the honored guests of any *chukcha rutuy* are the child's godmother and father (*comadre* and *compadre*), while the pair's important role in the ceremony is typically signified by offering them the choicest piece of cuy or cut of meat and the first serving of each of the many rounds of alcohol. In accepting these heaping plates of food, the *compadres* are tacitly agreeing to care for the small child should anything happen to both parents and to look out for the child's economic and emotional stability throughout his or her life. In these cases, food acts symbolically as an unwritten contract between two families. When one family fills the belly of another, an agreement has been reached and certain responsibilities have been assumed.

During the February *carnaval* festival and the feasts of San Juan and Santiago, both humans and their animals (llamas, alpacas, sheep or horses, depending on the festival and community) are stuffed with coca, chicha and food to ensure both their health and fertility during the coming year. During interviews in the community of Quico in the Q'eros region, several women explained to me that in order to convince the llamas to breed successfully and to produce strong, healthy offspring, their *runa* companions must dedicate a certain song to the llamas, while simultaneously presenting the animals with the brightest and largest blossoms of the *phallcha* plant and

large quantities of corn chicha. The women claimed that they could only find these bright red flowers at the very top of mountain slopes and only for a few weeks of the year during the rainy season. To venture up to such heights in wet, inclement weather was dangerous they conceded, though they insisted that it was well worth the risk of becoming ill in order to satisfy the llama's wishes during the breeding season.

When five different women living in separate households within the community of Quico were asked what sort of song a llama might receive during breeding season, all of the women sang a very similar song which they referred to as *Llama takin* 'Song of the Llama'. In the version which I recorded, transcribed and translated below, the invocation --*Mamallay mama*-- is repeated six times and is both preceded and followed by delicate reminders of the care and sacrifice expended in securing fine, well-aged chicha and the most delicious blossoms of the '*phallcha chuncha*' flower. Like the Incaic verses which will be discussed in chapter two, the lines of *Llama takin* carefully balance respectful adoration with subtle reminders which suggest that in exchange for the generous offerings of their human companions, the llamas (or deities in the case of the Incaic verses) should reciprocate accordingly.

For *runa*, every object (rocks, cooking pots, musical instruments), place (rivers, mountain peaks, agricultural fields) or being (humans, animals, insects) which possesses a function or purpose is animated and therefore infused with the necessary energy to carry out its designated function or purpose (Taylor *Camac*, *camay* 7). Each earthly object, place or being also corresponds to its own primordial, animating double which infuses it with vital energy (Taylor *ibid.* 5; Allen 59, 258). In describing the worship of certain stellar constellations throughout the Andes, Polo de Ondegardo

explains that according to “creencias indias”, all animals possessed a “semejante” in the sky which is responsible for assuring the procreation and multiplication of its earthly double (Taylor *ibid.*; Urton 169). While the priest and chronicler José de Acosta considers this idea as analogous to the idea/form binary of Platonic Idealism, Cobo describes the Andean belief system in terms of primary and secondary causes:

La adoración de las estrellas procedió de aquella opinión . . . de que para la conservación de cada especie de cosas había el Criador señalado y como substituído, una causa segunda; en cuya conformidad creyeron que de todos los animales y aves de la tierra había en el cielo un símil que atendía a la conservación y aumento dellos . . . (Cobo II: ch. XCX qtd. in Taylor *ibid.*)

In his translation of the *Huarochiri*—a Quechua language manuscript dating from the late sixteenth century in which indigenous narrators describe religious rituals, beliefs and myths-- Arguedas explains that the reference to *llamap camaquen* relates to the worship of stellar constellations: “. . . una sombra de llama, un doble de este animal que camina por el centro del cielo, pues es una oscuridad del cielo” (qtd. in Taylor *ibid.* 8).

While Taylor, Arguedas and Urton attest to the pre-colonial and contemporary belief in an animating energy possessed by stellar constellations which effects the vitality of their earthly doubles, the *illa* is an animating double whose materiality lies much closer to the *runa*'s home and community. Allen describes the *illa* as a small stone model kept within the homes of most *runa* families and which is believed to concentrate “special generative powers” (258). The *illa* is also considered as the repository of well-being for the animal or household that it represents: “[*illas*] are a source of the health and fertility of the livestock, the crops, and the family members themselves” (*ibid.* 59). Both the animating powers of the stellar constellations and the

household *illas* reflect the *runa* belief that the generative power of ‘doubles’ infuses earthly beings, places and objects with a vital essence. This concept of life-infusing doubles is an important aspect of “*Llama Takin*” since the song’s chorus of “*Mamallay mama*” can be understood as an invocation of the animating double (either in the form of a constellation or an *illa*) of earthly llamas during the annual breeding ceremony.

In discussing the presence of a pre-colombian agricultural cult, Silverblatt reveals the ways in which the animating essence of stellar constellations and *illa* objects also relate to the appellative *mama*. In describing this cult of the *Mamayuta* or *Saramama*, Silverblatt explains that the deity was believed to possess generative powers that could only be properly revered by human females, since they were also capable of reproducing life (*Moon, Sun, and Witches* 33-34). Although Gonçalez Holguín defines *mama* as “la hembra ya paridera”, I have opted to translate the chorus of this song as “my dear animating mama, mama” in order to evoke the more complex meanings associated with this repeated invocation.

Llama Takin

Altopitaq santo t'ika
Mamallay mama
Mayu wichay chiri para
Mamallay mama
Altopitaq santo t'ika
Mamallay mama
Mayu wichay chiri para
Mamallay mama
Altopitaq phallcha chuncha
Mamallay mama
Phallcha pilaspa
Mamallay mama

(Elisa Condori, my transcription)

Song of the Llama

In the highest reaches, sacred flower
 My dear animating *mama, mama*
 Above the river, frigid rain
 My dear animating *mama, mama*
 In the highest reaches, sacred flower
 My dear animating *mama, mama*
 Above the river, frigid rain
 My dear animating *mama, mama*
 In the highest reaches *phallcha chuncha*
 My dear animating *mama, mama*
Phallcha you are eating
 My dear animating *mama, mama*²³

(my translation)

In the verses of *Llama Takin*, the performer repeatedly pays respectful tribute to the animating essence of all llamas, referring to her as ‘my dear animating mama’ (mama-*lla-y*); using the affectionate enclitic -*lla* and the possessive -*y*- respectively. When asked about the meaning of this song, Elisa explained that by repeatedly intoning the distant and precarious location of the *phallcha* fields-- “in the highest reaches... above the river, [in the] frigid rain”—she is subtly reminding the llamas (and their animating essence) of the difficulty involved in collecting these *phallcha* blossoms. Even more than the subtle words in the song’s verses, the context in which the song is performed helps us to understand its meaning. Since women in Quico sing the *Llama Takin* at the beginning of the breeding season (while they feed *phallcha* flowers to their herds), the purpose of the performance is to satisfy the earthly llamas’ physical cravings and also to pay homage to their ‘mama’ (the animating essence of all llamas) during the breeding season, thus increasing the chances that healthy offspring might be engendered.

An Introduction to Andean Foods:

Before proceeding to the analysis of culinary representations in colonial and contemporary Quechua texts, the following pages will introduce a selection of key Andean foods. Some of these foods have been successfully introduced into various world cuisines for centuries, while others are little known outside of the Quechua communities where they are cultivated. What follows is a brief introduction to some of the most important ingredients in Quechua cuisine, presented with an eye to their

historical, economic, cultural and nutritional importance for cooks and diners in the Andes and around the world.

Papa

Hans Horkheimer, one of the first scholars to thoroughly study and write about Quechua foods and cooking practices justly praises pre-conquest Andeans as brilliant observers of all of the possibilities offered by the flora of their environment:

. . . aprovechando [plantas] silvestres o cultivadas para comer o beber, a causa de sus fibras o de su madera, como estimulante o medicamento, como colorante o auxiliar tecnológico, o también simplemente como adorno. Raras veces ha utilizado un pueblo la flora tan intensivamente, de tantas formas y en tal extensión. (106)

Undoubtedly the most economically, socially and nutritionally significant of these Andean foodstuffs-- in pre-conquest, colonial and contemporary eras-- is the *papa*. That the quintessential Andean food has come to lose its original name by peninsular Spanish speakers can only be explained as a case of mistaken identity. Since the first Spaniards to arrive in Perú recognized many Andean foods from their previous colonizing campaigns in the Caribbean and Mesoamerica, they often referred to South American products using the names that they had previously learned (usually in a Caribbean language). As Garcilaso explains, "...todos los nombres que los españoles ponen a las frutas y legumbres del Perú son del lenguaje de las islas de Barlovento, que los han introducidos ya en su lengua española, y por eso damos cuenta de ellos" (bk. VIII ch. X). In this way, "el tubérculo llamada *batata* [sweet potato] por los nativos caribeños que a los españoles les sonó como *patata* y luego pasó al inglés como *potato* y así a otras lenguas más, lo que ocurrió también con otros productos que hoy tendrían

nombre andino” (Chara Zereceda 22). Thus the *papa* was initially confused with the *batata* upon arrival in Iberia around 1500, resulting in its christening as the *patata*-- the name by which it is still known in Spain today. In the interest of doing its part to right this historical wrong, the present project shall mince no words and in the following pages, a *papa* will be called a papa.

Although he likely exaggerated the Quechua dependence on the papa, as early as 1532 the naturalist, historian, chronicler and priest Bernabé Cobo noted, “la mitad de los indios [del Perú] no tienen otro pan” (1: Book IV cap. xiii).²⁴ Indeed, centuries before European populations came to depend on the nutritional value of the papa, it had served as a vital, daily staple in the Andes and became key to the success of Incan imperial armies fighting battles and seizing new territory throughout Western South America. The first archeological evidence of papa cultivation and consumption is dated at 8,000 B.C and was discovered in the Chilca valley’s *Tres Ventanas* cave south of Lima, while papa cultivation becomes evident in the Ayacucho region around 4,400-3,100 BC (Brack “Perú”).²⁵ More than 30,000 tons of papas were produced annually in the imperial city of Tiahuanaco near Lake Titicaca before it collapsed more than 1000 years ago and by the time the Spaniards arrived in Perú, more than two hundred varieties were cultivated-- a few at altitudes of 4,500 meters (Fernández-Armesto 100, Cabieses *Cien Siglos* 80).

So important was the papa to the inhabitants of *Tahuaninsuyu* that Bernabé Cobo reports the use of the tubers as a standard for measuring time throughout the empire:

. . . este tiempo, pues, que se tardan en cocer las papas, toman para medir la duración de las cosas que se hacen en breve, respondiéndolo haber gastado en

hacer tal o cual cosa tanto tiempo cuanto basta a cocerse una olla de papas. (1: bk. XII ch. XXXVII)

In his attempt to describe high altitude crops for a European audience unfamiliar with such foods, Garcilaso explains: “. . . por ser la tierra muy fría, no se da el maíz, cógese mucha quinua, que es como arroz, y otras semillas y legumbres que fructificaban debajo de tierra, y entre ellas hay una que llaman *papa*: es redonda y muy húmeda . . .” (bk. V ch. VI).²⁶ Indeed, the *papa* was capable of sustaining civilization and large scale conquests in the Andes due to two unique features: its tolerance of extreme temperatures and altitudes—some varieties can grow at thirteen thousand feet— and its nutritional value-- it remains one of the few agricultural products in the world that if eaten in sufficient quantities, provides all of the nutrients required by the human body (Fernández-Armesto 99).²⁷ These two features later made the *papa* an indispensable staple for millions of Europeans, though not without some serious initial misgivings. Although the *papa* enjoyed almost immediate success in Great Britain after its introduction in the late sixteenth century (particularly in the newly established colony of Ireland whose climate and geography more closely matched the *papa*'s native Perú), in continental Europe, the starchy tuber did not receive such an enthusiastic welcome (ibid.). Its entirely subterranean development, its dubious status as a relative of the poisonous tribe of the Nightshade *Solanaceae* genus (the uncooked fruit, as well as its stems and foliage do in fact contain significant amounts of the poisonous alkaloid solanin) and its complete lack of odor all contributed to the wary European public's initial suspicion and rejection of the *papa* (Cabieses *Cien Siglos* 78).²⁸ Yet as Salaman's pioneering social history of the *papa* points out, by the beginning of the seventeenth

century, the tuber had become a vital food source not only for Quechua families, but for the Spanish invaders as well.

In France the papa continued to languish in abandon until the eighteenth century philosopher Antoine-Auguste Parmentier—who became convinced of the tuber’s value in a Prussian prison during the Seven Year’s War-- decided to embark upon a public relations campaign in favor of the papa (Fernández-Armesto 79). Parmentier managed to convince King Louis XVI that the South American tuber could serve as an important foodstuff for the masses and presented the monarch with his clever scheme for convincing the peasants to accept the papa (Richie *Food in Civilization* 57). The King accepted the plan and proceeded to arrange for the planting of a large field of papas on the outskirts of Paris. Soldiers were ordered to guard the field both day and night and as local peasants passed by to take a look, word soon spread of a mysterious and incredibly valuable crop protected by strict security measures. Once the papas were ready to harvest, the King withdrew his guards and as expected, the mature tubers soon disappeared from the fields by night (ibid. 58). Thus the pomme de terre began its long and successful career in France and on menus throughout the country, dishes served with a side of papas are still designated *a la parmentier*—an homage to the Andean tuber’s Gallic godfather.

In eighteenth century Bavaria, Count Rumford ordered cooks to boil papas ‘to a pulp’ in order to adequately disguise the tubers destined for the plates of workhouse inmates who had previously refused to eat them (Fernández-Armesto 100).²⁹ Both Catherine the Great and Marie Antoinette praised the papa, the latter—so often (and unfairly it seems) portrayed as the callous advocate of cake for the masses—reinforced

her pro-papa campaign by wearing the plant's flowers on her royal gowns (ibid.). The widespread cultivation of papas in Europe, however, spread most rapidly with the proliferation of continental wars. Introduced to Belgium with Louis XIV's bellic advances in the 1680s, papa cultivation and consumption moved eastward across Germany and Prussia during eighteenth century conflicts and began to supplant rye as a basic staple in Russia with the onslaught of the Napoleonic Wars (ibid., Cabieses Cien Siglos 78). In Prussia, the notoriously despotic Fredrick II 'the Great' signed a decree in 1756 declaring that any peasants refusing to plant papas would receive severe, physical punishment (Fernández-Armesto 179). In the early eighteen century, the plant was introduced to the soils of the Eastern, North American seaboard. Those first insecure papa farmers would have been hard pressed to imagine that only two hundred and fifty years later, the hyper industrialized cultivation of potatoes in the U.S. would involve a harvest of almost 500,000 hectares, yielding about forty-five billion tons of potatoes annually ("Potato Research").

Of course the papa is also notorious for its role in the Irish famine of 1845-49 (more than a million people died and a million more were forced to migrate overseas after the potato blight *Phytophthora infestans* completely destroyed their crops) and the food crises that devastated Belgium and Finland in 1867-68 (Fernández-Armesto 205). Such disasters resulted from the overwhelming reliance on a single variety of potato—an elementary and deadly mistake that no Quechua farmer would have every allowed to happen. In the Andes, centuries old agricultural practices avoid the dependence on only a few varieties; therefore Quechua farmers mix numerous varieties together in the same field "to allow survival of some cultivars if others fall victim to disease" (Harrison

Signs, Songs and Memories 182). Still, the papa helped to sustain many of the workers who fueled the industrializing societies of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, while the monetary value of papa harvests obtained in Europe over the past one hundred and fifty years have been calculated as surpassing more than three times over the value of all of the precious metals extracted from Perú and sent back to the Old World (Horkheimer 170). Thus, the seemingly humble papa can easily be considered as Perú's most valuable resource and certainly, its most significant agricultural gift to the world.

More than four thousand species of papa are currently cultivated in the world and Peruvian farmers harvest three thousand of these varieties, making Perú both the original home of the papa and the country with the most diverse cultivation of the tuber (CIP).³⁰ When asked about the papa, most Peruvian highlanders will proudly detail the flavors, textures and uses of their region's seemingly endless varieties of papa. The importance of the papa in the construction of Quechua/Andean identity is evident in the common reprimand which friends or relatives direct at mestizo or runa youth who try to assume what is considered to be a 'gringo' or 'coastal/Limeño' attitude or identity, thus temporarily forgetting that they too are "tan Cuzqueño como la papa wayro."

In the Cuzco region of Perú, Quechua farmers and cooks typically divide papas into categories of sweet, bitter and wild—these groups are then often subdivided depending on the difficulty of cooking each type of papa (Horkheimer 88). Some Quechua cooks also explain that the enormous variety of papas can be best understood in terms of the way in which type is customarily prepared. Thus it follows that the floury peruanita, wayro and q'ompis are used for making puré--mashed potatoes, papa

rellena—stuffed papa, or are simply boiled and eaten with the spicy uchukutu sauce at countless Cuzco chicherías. The bitter ruki papa is used only for making ch'uño, while most cooks agree that the wayro papa is adequate for making ch'iri papa. The ch'iri papa (or 'papa helada') is prepared by leaving the tubers outside in the frost for one night-- although their liquid is not pressed out as in the case of ch'uño— and then filling them with cheese and steaming them the next morning. If one wishes to slice and fry papas or add them to a soup, q'ello, sika, or canchan would be adequate choices as these varieties hold together well when chopped and then heated. Harrison points out the uselessness of attempting to categorize papas according to Eurocentric categories. She cites Hawkes' study (1947) of indigenous nomenclature for many varieties of papa in which he attempts to divide the tubers' names into categories such as nouns (names of human groups, animals body parts, clothes, plants, tools, natural phenomena, miscellaneous), as well as adjectives (color, shape surface taste, miscellaneous) and classes of papas (early, late, rapidly maturing) (Hawkes 227, ctd. in Harrison Signs, Songs and Memories 181). Such categories, however, "...only demonstrate ethnocentric ways of thinking about things, showing us his value system and our own while he attempts to have us understand the other categories of Andean peoples" (ibid.).³¹

Sara

. . . *el Sol los enviaba a que poblasen allí en aquel pueblo de Cuzco. . . el Mango Capac y su compañero con sus cuatro mujeres sembraron unas tierras de maíz la cual semilla de maíz dicen haber sacado ellos de la cueva a la cual nombró este señor Mango Capac Pacarictambo. . .* (Betanzos ch. IV)

<i>Harauayo, harauayo</i>	[Harawayu, harawayu	(Harawiy, harawiy
<i>Ylla sara camauay</i>	Créame, maíz mágico	Infuse me with life, corn animator
<i>Mana tucocta surcoscayqui</i>	Si no lo haces, te arrancaré	If you don't, I will pull you up
<i>Ylla mama, a Coya!</i>	Madre mágica, ¡Reina!]	Animating mama, Queen!)

(Guaman Poma de Ayala) [translation, Guaman Poma de Ayala] (my translation)³²

Even in the most inhospitable of environments, tubers have faithfully provided life-sustaining energy to the Quechua families who have cultivated them for thousands of years. Yet they are rarely fermented into alcohol for use during religious celebrations, nor are they burnt as sacrifices to placate the gods. The disparaging ‘*ch’uñullata mihuq’* - ‘he who eats only ‘*ch’uñu*’ can be heard as an insult on the streets of contemporary Cuzco in a form similar to that which appeared in the oral traditions of the Huarochirí, “él que come papas asadas, no más” and in Guaman Poma’s description of the weak and lazy *runa* living in Colla Suyos described as possessing “gran cuerpo y gordo, seboso, para poco porque comen todo *chuno* y ueuen chicha de *chuno*” (in Murra *La organización económica* 148; Guaman Poma 1: 308). Gonçalez Holguin’s 1608 Quechua dictionary indicates that the consumption of a variety of foods is considered as a sign of a fine, *misqui* meal. ‘*Miccurcarini*’ o ‘*miccurcayani*’ are the words used to indicate: “Comer de muchas comidas y guisados juntos, o esplendidamente”, while ‘*Kapacpas miccurcanricuci huac chamkana huc vscayllacta miccu payacmi*’ reinforces the same idea: “Los ricos comen de varias comidas mas el pobre siempre vnas cosas que no tienen mas.” Interestingly, on this same page Gonçalez Holguín records the definition for ‘*muttillacta miccupayani*’, “Como siempre

mote que no tengo mas”, thus his example of the food for the poorest of runa who can only afford to eat one thing is not a tuber, but the boiled corn product called mote (ibid.).

In most cases, however, it is the utterly indispensable papa that is unfairly reproached while maize³³ is (perhaps unduly) exalted. Although unable to withstand the frost of the high *altiplano* and demanding levels of humidity that most highland regions never enjoy, the Incas fastidiously tended to their maize fields even though they realized that the limited highland yields could never come close to providing the nutritional value offered by the dependable, humble papa (Murra *La organización económica* 147). The lords of Tahuantinsuyu even managed the seemingly impossible feat of cultivating a bit of maize destined for ceremonial purposes at altitudes of nearly 4000 meters on the islands of lake Titicaca (Garcilaso bk. III ch. XXV).

It is unclear whether maize originated in Mesoamerica or in Perú; sites dating from the mid-fourth century B.C. in central Mexico indicate its presence, while fragmentary evidence of its cultivation has been discovered in both central Mexico and Southern Perú with dates reaching back at least a thousand years earlier (Fernández-Armesto 94, Bonavía 35). Wherever the location of its original cultivation, maize became a vital nutritional and ceremonial crop in both regions, playing important roles in the daily and ritual lives of all three of the major, pre-conquest civilizations in the Americas: Mayan, Aztec and Incan. In the Andes, the sheer number of words that exist in the Quechua lexicon to describe the plant’s numerous varieties and preparations indicates the importance of maize.

The colonial chronicler Bernabé Cobo notes the Andean practice of carefully naming each variety and preparation of a foodstuff and asserts, “. . . porque siendo ellos tan curiosos e inteligentes en la agricultura y conocimiento de plantas, que no hay yerbecita por pequeña y desechado que parezca, a quien no tengan puesto nombre. . .” (1: bk. IV ch. I)]. Gonçalez Holguin’s seventeenth century Quechua dictionary lists nineteen definitions for different varieties of maize, dishes made from maize, or useful parts of the plant, while Guaman Poma mentions more than ten different varieties of maize in his *Primer nueva corónica*. In both of these texts, the difficult nature of maize cultivation becomes evident through the nature of the lexicon associated with maize. Of Gonçalez Holguin’s fifteen entries associated with *papa*, more than half of these attest to the efficiency of the staple (*‘chaucha’*, “la papa que madura en breve tiempo”; *‘pacus’*, o *‘uripapa’*, “las primerizas papas o tempranas”; *‘vri’*, o *‘mahuay’*, “las papas primerizas o las que maduran primero”; *‘chachao pacus’*, “papas que se dan presto en tres meses todas”), while the other entries detail various preparation methods for the *papa* (*‘papacta cuçani’*, “Assar papas”; *‘chamcà* , “el guisado de chuño o maçamorra”). On the otherhand, a quarter of the maize vocabulary presented in this same dictionary relates to diseased maize (*‘tullpu’*, o *‘tullpuk çara’*, “las granças y defectos del mayz”; *‘hattupan’*, “podrirse la maçorca seca de mayz”), or unusual cobs that bring bad omens (*‘aryrihua çaca’*, “dos granos de mayz nazidos juntos”; *‘aya apa chocillo’*, “maçorca de dos pegado [,] abusión de muerte”). Guaman Poma’s references to maize reveal a similarly rich vocabulary associated with the difficulties of cultivating the crop: *‘ch’usu sara’*, “maíz vacío”; *‘hut’u sara’*, “maíz agusanado”, *‘ismu sara’*, “maíz podrido”; *‘sara suwau’*, “ladrón de maíz”; *‘sara q’iwiq’*, “que arranca maize.”

Domingo de Santo Tomás' 1560 Quechua vocabulary lists only five different varieties of maize, although this is at least a more detailed treatment than he gives the *papa*, defined simply as, "cierto manjar de indios."³⁴

The time consuming nature of maize cultivation as compared to that of the *papa* is also represented in Guaman Poma's visual and written agricultural calendar. Evidently the Quechua chronicler hoped to present this detailed calendar to the Spanish King in order to show him the many tasks which the 'indios' needed to carry out in order to provide themselves (and also "a Dios y a su magestad y a los padres, corregidores") with food throughout the year (Guaman Poma de Ayala 3: 1027). Of the twelve months presented by Guaman Poma, maize appears in the descriptive title of eight of them (and seven of the drawings), while *papas* appear only four times. *Papas* share the title with maize during two months—July's post-harvest storage '*Zara Papa Apaicui Aimoray*' and January's work party for weeding '*Zara, Papa Hallmai Mita*' (which is glossed as 'maíz, tiempo de lluvias y e aporcar', thus reducing the importance of caring for the *papa* in this month and perhaps emphasizing the work involved in weeding the corn seedlings). *Papas* become the key agricultural focus in the title of just two months-- June's harvest '*Papa Allai Mitan Pacha*' and December's planting '*Papa Oca Tarpui Pacha*'--, while they appear in only three of the twelve drawings (Guaman Poma de Ayala 3: 1028-1063). Farmers must protect their maize crop from birds, foxes, dogs and humans eager to steal a taste of the developing crop during the months of February, March, April and October and must irrigate the newly planted seedlings in November. Meanwhile, the maturing *papas* dutifully mature underground without requiring any further attention until harvest time in June.

Although the Quechua language reflects the importance of both papas and maize in highland culture, in his essay “Maíz, Tubérculos y Ritos Agrícolas”, Murra notes that surprisingly, sixteenth century chroniclers relate very little information regarding the papa (or quinua) and that the rituals, calendars and ceremonies they describe, almost exclusively involve maize (147). Harrison also demonstrates the way in which Guaman Poma’s drawings of Andean ritual and agricultural cycles seem to reflect this ideology; the chronicler privileges the pictorial representation of maize over papa, even if he does describe the papa occasionally in his written text (Harrison *Signs, Songs and Memories* 175). Murra insists, however, that we should not assume that the Incas did not dedicate some ceremonies to their indispensable tubers. Instead, he argues, we should recall that most of the chroniclers’ informants were descendents of the recently vanquished Incan elite and were thus more focused on presenting the impressive state mechanisms (such as the sophisticated terracing and irrigation required for the cultivation of corn), but ignored the subsistence level farming (of the papa) at the level of the local peasant community (148).³⁵

One could also argue that maize was accorded more ritual attention due to its close association with the sun god *Inti*. In contrast to the subterranean, earthen colored papa, the maize cob-- with its golden kernels and protective blond tassels-- matures above ground, clutching onto a stalk that seems to continually stretch skywards. Additionally, for all of the reasons mentioned above, maize cultivation was an arduous, uncertain undertaking (as evidenced by the vocabulary associated with it), meaning that the fruits of this labor were not to be depended on and when they did appear, they were all the more esteemed. Just as we usually try to serve our guests with the finest we can

offer, in their ceremonial use of maize, perhaps the Incas' sought to present the gods with their most prized, luxury foodstuff.

It appears as if the Spaniards' preference for maize over the papa matched that of the Incas, thus Cobo relates that by 1653 (the date of the prologue to his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*), maize is already well known in Spain where it is called "trigo de las Indias" (1: bk. IV ch. II.). Cobo compares wheat cultivation to that of maize, since "todas las tierras que llevan trigo, llevan también *maíz*, y las que por ser muy frías no producen trigo, tampoco se da en ellas *maíz*" (although he does concede that maize can survive at higher temperatures and humidity than wheat) (*ibid.*). Garcilaso describes the laborious process carried out by the native Peruvians in order to prepare the Spaniard's cornbread. Apparently the Iberians required their Quechua cooks to remove the thin outer peel of each kernel and then carefully sift the grounded meal (bk. VIII ch. IX-X). The Andean chronicler scoffs at such fastidious tastes claiming that no one had bothered with such an unnecessary process before the arrival of the Spaniards, since the Incas "no eran tan regalados que les ofendiese el afrecho, ni el afrecho es tan áspero, principalmente el del *maíz* tierno, que sea menester quitarlo" (bk. VIII ch. IX).

Initially, however, maize's popularity amongst Europeans remained limited to those living in the New World who ate the food prepared by Amerindian cooks. The plant first arrived in Sevilla in the year 1495 and by 1525 the peasants of Spain, Portugal and Italy had begun to consume the new grain as if it were wheat and without supplementing their diet of maize with meat, squash, beans, or any other protein and vitamin rich foods (Ritchie *Food in Civilization* 56, Cabieses *Cien Siglos* 142). As a result, large numbers of European peasants became ill with pellagra, a disease resulting

from a diet deficient in niacin and which results in severe physical and mental deterioration (Cabieses *ibid.* 145).³⁶ Of course in Perú or Mesoamerica, indigenous cooks would never have imagined serving a meal consisting of only maize, much less depend upon such a diet for weeks and months on end. Consuming maize along with beans, squash and chile peppers in Mesoamerica and squash, tarwi, papa and uchu in Perú provided these populations with the necessary balance of proteins (maize contains little, although *morosara*-‘purple corn’ contains 20 percent more than other varieties), vitamins (maize lacks niacin, a component in the B vitamin complex) and amino acids (maize is low in both the vital lysine and tryptophan) (Fernández-Armesto 94, Cabieses *ibid.* 145).³⁷ Thus maize acquired an unjust, but very rotten reputation; so unloved was the New World’s treasure crop in nineteenth century Europe that even when the Irish were dying of hunger in 1847 they refused to eat corn. Referencing its yellow color, they disparaged it as ‘Peel’s sulfur’, in (dis)honor of England’s much hated Prime Minister (Ritchie *Food in Civilization* 56).³⁸ Eventually of course, Europeans and the rest of the world came to appreciate the New World’s gift of maize and it now ranks just behind wheat and rice as the third most consumed food staple in the world (Fernández-Armesto 99).

Quinoa

La quinua era un alimento que hasta hace treinta años solamente lo comían los indios. Si yo le preguntaba a un caballero (en Lima llamamos caballero solo a la gente de clase alta) si come quinua, me miraría con verdadero espanto como si lo hubiera ofendido.

José María Arguedas narrating his 'Peruvian experience' at a round table discussion in Chile, 1968.

While the highland grain is still considered a low prestige 'alimento de indios' by some Peruvians, in the U.S. and Europe quinoa is most often sold in expensive organic food stores; wrapped in fancy packaging and sold alongside other 'exotic' grains such as amaranth or millet, it is frequently marketed as an 'Ancient Incan Super food'. In Peruvian tourist destinations such as Cuzco or the towns of the nearby Sacred Valley, upscale restaurants advertising their commitment to the preparation of '*Cocina Novoandina*' ('New Andean Cuisine') inevitably offer a variety of elaborate dishes featuring the highland grain. For the most part, however, quinoa's importance as a food staple remains largely limited to the kitchens of the Quechua farmers who cultivate it in the Andean highlands (Padilla Trejo "Diferencias regionales"). Indigenous families who have moved to highland cities frequently cannot afford to purchase the grain (in the Mercado Central it costs 3.60 soles per kilo as compared to the s/.50 cost of a kilo of papas), therefore its use in highland cities is often limited to the kitchens of middle and upper class families (Ayala "Consumo de Quinoa").

Even cooks who admit that their use of quinoa has declined in the past decade extol the nutritional value of the grain; while also pointing out that the water used to wash freshly harvested quinoa serves as a remedy for killing lice if used to wash either hair or clothes (ibid.). The ash from burnt quinoa stocks is also used to make *llipta*, an indispensable substance for many *runa* who chew it along with coca, in order to release

the leaf's stimulating alkaloids. Quinoa can also be ground into a soft, light brown flour, while the extremely nutritious leaves of the quinoa plant called *llicha* are eaten in soups and stews, providing a much appreciated green vegetable for rural highland families.

Classified as (*Chenopodium quinoa*), the cultivation of the quinoa plant appears in the archaeological record between 5,800 and 4,400 B.C. in the Department of Ayacucho (Brack "Perú"). In pre-colombian times the grain was cultivated on the mountain plateaus and in the highland valleys of Perú, Bolivia, Ecuador and Chile, while the Aztecs and Mayas also grew it in Mesoamerica (Oekle et. al).³⁹ Quinoa grows at altitudes of up to 4,000 meters and as Cobo asserts, "es esta semilla la que sufre más el frío de cuantas nacen en estas Indias, así de las naturales de acá como de las traídas de España; porque se da en tierras tan frías donde las más se yelan, hasta la cebada" (1: bk. IV ch. V). For centuries quinoa remained a highland crop, although in the past few decades geneticists have developed new varieties capable of surviving at lower altitudes and even in coastal areas (Oekle et. al).⁴⁰

With its high protein content (fifteen percent), relatively high fat content (five percent, as compared to .4 percent in rice, 1.6 percent in wheat and 3.9 percent in corn) and high levels of essential amino acids (roughly equivalent to the levels in skim milk), quinoa (along with papa and maize) served as an important staple in the pre-colombian Andes (Oekle et. al, Cabieses *Cien Siglos* 135). Garcilaso maintains that in Perú the quinoa plant was much esteemed:

. . . las hojas tiernas comen los indios y los españoles en sus guisados, porque son sabrosas y muy sanas; también comen el grano en sus potajes, hechos de muchas maneras. De la *quinua* hacen los indios brebaje para beber, como del

maíz, pero es en tierras donde hay falta del maíz. Los indios herbolarios usan de la harina y de la *quinua* para algunas enfermedades. (bk. VIII ch. X)

In the sacred garden of Coricancha in Cuzco a quinua plant fashioned from gold ‘grew’ alongside the corn stalks, thus revealing the important role it played in Incan society (Garcilaso bk. III ch. XXIV).

Uchu

<i>Imasmari imasmari?</i> <i>Imaqtaq kanmanri?</i>	Guess what, guess what? What could it be?	(1)
<i>Puka payacha,</i> <i>k’aspi chupacha. . . . <u>Puka uchu</u></i>	Red little old lady, [with] a little wooden tail... <u>Red uchu pepper!!</u>	(3)
Quechua riddle (told by Alejandra Mango)	(My translation)	

Many popular Quechua dishes such as roasted cuy and Achoqcha rellena—stuffed squash are almost always served with *uchukuta* (called *llatán* in Spanish), a spicy sauce made with a trinity of Andean ingredients: *uchu*, *huacatay* (a green, feathery highland herb used in many sauces and cuy recipes in the Cuzco region) and *inchis* (the Quechua word for peanut and now used only by the *machula*-elders living in isolated highland communities—most other Quechua speakers only understand the Caribbean name, *maní*). In some chicherías *uchukuta* also includes chopped tomato, breadcrumbs, parsley, cilantro, rocoto and onion. Called *uchu* by speakers of Quechua and *ají* by Spanish speakers (the latter, a word of Caribbean origin), these hot peppers occupy as integral a role in contemporary Quechua cuisine as they did during the reign of the Incas. Garcilaso insists that citizens of Tahuantinsuyu favored the *uchu* above all other Andean fruits and he describes it as:

el condimento que echan en todo lo que comen—sea guisado, sea cocido o asado, no lo han de comer sin él—, que llaman *uchu* y los españoles *pimiento de las Indias*, aunque allá le llaman *ají* que es nombre del lenguaje de las islas de Barlovento: los de mi tierra son tan amigos del uchu que no comerán sin él aunque no sea sino unas yerbas crudas. Por el gusto que con él reciben en lo que comen, prohibían el comerlo en su ayuno riguroso . . . Generalmente todos los españoles que de Indias vienen a España lo comen de ordinario, y lo quieren más que las especies de la India Oriental. (bk. VIII ch. XIII)⁴¹

By the beginning of the sixteenth century *ají*—also known as *pimiento americano*-- was already widely known in Spain, Italy and the Balkans as a relatively cheaper and effective alternative to the seasoning power of the scarce and expensive oriental black pepper (Cabieses *Cien Siglos* 156-57).⁴² Likewise, contemporary Quechua cooks and diners hold uchu in great esteem; indeed even the humblest of restaurant stalls or street corner carts offers its customers a small dish of uchu to accompany their meal or snack. Recipes offered by cooks carefully specify which uchu should be used in which dish and whether or not its seeds or veins should be removed or included in the sauce.⁴³

One of the spiciest varieties of uchu is the *puka uchu* featured in the riddle which appears above in the epigraph that I have transcribed and translated. Riddles are an important part of the Quechua oral tradition and are told for entertainment, as didactic tools and for attracting the attention of the opposite sex. In her research in rural Ayacucho (in the central Peruvian highlands) Billie Jean Isbell has found that the performance of riddle games is carried out almost exclusively by single, adolescents (in the context of flirting, seduction and sexual play). In my research in both urban and rural contexts in the Department of Cuzco, I heard riddles exchanged between all age groups and sexes as a form of entertainment rather than seduction. Isbell argues that riddles invoke the Quechua aesthetic of ‘balance’ given that they include metaphors based on reciprocal action or the opposition of semantic categories such as “animal to

human, inside to outside, male to female, animate to inanimate, above to below . . .” (Isbell and Roncalla Fernandez 46). In the two riddles which I have translated here (*puka uchu* and *cuy*), however, balance is achieved through metric and rhyme schemes rather than reciprocal action or semantic oppositions.

The ‘trigger phrase’ in many Quechua riddles performed throughout the Department of Cuzco consists of two brief questions: *‘Imasmari imasmari?!/Imataq kanmanri?’* The repetition of the suffix ‘ri’ as well as the syllabic rhythm of the words in each line (four syllables in each word of line one, three syllables for each word in line two) infuses these opening questions with a cadence that attracts the listener’s attention and invites her to participate in the subsequent verbal challenge. Both *‘puka uchu’* and *‘cuy’* use clever, metaphoric imagery and succinct, stark contrasts to present a verbal puzzle. The *‘puka uchu’* riddle creates formal balance through the repetition of the suffix ‘-cha’ in lines three and four while also maintaining syllabic rhythm between these last lines (each contains five syllables). In the *‘cuy’* riddle on the other hand, assonance links all four lines in rhythmic unity. Both riddles offer unusual contrasts between two disparate images—a red uchu pepper and a red little old lady in the first riddle and *cuy* and cattle in the second. In these verbal constructions, pinning a ‘wooden tail’ on a little old lady so that she might have a stem like a pepper and comparing domesticated *cuy* to housebound cattle presents the performer’s interlocutor/audience with humorous and unexpected images. Each of these riddles uses balanced rhyme schemes and cadences, as well as the invocation of two original and starkly contrasting images to create an aesthetically pleasing text for Quechua listeners who appreciate these cultural and language-specific codes.

celebrations such as Corpus Christi, local town or neighborhood fiestas, as well as family events such as the *chukcha rutuy* celebration, or as a special meal to commemorate the arrival of an important guest (Cabieses *Cien Siglos* 228, Morales 50).⁴⁵ Cuy in the city of Cuzco is most often roasted, in the surrounding countryside it is often briefly boiled and then pan-fried, while in Arequipa the traditional dish is *cuy chactado*—a delicacy requiring a large stone or other heavy object to press the seasoned flesh into an oiled frying pan. Regardless of the local recipe, all cooks agree that before cooking, cuy must be pre-seasoned or *condimentado*—a process which usually involves the liberal application of a mixture of salt, black pepper, cumin, oregano and various grades of uchu according to taste.⁴⁶

The intention of this chapter's brief tour of the foods cultivated, sold, prepared and eaten by Quechua farmers, cooks and families is not to present an exhaustive catalogue of every variety of fruit, vegetable, tuber, legume and grain consumed in pre-conquest, colonial and contemporary Perú. This formidable yet interesting task shall be left to the cultural and gastronomical historians. Instead, the above presentation of some of the key foodstuffs that make up the Quechua food-universe is meant to serve as a foundation for the following chapters' analyses of the roles and representations of food in a variety of Quechua cultural texts. Within households, markets and restaurants throughout the Andes some foods are carefully prepared and enthusiastically consumed while others are avoided or looked upon with disgust—at times the same dish might be esteemed in one household and distained in another. Such distinctions are important for the construction of *runa* identity and as we will see in the following chapters, the

particular ways in which food and cooking are represented in Quechua texts often serves as a tool for conveying complex and multi-valenced meanings.

¹ In 2005, the Peruvian *Nuevo sol* maintained a fairly steady exchange rate of US\$1.00 = ~ 3.3 soles.

² In this chapter, certain Spanish or Quechua words that resist an exact English translation will be italicized the first time they appear followed by a hyphen and an English approximation.

³ While city dwellers often take advantage of this slightly more costly option, in the surrounding rural communities it is still common practice to boil the tarwi, pour it into a canvas sack and then submerge the sack in a quick moving river for at least one week, so that the rushing water will wash away the unpleasant bitterness of the otherwise tasty legume (Elisa Quispe, personal communication).

⁴ Dialogue in Quechua will appear in italics in the following pages in order to distinguish from Spanish language passages.

⁵ See Linda Seligmann's *Peruvian Street Lives* for a book length study of the political, economic and social complexities of Cuzco's markets.

⁶ Morales and Weismantel are two notable exceptions, as they seek to consider all three of these aspects in their studies of Andean foods and Quechua culture. See also Ossio for a discussion of how scholarly studies of Andean foods have tended to focus exclusively on nutritional and agricultural aspects of Andean products while failing to explore their symbolic significances (Weismantel *Food, Gender* 549)

⁷ For a discussion of the few scholars who suggest that pre-colombian markets existed in the Andes, see John Murra's article entitled "¿Existieron el tributo y los mercados en los Andes antes de la invasión europea?" (in *El Mundo Andino* 237 -247).

⁸ See for example, John Hyslop, Jorge Flores Ochoa (1985) and Billie Jean Isbell among others.

⁹ The unique microclimates of Perú are described by Carlos Ochoa as consisting of eight different regions beginning at sea-level in the coastal region, rising up to the frigid peaks of the Andes mountains and dropping back down over the eastern Andean slopes into the Amazon basin: Coastal, 0-500 meters above sea level; Yunga, 500-2300 meters; Queshwa, 2300-3500 meters; Suni or Jalca, 3500-4100 meters; Puna, 4100-4800; Junca, 4800- 6768; Ceja de selva or rupa-rupa, 1500-3600; Selva (alta)1000-1500 m, (baja): 80-400 m (21-26).

¹⁰ One of the examples cited by Murra involves a small ethnic group (20,000 people) living in Chaupiwarañca, in the region of the high Marañón and Huallaga. Colonial documents reveal that while the group's population and political center was located in the towns of Ichu, Marcahuasi and Paucar, permanent representatives from the 'nuclear community' tended the group's camelids and processed salt on the puna (located three days journey *up* from the 'nuclear' towns) (ibid. 91). Usually the population center of an ethnic group was located at an altitude that allowed farmers to journey *up* to tend their primary tuber fields and return home the same day. Ideally, the location of the 'home base' would also allow farmers to journey *down* to tend their corn fields and return home in the same day (ibid. 90). Other representatives of the ethnic group planted, tended and harvested agricultural fields of uchu, squash, sweet potatoes, cacao, beans, cotton and peanuts that were located two, three, or four days journey *below* the primary population center (ibid. 88). At an altitude slightly *lower* than these agricultural fields the community assigned members responsible for collecting honey and harvesting wood (used by a '*q'erukamayoc*' to elaborate plates, cups and other household essentials) (ibid. 93). Other larger ethnic groups maintained access to coastal islands where they could obtain seabird droppings for use as *guanufertilizer* for their crops. Murra insists that all of these ecological niches were maintained, "sin ejercer mayor soberanía en los territorios intermedios" (ibid. 87). He asserts that an ethnic group's representatives working in these 'periphery communities' retained full rights within the 'nucleus community' (ibid. 93).

¹¹ In *Comentarios Reales* Garcilaso describes the Incan philosophy behind the transplanting of entire communities. He explains: "...cuando habían conquistado alguna provincia belicosa de quien se temía que, por estar lejos del Cuzco y por ser de gente feroz y brava, no había de ser leal ni había de querer servir en buena paz. Entonces sacaban parte de la gente de aquella tal provincia, y muchas veces la sacaban toda, y la pasaban a otra provincia de las domésticas, donde, viéndose por todas partes rodeados de vasallos leales y pacíficos, procurasen ellos también ser leales. . ." (bk. IV ch. II).

¹² The Incan institution of the *mitmaq* required each household (adult couple) to pay tribute through the man's work on a state project that was often located at quite a distance from his home, "de esta manera, llamaban *mitmac*, así a los que llevaban como a los que traían: quiere decir: trasplantados o advenedizos, que todo es uno" (Garcilaso bk. IV ch. II).

¹³ See Carlos Assadourian's essays (1982) for an in-depth discussion of the complexities and the coercive nature of the political economy of the colonial Andes.

¹⁴ See L. Schenone for an extended discussion of this practice, including the obligatory cooking classes forced on African American and Indian girls in the U.S. during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These gastronomical lessons were part of an effort to strip the women and girls of their "cultures, religions, tribal educations, and loyalties" (253-254).

¹⁵ Here Weismantel is referring to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *doxa*, "that which is taken for granted... the theses implied in a particular way of living" (Bourdieu *Outline* 166, 168).

¹⁶ During the annual Inti Raymi festival in Cuzco, thousands of tourists and Cuzqueños perch atop the rocks overlooking Sacsayhuaman and enjoy picnic lunches. While waiting for 'the Inca' and his entourage to arrive for the festivities I noticed that a Quechua couple from Ocongate seated beside me were pleased to accept a lunch of rice and chicken offered to them by a family of Cuzqueños perched near us. After finishing two very generous portions, however, the woman from Ocongate pulled out a small satchel of boiled potatoes and offered them to all. When the Cuzqueños joked that this was an odd dessert, the Quechua woman very seriously replied that while they had enjoyed the rice and chicken, they had been waiting atop the rocks since the bitter cold of the early morning and that they needed to eat some potatoes to give them strength for their long, return trip home that evening.

¹⁷ See Marisol de la Cadena's important study of the fluid and highly complex identity politics in the Andean city of Cuzco.

¹⁸ Chapter two of this dissertation presents an analysis of the collision of two vastly different food regimes (those of sixteenth century Spain and Tahuantinsuyu) as related in the Inca Garcilaso's *Comentarios Reales*. Garcilaso describes the traumatic processes of Andean and Iberian adaptations, rejections and interpretations of the new foodstuffs they explore and consume (with varying degrees of enthusiasm and/or disgust).

¹⁹ For more discussion and examples of the ways in which the ch'iri wayra or 'ill wind' affects runa see Paul Gelles 70, 163 (as well as the other authors he cites in this context).

²⁰ See Regina Harrison for a detailed study of the link between cold, wetness and death, as evident in Andean popular medicine both during colonial times (as seen in Diego González Holguín's dictionary entries) and in the present (made evident by the analysis of a contemporary Quechua song from Ecuador) (*Signs, Songs, and Memories* 111-113). See also Juan Ossio (1988) for a discussion of Andean beliefs related to sickness and the balance of warmth and cold. (Note, however, that in this study, Ossio's use of the Quechua *rupay* to designate the 'warm' half of this dichotomy is imprecise, since Quechua speakers only use 'rupay' to refer to the sun's warmth. The property of 'warmth' in food, beverages and plants is always referred to as 'q'oni', as is the heat given off by the kitchen stove or a bonfire.)

²¹ Balance did not, however, translate to a veneration of *pairs* in nature. For example, humans and papas were supposed to enter the world alone, so that the harvest of two tubers joined together, or the birth of twins were both considered dangerous omens. Similarly, a cob of maize containing uneven lines of kernels was also thought to bring bad luck: "Del agüero que en cada año lo tienen, cuando coxen maÿs o papas, ocas que nasen dos juntos, masorcas o dos papas juntos . . . Dizen que es muy mala señal que an de murir y acauar . . . (Guaman Poma 1: 256; see also Solomon and Urioste 17). For a more detailed discussion of the importance of symmetry and balance in Quechua cultural categories and poetry see Harrison *Signs, Songs, and Memories* 49-52, 159.

²² See Vokral, for a detailed study of the importance of balancing warm-q'oñi and cold- ch'iri in Andean (Quechua and Aymara) cuisine.

²³ The chorus of this contemporary song taped by the author in July, 2001, recalls a song described by Guaman Poma as having been sung by *llamamiches* (camelid shepherds) every May in pre-colonial times: "*Llamaya, llamaya, yn, yalla, llamaya*" (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1: 219).

²⁴ In contemporary Perú the papa remains without a doubt, the most important food staple for the majority of the population. The 1972 'Encuesta Nacional de Consumo de Alimentos' indicated that in the capital city of Lima, eleven kilos per person are consumed on a monthly basis, while in rural highland regions that number more than doubles to twenty eight kilos per month. A typical family in the rural sierra consumes one hundred and eighty one kilos per year, which means that the papa makes up

more than 70 percent of their total food intake (Amat 59). While the papa is a nutritionally balanced food, this overwhelming dependence on one foodstuff obviously reveals the limitations for subsistence farmers of this region. It also suggests the need for the implementation of poverty reduction plans, as well as the reintroduction of other nutritionally and economically viable highland products. Some of these agricultural and nutrition programs implemented by the Peruvian government and international NGOs in the past several years will be discussed in this dissertation's conclusion.

²⁵ A paper published by the National Academy of Sciences in October 2005 reports the findings of David Spooner, a research botanist whose genetic analyses of wild species of papa point to a single point of origin for the tubers' cultivation to the north of Lake Titicaca, approximately 7000 years ago. Spooner argues that all modern day varieties originated from a wild species known as the *Solanum brevicaule* complex, thus contesting the 'multiple origins' argument (CIP). Various Peruvian tabloids quickly published their versions of this scientific study under headlines that pointed to the findings as a 'victory over the Chileans' who were accused of trying to 'claim the papa as their own'.

²⁶ In the late sixteenth century when Garcilaso is writing, the Peruvian papa (which later became the world's fourth most important food staple, after wheat, rice and maize) was still unknown on the Iberian peninsula (bk. VIII ch. IX). He does indicate, however, that at least one variety of Peruvian corn known as *muruchu*, was already cultivated in Spain (ibid.).

²⁷ A medium-sized papa contains only ninety calories, but it also boasts more vegetable protein and double the calcium as compared to a similar serving of maize. One papa delivers half of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration's 'Recommended Daily Allowance' (RDA) of vitamin C for an adult (whereas both wheat and rice lack this vitamin completely). The papa is also rich in vitamin B, iron, magnesium, potassium and a healthy balance of amino acids (Centro Internacional de la Papa-CIP).

²⁸ Harrison cites sources indicating that the papa's status as a root, as well as its "white or flesh-colored nodules on its underground stems" as reasons for why it provoked suspicion among the European masses (*Signs, Songs, and Memories* 177-178). Also, as Jules Michelet points out, female healers in medieval Europe frequently utilized plants belonging to the papa's *Solanaceas* genus for the preparation of numbing poultices and remedies for patients suffering from painful skin diseases such as leprosy (123-124). These female healers were frequently denounced as witches by the Church and sentenced to death.

²⁹ Curiously, in Argentina the papa was first introduced as a luxury item for the rich, since papas cost as much as meat throughout the country in the early nineteenth century (Fernández-Armesto 127). By 1913 papas cost twelve cents per kilo compared to beef's fifty-five or sixty cents per kilo and only at this point could the poor begin to integrate the Andean tubers into their cooking pots (ibid.).

³⁰ The Peruvian government's department of agriculture indicates that the papa: "es el principal cultivo del país en superficie sembrada y representa el 25% del PBI [GDP] agropecuario. Es la base de la alimentación de la zona andina y es producido por 600 mil pequeñas unidades agrarias. Las variedades de mayor calidad se producen sobre los 3,000 m.s.n.m." (Portal Agrario).

³¹ See Harrison (1989) for a detailed study of the cultural and literary significance of the papa in Quechua society and ethnopoetics. Denise Arnold and de Juan de Dios Yapita's 1996 anthology presents Aymara oral texts and interviews related to papa 'tales of origin', categorization, preparation and cultivation strategies and medicinal uses. While this anthology does not provide the detailed literary analyses offered by Harrison, it does carefully record contextual and personal information related to the tales' themes and narrators, along with these narrators' explanations of their own oral texts.

³² In this celebratory *harawiy* transcribed by Guaman Poma and dedicated to "Ylla sara" and "Ylla mama", the Quechua chronicler translates these invocations as "maíz mágico" and "Madre mágica" respectively. Following the above discussion of the concept of *illa* (56-58), I have chosen to gloss "Ylla sara" as "corn animator" and "Ylla mama" as "animating mama" in order to reflect idea of 'life giving essence' which the word *ylla* connotes.

³³ The words *maize* and *maíz* are likely derived from either the Arawak *marise* or the *mahiz* of an Antillean language (or perhaps from a combination of the two)-- in Quechua the word is *sara* (Cabieses *Cien Siglos* 142). The English *corn* is actually a general term for any grain and usually denotes the most important crop of a certain region. Therefore historically, the word *corn* has been used to refer to wheat in England, oats in Ireland or Scotland and wheat or barley in various English language translation of the Bible (Gibson and Berson).

³⁴ See also Valdizán and Maldonado for a list of the varieties of maize cultivated in the Cuzco region and the diverse Quechua lexicon associated with each different type of maize and the food or beverage made from it.

³⁵ Murra argues quite convincingly, that in the Incan epoch tubers and maize were not only agricultural products of two different climactic zones, but that they required two different agricultural systems (151). While the papa was a product of high altitude, community based, subsistence farming, maize remained a mild climate product, grown primarily for religious and celebratory uses. Its growth on any sort of large scale in the highlands only became possible with the rise of a large state apparatus that could organize the construction and administration of terraces, irrigation and the long distance transport of guano fertilizer necessary for its successful cultivation (ibid). Murra maintains, “En contraste con el cultivo por los campesinos de tubérculos para el sustento, el maíz en tiempo de los *inka* fue un cultivo *estatal*” (ibid.).

³⁶ See Fernández-Armesto (48-49) for a discussion of the elevated instances of pellagra suffered in poor, urban black communities (which depended on corn flour for their main food staple) in the early twentieth century U.S.

³⁷ As it must have occasionally proved impossible to access the ‘accompanying foods’ necessary for supplementing the maize-eater with key nutrients, both Mesoamerican and Peruvian cooks discovered that by boiling ripe corn cobs with either lime or ash (either wood or from the quinoa stalk), the transparent skin on the kernel was removed, thus releasing certain otherwise absent amino acids and enhancing the grain’s protein value (Fernández-Armesto 94).

³⁸ On the other hand, it appears that by the end of the eighteenth century, Italian peasants had begun to appreciate the benefits of maize. An Italian agronomist living near Rimini comments:

Now my children if you had met in the year 1715, which the old folks have always called the year of the famine, when this foodstuff [maize] was not yet used, then you would have seen poor families of peasants go off in winter to feed on the roots of grass... Finally it pleased God to introduce this foodstuff, here and everywhere. If there are years with little wheat, the peasants can use a food which is basically good and nourishing; and moreover by the grace of God people are beginning to sow certain foreign roots like white truffles, which are called potatoes (and I want to introduce them, here). (ctd. in Fernández-Armesto 178)

³⁹ In the valley of central México the quinoa plant is called by its Nahuatl name *Huauzontle*, although the Aztecs only used it as a green, leafy vegetable (Mujica “Quinoa”). *Huauzontle capeado* continues to be served in towns throughout central México and it inevitably appears on the menus of upscale restaurants in México D.F. specializing in ‘*la nueva cocina mexicana*’.

⁴⁰ At least for now, quinoa’s yield in such regions is significantly lower, a limitation that has prevented the spread of its cultivation in the U.S. beyond experimental projects in Colorado, Minnesota and Wisconsin (Oekle et. al.).

⁴¹ Cobo concurs with Garcilaso’s description of the importance of ají both amongst the indigenous inhabitants of the New World and the Spanish, who quickly came to appreciate its flavor both in the Americas and back in Europe, where its cultivation flourished by the early seventeenth century (1: bk. IV ch. XXV). Cobo praises both the Peruvian ají and its larger, less fiery cousin the *rocoto* affirming, “es el *ají* tan regalada y apetitosa salsa para los indios, que con él cualquiera cosa comen bien aunque sean yerbas silvestres y amargas” (1: bk. IV ch. XXV).

⁴² The origin of ají (or chile as it is called in Mesoamerica) maize, tomate, bean and vanilla cultivation still remains a polemic amongst paleobotanists. Whether these important New World products first appeared in the Andes or in Mesoamerica seems almost impossible to determine; their cultivation began so many centuries ago in both regions that eventually locating an ‘original’ wild species of any of these crops remains highly unlikely (Cabieses *Cien Siglos* 158, 164, 88).

⁴³ The most commonly used varieties of uchu in Quechua cuisine include: *rocoto-uchu*, *asnacc-uchu* (ají oloroso), *mucuru-uchu* (small and potent, ají de pajarito), *puka-uchu* (ají colorado, when dried ají panca), *q’ello-uchu* (ají amarillo, when dried, ají mirasol).

⁴⁴ This section follows Christine Hastorf's definition of luxury foods as "food that is rare and/or exotic... [or] abundant and presented in a special feasting context" (546).

⁴⁵ As Hastorf points out, "meat, not consumed on a regular basis, is important in feasts. Like beer [chicha], it identifies an event as important, making it luxurious" (546).

⁴⁶ In addition to Morales' study, see also Bolton and Calvin for a detailed account of the ritual and symbolic importance of raising, preparing and consuming cuy within contemporary Quechua communities of rural, Southern Perú.

Chapter II:

The Quechua Food-universe in *Tahuantinsuyu* and Colonial Perú: A Vehicle for Religious Expression and Oppositional Tactics

The rapid fifteenth-century expansion of Incan domination throughout Western South America is one of the great imperial success stories in the history of the world. In less than a century, what appears to have been just one of many bellicose ethnic groups from Southern Perú, managed to extend its territory and political, economic and cultural influence in a dramatic fashion. Reaching out from its political center in the city of Cuzco, the Incan empire came to encompass parts of present-day Ecuador, Bolivia, northern Chile, southern Colombia and Northwest Argentina, eventually totaling more than 906,500 sq km and including such varied terrains as high altitude grassy plateaus, low-lying jungles, deserts, coastlines and fertile river valleys (Murra *La organización económica* 57-82). Colonial chroniclers such as Cristóbal de Molina, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Juan de Betanzos and many others allow us to peer into select windows of the Incan world. The chroniclers' manuscripts provide detailed accounts of Incan imperial regulations for their subjects, the organizing principles of Andean agriculture and pastoralism, as well as colorful descriptions of religious, domestic and warfare practices.

For an empire whose strength and well-being depended so heavily on abundant, reliable harvests and healthy herds, it should come as no surprise that many Incan religious practices and beliefs revolved around a constant preoccupation with the relationship between humans and the forces of nature which affected imperial food

production. Guaman Poma highlights this point in an amusing fashion in his drawing of Huayna Capac's encounter with a Spaniard. The Andean chronicler represents Huayna Capac's observation of the Spaniards' insatiable hunger for gold and his assumption (by no means illogical) that such a voracious appetite for the gleaming metal could only be explained by the fact that the Spaniards can in fact *eat* gold. This hypothesis leads the dignified looking Inca to ask the Spaniard kneeling before him, "Kay quritachu mikhunki" [Do you eat this gold?] to which the oafish looking Spaniard with his vacant expression replies, "este oro comemos" [we eat this gold] (2: 342-343). The Inca's logic reflects the fact that food, not gold, was the most prized commodity in Tahuantinsuyu.¹ The health of the crops and herds directly affected the health of their human caretakers and the sun god *Inti* was chief among the deities whom the Incas sought to satisfy in their never-ending task of maintaining friendly relations between humans and nature. As the son of the Sun on earth, the Inca king served as a mediator between the awesome powers of nature and the needs of its human subjects. Hostile enemies and weather, failed crops, sick animals, diseased humans, misplaced or stolen valuables and bad luck in general were attributed to angry nature deities whose generosity had not been fully appreciated and who now sought retribution for such human arrogance and neglect.

Food as a Vehicle for Religious Communication and Expression in Tahuantinsuyu:

It should come as no surprise then, that in the Incan worldview, sickness, death and food were inextricably and unavoidably linked. The Incas-- and indeed many

Andean peoples-- believed that their ancestors controlled all resources; therefore placating, respecting and feeding the ancestors became a vital aspect of many religious rituals. In this way, special rituals involving food played a key role in maintaining balance within the Incan spiritual, political and economic worlds (Hastorf 546). When the deities felt wronged they would punish humans by showering down sickness and disease upon corn and papa seedlings, llamas, alpacas and runa men, women and children. Ten of the twelve hymns transcribed by the chronicler Cristóbal de Molina in his *Relación de las fábulas y mitos de los Incas*, repeatedly link the Incan preoccupation with increased food crops and human and animal fertility with their fear of lethal enemies, weather, disease and other hazardous dangers (including darkness, loneliness and malevolent witchcraft). A closer look at Father Molina's *Relación* reveals even more evidence pointing towards the intimate connection between food and death and the ways in which this connection influenced Incan religious practices and beliefs.

Ritual Meals and Food Sacrifices in Tahuantinsuyu

In the year 1564 Cristóbal de Molina (*el Cuzqueño*)² accepted the position of parish priest of the *Hospital de los Naturales* where he became a noted *lenguaraz*-- proficient in the native language of Quechua. His knowledge of the indigenous language and culture undoubtedly contributed to the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's decision to appoint Father Molina as a *visitador general* in the year 1569 (Molina *Fabulas y mitos de los Incas* 12).³ It seems likely that while carrying out his duties as *visitador*, Father Molina collected much of the detailed information regarding the Incan myths, laws and rituals which he later included in his *Relación de las fábulas y mitos*

de los Incas. He wrote the *Relación* (as well as the now missing *Historia de los Incas*) in the year 1573 in response to a request by the newly arrived bishop Sebastián de Lartaún. According to Father Molina's dedication of the text to Lartaún in the opening pages of the *Relación*, the bishop had requested the compilation of the manuscript in order to better understand "(el) origen, vida y costumbres de los Ingas . . . las ceremonias, cultos y ydolatrías que estos indios tuvieron" (ibid. 15, 49).

The majority of the *Relación* consists of a description of Incan religious rituals and ceremonies, organized in accordance with the pre-conquest Imperial calendar, beginning in the month of May with the solar festival of *Inti Raymi*. One of the most interesting sections of the manuscript describes the month of August, or *Coyaraymi*, when the Incas celebrated the festival of *Çitua* (ibid. 73). Father Molina describes the festival in the following manner:

. . . para hacer la dicha fiesta trayan las figuras de las huacas de toda la tierra de Quito a Chile, las cuales ponían en sus casas en el Cuzco . . . La razón porque acá esta fiesta llamada Çitua en este mes, es porque entonces començauan las aguas y con las primeras aguas suele aver muchas enfermedades, para rogar al Hacedor que en aquel año en el Cuzco como en todo lo conquistado del Ynca, tuviese por bien no las ubiese, para lo qual hacían lo siguiente: el día de la conjunción de la Luna, a mediodía yba el Ynca con todas las personas de su consejo . . . a Curicancha que es a la Casa del Sol . . . el sacerdote mayor decía a las jentes que estaban juntos . . . y que se hechasen todas las enfermedades y males de la tierra . . . Y así con este acuerdo, aviendo primero hechado del Cuzco a dos leguas dél a todos los forasteros que no heran naturales y a todos los que tenían las orejas quebradas, y a todos los corcovados y que tenían alguna lesión y defeto en sus personas, diciendo que no se hallasen en aquellas fiestas porque por sus culpas heran así hechos . . . (ibid. 73-74)⁴

Father Molina goes on to describe the elaborate preparation and consumption of the sacred bread called *Yawarçanco* (literally, blood bread), citing the prayers offered during this communion.⁵ It was considered a sin to let even one small crumb of the *Yawarçanco* fall to the ground and according to Father Molina, the Incan priests explicitly warned the people to carefully consider their acceptance of the sacred bread

cautioning, “Mira como coméis este çanco, porque el que lo comiere en pecado y con dos voluntades y coraçones, el Sol, nuestro padre, lo verá y lo castigará y será para grandes trabajos vuestros” (ibid. 80). On the other hand, Incan priests assured those with a clear conscience that by eating the *çanco* “el Hacedor y el Sol y el Trueno os lo gratificarán y os darán hijos y felices años y que tengáis mucha comida y todo lo demás necesario con prosperidad” (ibid.).⁶ Thus, the consumption of *Yawarçanco* during the Incan festival of *Çitua* serves as an example of Barthes’ notion of food as “. . . a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations, and behavior” (Barthes 21-22). As Goody points out, “In all societies the intake of food, the eating itself, has some collective aspects, especially at festivals where the consumption of *larger* quantities and often of *special* foods takes place in a communal situation” (206). This collective aspect of food intake also played an important role in Incan ritual, as men, women and children partook of the sacred bread together with their neighbors and even carefully tucked away portions for relatives whose illness prevented them from attending the festival, “porque se tenía por muy desdichado el que este día no alcançava a recibir el yahuarçanco” (Molina *Fábulas y mitos* 80).

In Tahuantinsuyu, the ‘sacredness’ of certain foods consumed during religious rituals was determined by the identity of the elite and specially trained cook who prepared it. El Inca Garcilaso also takes great pains to describe the elaborate ritual preparation of the sacred bread and he explains that the Inca king could only consume yahuarçanco prepared by the *aqllas*. Often referred to as ‘the virgins of the Sun’, *aqllas* were beautiful maidens chosen from a young age to serve as prized domestic servants to the Incan Empire.⁷ The most beautiful young women were reserved for the Inca

himself, while others were given to Inca nobleman, or gifted to other important leaders throughout the empire in an effort to cement alliances. Conquered groups were expected to send their most beautiful women to the *aqllawasi* in the capital city of Cuzco, or to one of the smaller *aqllawasis* located throughout the provinces.

The *aqllas* lived in a special temple adjacent to the Inca's personal quarters in the center of Cuzco and spent their days weaving and preparing special ritual meals for the Inca. As Guaman Poma tells us, "Uírgenes *aclla* de los *Yngas*. Quéstos eran hermosas y le serbían a los *Yngas*, eran donzellas. Quéstas texían rropa y hacían chicha y hacían las comidas y no pecauan (1: 274). Father Bernabé Cobo claims that the *aqllas* were responsible for brewing: "cantidad de *chichas* regaladas para ofrecer a los dioses y para que bebiesen su sacerdotes, y guisaban cada día los manjares que ofrecían en sacrificio... diciendo: <<Como, sol, esto que te han guisado tus mujeres >>" (Cobo 2: bk. XIII ch. XXXVII). In his description the *aqlla* institution Pizarro explains:

Habían Vírgenes del Sol blancas, muy hermosas llamadas Yuracs Acilas, consagradas especialmente al Hacedor; vivían enclaustradas dedicándose a preparar los alimentos ofrecidos al Inti y a sus numerosos sacerdotes. Ofrecían ellas los manjares, diciendo: 'Come oh sol, esto te han guisado tus mujeres'. (qtd. in Prieto de Zegarra 84-86)⁸

Although it seems likely that in their prestigious role as 'royal cooks' and 'concubines' the *aqllas* might have been able to secure privileged treatment for their family members of influence the decisions of Incan leaders, colonial chroniclers do not provide us with enough information to know for certain. In any case, the *aqllas* can be considered as 'inside cooks' (as described in the introduction), since they were required to cook food for the Inca king and his nobleman and were not allowed to choose their own clients or market their culinary knowledge outside the confines of the *aqllawasi*.

The day before the *Çitua* festival was declared a day of fasting. While the Inca concentrated his energies on selecting the appropriate camelids for the next day's sacrifice, "las mujeres del Sol entendían aquella noche en hacer grandísima cantidad de una masa de maíz que llaman *zancu*" (Garcilaso bk. VI ch. XXI). While only the Inca would consume the yahuarçanco prepared by the aqllas, "el pan, aunque era para la comunidad, se hacía con atención y cuidado de que a lo menos la harina la tuviesen hecha doncellas porque este pan lo tenían por cosa sagrada, no permitido comerse entre año, sino solo esta festividad . . ." (ibid.). The sacred bread was also distributed to provincial deities and curacas throughout the Andes, as Polo de Ondegardo relates: "During the entire month in which *Situa* was celebrated, *mamaconas* distributed bits of holy bread to the 'foreigners'—those of non-Inca origin-- . . . [taking] holy bread to other provincial deities and *aylli*headmen throughout the Andes (qtd. in Silverblatt *Moon, Sun, and Witches* 105).

During the *Çitua* festival the rituals surrounding the preparation and distribution of the yahuarçanco reinforced the supremacy of the Inca, while concomitantly demonstrating his benevolence; all citizens of Tahuantinsuyu needed to revitalize their health in order to ensure the empire's success, thus all were expected to partake in this sacred nourishment. As the philosopher and sociologist Thelamon underscores, throughout history and in many different societies, extravagant banquets have often served as a: ". . . mise en scène du repas hiérarchique, où chacun a la part et la place qui conviennent à son range, [et qui] exprime, le plus souvent de façon spectaculaire, les structures hiérarchiques et les relations de pouvoir, en même temps qu'elle est ostention des richesses" (12). In Tahuantinsuyu as well, the *Çitua* feast reinforced Incan

power hierarchies, for even though all inhabitants of the empire consumed the ritual bread, the Inca's portion was prepared with special care by the Cuzco aqllas.

Although the yahuarçanco was the most important ritual food consumed at the Çitua festival, llamas--referred to as either *ganado* or *carneros* by Father Molina-- were also sacrificed so that their innards might be extracted and analyzed by trained diviners, in hopes of recognizing signs of prosperity for the coming year. In many societies devotion to supernatural powers is communicated through sacrifices of food, since this is humankind's most fundamental resource (Armelagos and Farb 125). Meat is often the sacrificial food of choice; humans appear to send their gods a message indicating that although the surrender of these protein-laden calories cannot really be afforded, "their loss will be overcome by the even greater benefits to be obtained from the supernatural" (ibid.). After dedicating the sacrificed bodies of the llamas to Inti during the Çitua festival, each Incan subject entered the plaza and received a small bit of the animal's meat. Guaman Poma claims that:

para comer o para la serimonia matauan a los carneros. Le abrían del corasón que es la ley de los hicheseros ydúltras porque decía el moso el biejo: '*Suncus caynam, yaya. Uanun. Allim, churi, casun. Yauar zancucta, chawa yauarta micunquichic, churi* ["Padre, dicen que el corazón es así. Ya murió. Vamos a estar muy bien, hijo. Deberán comer la sangre coagulada, la sangre cruda"]. (2: 827)

Here we can clearly see how the sacrificed body of the llama becomes both a food and a medium of communication between humans and deities. The heart of the sacrificed llama is read by a *watuq*-- trained diviner who interprets the message of the deity with regards to the future prosperity of the empire.⁹ If the deity's appetite has been properly satiated the news will likely be positive, otherwise the angry god must be fed again.

Feeding the Ancestors in Tahuantinsuyu

The importance of food in Incan religious rituals was not limited to feasts provided for nature deities and loyal imperial subjects, since the Inca kings also organized elaborate feasts hosted in honor of their dead ancestors.¹⁰ The Incas, however, did not content themselves with mere symbolic representations of the dead, but instead organized a ritual exhumation of their deceased in order to invite them to sit as esteemed guests at the table of the Çitua feast. Father Molina describes the Incan ritual:

Y asimismo sacavan los cuerpos de los señores y señoras muertos que estaban enbalsamados, los quales sacavan las personas de su linaje que a cargo los tenían y aquella noche los lavavan en sus baños que quando estava vivo cada uno tenía, y bueltos a sus casas los calentavan con çanco . . . y luego les ponían delante las comidas que quando ellos heran vivos con más gusto comían y usavan las quales les ponían muy bien . . . y luego las personas que tenían a cargo los dichos muertos, las quemavan. (Molina *Fábulas y mitos* 77)

The Incas seem to have agreed with the frequently repeated notion, “Le repas, c’est la recontre, la communication, l’échange, le partage, voire la confrontation des passions” (Lemenorel 363). Thus, the practice of inviting deceased ancestors to the dinner table strengthened the spiritual connection between the living and the dead and reaffirmed mutual ties of loyalty.¹¹

Guaman Poma refers to the month of November as *Aya Marcay Quilla* [mes de llevar difuntos] and explains:

en este mes sacan los defuntos de sus bóbedas que llaman *pucculloy* le dan de comer y de ueuer y les bisten de sus bestidos rricos . . . y cantan y dansan con ellos . . . y andan con ellas en casa en casa y por las calles y por la plasa y después tornan a metella en sus *puccullos*. (1: 231)¹²

The exhumation ceremony clearly focused much energy on the honoring of the dead and the expression of gratitude for the protection against misfortune offered by the mummies. The chronicler Cieza de León points out that another important element of this rite involved the gathering of the mummies together into the central plaza of Cuzco so that their attendants could ask about the future health of the crops, the Inca and the empire: “And if the Incas did not do this every year, they went about fearful and uneasy and didn’t hold their lives safe” (qtd. in Classen 92). While Incan mortuary beliefs did not include reincarnation, they did believe that “virtuous individuals went to live with the Sun in the upper world ‘*Hanac Pacha*’, while sinners went to the interior of the earth to suffer cold and hunger” (Kendall 95). For this reason, during burial rites relatives always took special care to ensure the comfortable accommodation of the deceased in the next world by burying them with the tools of their trade, pottery, baskets, jewelry and food (ibid.).

While commoners only exhumed and fed their dead during occasional festivals specified by the ritual calendar, the mummies of Incan royalty received their own specially prepared meals (including aqlla-brewed chicha) on a daily basis. A deceased Inca king could enjoy these meals either symbiotically—through an attendant’s consumption of the food after having respectfully presented it to the mummy for inspection-- or by observing the meal as it burnt in sacrifice before him (Coe 220). As a result of this elaborate ancestor worship, Tahuantinsuyu’s economy faced a challenging obstacle; how to compensate for the stress on the storehouses by a constantly increasing population of deceased subjects who ravenously consumed food, drink and labor, but contributed no reciprocal assistance to the empire? The Incas would likely

argue that in order to ensure healthy food crops and camelid herds the ancestors must remain satiated. Nonetheless, many scholars have speculated that the drain on the economy caused by the immense expenditures lavished on the dead would have eventually collapsed the Inca state, regardless of the arrival of European conquerors (ibid.).

Even before the expansion of the Inca Empire, food played an important role in the ritual lives of pre-colonial Andean cultures. In both the north-central highlands and the southern highlands, women presided over the cult of the Corn Mother (known in the regions respectively as *Saramama* and *Mamayutas*). It was the job of each community's women to thank the goddess for her generative powers as both the Corn Mother and human mothers shared the quality of reproducers of life (Silverblatt *Moon, Sun, and Witches* 33-34).¹³ Under Imperial rule, however, Father Molina reports that conquered communities were required to accept the Incan origin myth which attributed the introduction of the sacred crop to Mama Huaco's sowing of the first seeds of corn in the Valley of Cuzco (ibid. 67). In order to show proper respect and to give thanks to either Mama Huaco, *Saramama* or *Mamayutas*, it was the woman's responsibility to cook for her goddess and to appease her with tasty offerings.¹⁴

Under Incan rule, both women and food were considered as extremely valuable tribute items and conquered peoples were required to send their most precious women (to be dedicated to *Inti* as his *aqllakuna*) and food (high quality crops destined for sacrifice to *Inti*) to Cuzco. In addition to receiving sacred crops from the Inca for their own consumption, *aqllakuna* were also expected to prepare sacred food offerings for various Incan divinities. Conquered peoples who rebelled were required to send both

food and women to the Cuzco as reparations for their insubordination (ibid. 92). During celebrations such as the *Capacocha* festival, women and food were fatally joined as sacrificial prizes dedicated to *Inti*. In the *aqllawasi* of Cuzco as well as in those constructed throughout Tahuantinsuyu, the precious ‘wives of the Sun’ were allotted a generous portion of the sacred corn grown on the islands of Lake Titicaca. Garcilaso relates that the Incas:

cogían algunas mazorcas en poca cantidad, las cuales llevaban al Rey por cosa sagrada... y de ellas enviaba a las vírgenes escogidas que estaban en el Cuzco y mandaba que se llevasen a otros conventos y templos que por el reino había ... para que todos gozasen de aquel grano que era como traído del cielo. (bk. IV ch. I)

Long before the arrival of the Spaniards then, women and food were symbolically linked throughout the Andes.

Balancing Poetic Tone: Praise and Petition in Incaic Verse:

In addition to presenting several Incan myths as well as detailed accounts of monthly rituals in Tahuantinsuyu, Father Molina’s *Relación de las fábulas y mitos de los Incas* also includes the transcription of twelve Quechua language texts which the chronicler describes as religious ‘hymns’ declaimed by Incan priests during the Çitua festival. Although Jesús Lara’s study of Quechua poetry claims that one of the most commonly composed forms of Inca verse was the *haylli*, or ‘sacred hymn’, Father Molina does not use this category to describe the texts which he has transcribed (*La poesía quechua* 70). Since the word ‘hymn’ can be used to describe any religious text that is accompanied by music and performed during worship, in the following pages I will use this signifier to refer to the lyrical texts transcribed by Father Molina. Like

other forms of Inca verse and contemporary prayers, the verses of these hymns are all quite brief –as Garcilaso recalls, “...los versos eran pocos, porque la memoria los guardase”-- and the meter and rhyme scheme do not seem to have followed any strict rules (ibid. 70; Garcilaso bk. II, ch. XXVII). Indeed, the fact that the Quechua language contains a large number of word-final suffixes and conjugation forms which end in with the same letters, means that while rhyming verses were quite common, they were not particularly noteworthy or valued (ibid.).

As mentioned above, the Incas considered the *Çitua* festival an integral event in their ritual calendar during which the Sun god *Inti* was praised for providing life-sustaining light and warmth during the previous year and then asked to continue to ensure the health and prosperity of the empire in the coming months. The Incaic verses transcribed by Father Molina in his *Relación* also reflect these concerns. Only the first and the last texts concentrate on *Wiraqocha*'s location, powers and relationship to man, whereas the other ten consist of requests for increased food crops, fertility and conjugal contentment. The texts also implore for protection from hostile enemies and weather, disease, darkness, loneliness and malevolent witchcraft.¹⁵

Prayers four, five, eight and eleven make specific petitions for *Wiraqocha*'s intervention in assuring that Andean flora and fauna continue to prosper, thus sustaining the alimentary needs of the empire's human population and keeping them satiated and content. Father Molina's transcription of the fifth *Çitua* prayer (*'Otra Oración'*) reads as follows:

Otra Oración (Hymn five)

O Wiraqochaya
Teqse Wiraqochaya
Wallparillaq
Kamaq, Churaq
Kay hurin pachapi mikhuchun
uqyachun nispa
Churasqaykiqta, kamasqaykiqta

Mikhuynin yachachun papa sara
Imaymana mikhunqan kachun
Nisqaykita-
kamachiq mirachiq

Mana muchunqanpaq
Mana muchuspa qanta ininqanpaq

Ama qasachunchu, ama chikchichunchu
Qasilla waqaychamuy

Another Prayer

Oh, dear Wiraqocha (1)
Source of all origins, dear Wiraqocha
skilled craftsman
vitalizer¹⁶, creator
saying, “in this lower world let there be
eating, drinking” (5)
for those whom you have created, for those
whom you have given life
let their food increase, potatoes, maize
let there be unbounded food
so you have said to them-¹⁷
you possess the power to vitalize,
to multiply (10)
may they not suffer from want
may they be relieved from suffering and thus
have faith in you
let it not frost, let it not hail
keeping all in peace

The first four lines of this hymn follow the same pattern as the other eleven transcribed by Father Molina, in that they focus on identifying the recipient of the thanks or supplication (*Wiraqochaya*) and then proceed to enumerate the praiseworthy exploits of the deity in question.¹⁸ As in many other genres of Quechua oral expression—particularly riddles and *willakuy* oral tales-- these hymns signal their beginning with a formulaic structure (in this case, a variation of *O Wiraqochaya*). Frequently, the detailing of the deity’s positive qualities is followed by a citation of a benevolent promise or action which the deity bestowed upon the Incas at a previous date. An example of this tendency occurs in the fifth hymn ‘*Otra Oración*’ in lines five through nine. The fifth line of the hymn concludes with the word *nispa*, thus signaling a direct quote from the deity.¹⁹ The prayer’s worshiper poet (most likely an Incan religious leader, since the hymns formed a part of the sacred *Çitua* festival) reminds

Wiraqocha that on a previous occasion the deity declared, “let there be eating, drinking” (line 5).

While in line four the worshiper poet simply announces Wiraqocha’s supernatural strengths as a “*kamaq*” ‘vitalizer,’ and a “*churaq*” ‘creator’, in line six the same verbs are repeated in reverse order “*Churasqaykiqta, kamasqaykiqta*” with the intention of explicitly reminding the deity that “you *have* created”, “you *have* given life” and thus *you* are responsible for the well-being of your people. Indeed, in line seven the worshiper poet cites Wiraqocha’s previous declaration-- “*Mikhuynin yachachun*”-- announcing an *increase* in food (specifically potatoes and maize), followed by the generous pronouncement, “let there be unbounded food” (line 8). Line nine sternly pronounces, -- “So you have said to them”—, thus concluding this five line *aide memoire* embedded in the middle of the fifth Çitua hymn.

After the almost threatening tone of the reminders contained in lines five through nine, by line ten the tone of the hymn’s worshiper poet returns to the obsequiousness of the first four. The prayer extols Wiraqocha--“you possess the power to vitalize, to multiply”-- as if to assure the deity that the Incas still clearly understand their position as lowly human subjects. The hymn then smoothly transitions to the humble supplications of lines eleven through fourteen: “may they not suffer from want”, “may they be relieved from suffering”, “may it not frost, may it not hail.” It is interesting to note that the hymn’s first direct supplication to the deity takes the form of the very general and all encompassing, “may they not suffer from want”, “may they be relieved from suffering” (lines 10, 11). The present translation of “suffering” comes from the Quechua verb *muchuy*, defined by González Holguín as “padecer, tener falta,

o necesidad de algo, y sufrir trabajos.” The hymn then, asks that the people feel protected from any sense of need, lacking, want, or suffering—a tall order indeed. The worshiper poet of the hymn, however, presents a subtle yet convincing argument to the deity at the end of line twelve—if the people remain free from want, their energy can be concentrated on “*ininqanpaq*”, literally, ‘for believing in you’. In seeking to establish a divine barter, the hymn assures Wiraqocha that if the deity can manage to limit human suffering, the people shall, “*thus believe in you*” (line 12).

In all twelve of these hymns, the orator (or singer) waits to present the supplications of the people until the second half of the prayer, thus maintaining a careful balance between praise and petition. In hymn five for example, the supplication to Wiraqocha does not begin until lines eleven through fourteen when the orator constructs his requests (in lines eleven and twelve) with the adverbial negator ‘*mana*’ (Aráoz and Salas 42-43). The use of ‘*mana*’ indicates privation or lack, thus the broad requests of lines eleven and twelve actually ask for a world characterized by the *absence* of suffering (“*Mana muchunqanpaq*”, ‘may they not suffer from want’). On the other hand, the more specific petitions in line thirteen—“*Ama qasachunchu, ama chikchichunchu*” ‘let it not frost, let it not hail’-- are expressed by means of the more direct adverbial negator ‘*ama*’. ‘*Ama*’ signals a prohibition and often serves as an unofficial imperative form of sorts; [ama __ verb stem+ suffix -chu], “*Ama qasachunchu, ama chikchichunchu*” (‘let it not frost, let it not hail’) (line 13). This line (as well as line six in this same hymn) also displays the unique, Quechua poetic device known as semantic coupling wherein “two lines that are otherwise identical morphologically and syntactically are bound together by the alternation of two

semantically related word-stems” (Mannheim *The Language of the Inka* 133-134).²⁰ In this example, the only difference between the two otherwise identical phrases contained within line thirteen are the two verb stems “*qasay*” ‘to frost’ and “*chikchiy*” ‘to hail’. In several of the hymns transcribed by Molina (hymn five: line thirteen; hymn four: line twelve), semantically coupled lines appear near the very end of the text, as if the poet has sought to create a soothing, conciliatory tone at the close of a somewhat confrontational song text.

The worshiper poet citations of statements supposedly uttered by Wiraqocha in the past (lines five through nine) are formulated with the bluntest of Quechua’s command structures [verb stem+ suffix –chu(n)]; for example, “*Mikhuynin yachachun*” (“let their food increase”) (line 7). By presenting these commands in the guise of Wiraqocha’s previous statements, the anonymous orator cleverly utilizes the very forthright [-chu] command form without showing disrespect towards the creator deity. Although not implemented by the orator of this hymn, Quechua’s intricately nuanced agglutinating morphology does offer a speaker the option of adding the enclitic infix [-lla] to the direct [-chu] command form in order to soften a brusque demand. Instead, the orator of this hymn reserves the more deferential construction of the adverbial negator [*mana* + misfortune to be avoided] for his most important, sweeping request; an appeal for protection against hunger, suffering and want. The present translation of the fifth Çitua hymn attempts to register the subtle distinction between these three manners of formulating a petition. The English ‘let’ has been used as a gloss for the Quechua direct command form [-chu] and the prohibitive adverbial

negator ‘*ama*’, while the more politely restrained ‘*may*’ stands in for Quechua’s ‘*mana*’.

As mentioned above, prayers four, five, eight and eleven specifically request Wiraqocha’s aid in providing the Incan royalty and their people with physical sustenance. In the fourth hymn such requests enunciate general categories, “*Mikhukuchu, uqyakuchun*” [‘let them eat’, ‘let them drink’]. The other three hymns, however, more precisely enumerate their requests: “*Mikhuynin yachachun papa sara*” [‘let food increase, potatoes, corn’] (Hymn five: line 7); “*Pacha, chakra, runa, llama, mikhuy/pay kaptin yachakuchun*” [‘earth, fields, people, llamas, food²¹/wherever they exist, let them greatly increase’] (Hymn eight: line 7); “*mikhuyniyog, minkhayog, sarayog, llamayog/Imaynayoq, hayk’aynayoq*” [a life filled ‘with food, with helpers²², with maize, with llamas/with whatever is necessary, with however much is necessary’] (Hymn eleven: lines 12, 13). The tone of Hymn eight remains unflinchingly positive, asking that Wiraqocha “lead them (‘those you have infused with life’) by the hand” and “cooperate, acknowledge, take him (‘the Inka king’) in your arms” (Hymn eight: lines 6, 11-12).

Otra Oración (Hymn eight)

Wiraqochaya
Walpay wana Wiraqochaya
Runaqta qasi qespillaqta
Qhapaq Inka churiyki warmaykipac
Kamasqayki huacaychamuchun
Hatallimuchun
Pacha, chakra, runa, llama, mikhuy
Pay kaptin yachakuchun
Qhapaq Inka kamasqaykiqta
Wiraqochaya
ayniy, huñiy,

Another Prayer

dear Wiraqocha (1)
diligent worker²³, dear Wiraqocha
in peace and safety, the people,
the Inka king, your son, your adolescent child,
watch over those you have infused with life (5)
lead them by the hand
earth, fields, people, llamas, food
wherever they exist, let them greatly increase
the Inka king whom you have infused with life
Wiraqocha, (10)
reciprocate²⁴, acknowledge,

marq'ariy, hatalliy
Imay Pachakama

take him in your arms, by the hand
Until whatever time or place

Hymns four, five and eleven, however, explicitly mention many of the misfortunes which the Incan royalty fears and wishes to avoid. While Hymn five²⁵ asks that Wiraqocha clear the skies of all frost and hail, Hymn four beseeches, “*Unay wata kawsachun*” [‘let them live long’] and ends with a semantic couplet of supplication, “*Mikhukuchun, uqyakuchun*” [‘let them eat, let them drink’] (Hymn 4: lines 10, 12).

Otra Oración (Hymn four)

Another Prayer

O Wiraqochan
Kusi usapuq hayllipu Wiraqochayá
Runa khuya maywa
Kaymi runa yana waqchiyki
Runayki kamasqayki churisqayki

Oh Wiraqocha
joyous, victorious, triumphant, dear Wiraqocha
tender compassion for the people’s pain
these people your orphans, servants
your people whom you have infused with life,
you have brought into the world (5)

Qasi qespilla kakuchun
Warmaywan, churiwan
Ch’in nanta
Ama watequintawan yuyachunchu
Unay wata kawsachun
Mana allwaspa, manana p’itispá
Mikhukuchun, uqyakuchun

let them be peaceful, free
with adolescents, with children
on the solitary path
let them not think deceitful temptations
let them live long (10)
nothing unfinished, nothing broken
let them eat, let them drink

While prayers four and five embed all mention of potential tragedy between praises of Wiraqocha’s strengths and calls for increased crops and herds, hymn eleven concludes with a more ominous tone, along with a fearful enumeration of the dangerous forces believed to exist within Tahuantinsuyu. The hymn ends with a desperate sounding plea: “*ama kachariwaykuchu/imaymana, hayk’aymana/chikimanta hatunmanta, nak’asqa watusqa umusqamanta*” [‘may you not abandon us/in the midst of all manner of/grave dangers, pursued through the night-- / cursed and bewitched’] (Hymn 11: lines 14-16).

Otra Oración a todas las huacas (Hymn eleven) **Another Prayer for all Huacas**

<i>O Pacha ch'ulla Wiraqocha</i>	Oh Wiraqocha, unmatched in the world (1)
<i>Ukha ch'ulla Wiraqochan</i>	Wiraqocha, unmatched in the inner (world)
<i>Huaca willka kachun</i>	saying, "let there be huacas and willka" ²⁶
<i>Kamaq</i>	infuser of life
<i>Hatun apu</i>	Great Lord (5)
<i>Wallpay wana</i>	diligent worker
<i>Tayna (a)llasto (a)llanto . . . Wiraqochaya</i>	----- ²⁷
<i>Hurin pacha, hanan pacha kachun nispa neq</i>	saying, "let there be a lower world, an upper world"
<i>Ukhupachapi puka umaqta</i>	within the inner world
<i>Churaq hay niway, huñiway</i>	creator, respond, consent (10)
<i>Qespi qasi kamusaq Wiraqochaya</i>	that I may live freely, peacefully
	dear Wiraqocha
<i>Mikhuyniyog, minkhayog, sarayog, llamayog</i>	with food, with helpers, with maize, with llamas
<i>Imaynayog, hayk'aynayog</i>	with what ever is necessary, with however much is necessary
<i>Amakachariwaykuchu</i>	may you not abandon us
<i>Imaymana, hayk'aymana</i>	amidst whatever, amidst however many (15)
<i>Chikmanta hatunmanta, nak'asqa,-- watusqa, umusqamanta</i>	grave dangers, pursued through the night-- cursed and bewitched ²⁸

Pierre Duviols translates "*O Pacha ch'ulla Wiraqocha/ Ukha ch'ulla*

Wiraqochan" as, "Oh Wiracocha, único en el mundo/Wiraqocha, único en el mundo interior", thus coloring the first two lines of this hymn with a monotheistic tone (93).

Gonçález Holguín's entry for '*chullà*, however, is quite revealing: "Una cosa sin compañera entre cosas pareadas. Candelero, vinagera cossa desigual que no viene con otra o no corresponde en tamaño, o en proporción." He then continues by illustrating the concept with several examples: *Chulla ñawi*, "El de un ojo no mas, o el tuerto"; *chulla rinri*, "el de una oreja"; *chulla churi* or *chulla huahua*, "el que no tiene mas hermanos." Following Gonçález Holguín's lead, I have opted for 'unmatched' as a gloss for '*chulla*' as opposed to 'one and only', which would have been the English version of Duviols' 'único'.

John Rowe considers that lines one and two of this prayer are simply too distorted to even attempt a translation and instead refers to the initial lines as “a series of incomprehensible titles” (94). Indeed Father Molina’s *Declaración* does not include a translation of the first two lines and instead offers a fairly free translation beginning with line three’s reference to ‘*waka willka*’. It seems, however, that one could translate ‘*O pacha ch’ulla Wiraqocha*’ as ‘Oh Wiraqocha, unmatched in the world’ and that the notion of *ch’ulla* as something unmatched or without a pair seems a logical title for the great *Wiraqocha* deity. Harrison notes that the ‘*ch’ulla*’ appellation could also refer to the ungendered status of Wiraqocha as suggested in the visual representation of the deity in Pachacuti Yamqui’s *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Piru* (personal communication).

In order to understand the Quechua logic of the ‘*ch’ulla*’ appellation, it is also useful to consider the three variations of the Incan creation myth cited by Garcilaso in his *Comentarios reales*.²⁹ The first version claims that the Incas descended from Manco Cápac and Mama Ocllo, the children of *tayta Inti*- father sun and *mama quilla*- mother moon who were sent to teach the savage humans how to properly farm, tend animals, weave and live in cities (Garcilaso 29-33). A second version of the creation myth identifies four men (Manco Cápac, Ayar Cachi, Ayar Uchu and Ayar Sauca) and four women (Mama Ocllo and three unnamed others) who emerged from the mountainside window in Paucartambo as the progenitors of the Incan people (ibid. 33-34). The final version of the Incas’ origin tells the story of a solitary man who appeared in Tiahuanacu (near Lake Titicaca) and divided the world in four parts, giving one part to four different men whom he called kings. The solitary man called the first king Manco

Cápac and ordered him to walk northwards to the valley of Cuzco where he was told to build a city. The solitary man's appearance at Tiahuanacu, the creation of Manco Cápac and the mandate leading to the construction of Cuzco sounds strikingly familiar to other accounts of the Wiraqocha deity (see note 12 above). Of all the deities in the three versions of the creation myth mentioned above, Wiraqocha is the only god without a partner, he is in this sense *ch'ulla*- unmatched, exceptional and perhaps for this reason, particularly powerful.

In each of the three *Çitua* hymns (4,5,11) that mention both the need for food and for protection against certain dangers, the requests appear within close proximity of one another. In the case of hymn four, these requests are presented intermittently, as lines nine through twelve alternate between requests for protection against lethal forces and for the supply of life-sustaining nourishment. In hymn five, however, the orator first presents requests for food (lines 5,7,8) and then moves on to the detailing of potential tragedies (lines 11-13) if *runa* petitions should remain unanswered. Hymn eleven's presentation of food and mortal dangers follows a similar sequence; an explanation of the crops and herds necessary for sustaining life (lines 12-13) is directly juxtaposed with a detailing of the harbingers of death which would result if Wiraqocha abandons his *runa* followers (lines 14-17).

Within the lines of the hymns transcribed by Father Molina the abrupt transitioning between preoccupations with food and death stimulates the linkage of the two semantemes in the reader's mind.³⁰ The repeated association of these two themes in the *Çitua* hymns presented above is an important instance of a longstanding and widespread association of food and death within the Quechua worldview. The ritual

sacrifice of food crops and prized camelids, the careful preparation of sacred foods by specially trained *aqlla* cooks and the composition of ritual hymns which reinforce the notion of food as a life sustaining gift of the gods, are all important manifestations of the symbolic and ritual values attributed to food and its preparation and consumption within the Quechua food-universe of Tahuantinsuyu.

Father Molina's Transcription of Incaic Hymns and the Question of Authenticity

As we have seen above, in his *Relación*, Cristóbal de Molina records transcriptions and Spanish translations (*Declaraciones*) of twelve Quechua *oraciones* or *himnos*, which he describes as the prayers declaimed by Incan priests within the ritual context of *Çitua*. The debates regarding the 'authenticity' of these transcribed Incaic hymns are almost as extensive and varied as those focusing on the errors contained within the published copies of Father Molina's manuscript. The master copy of the *Relación* is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid and is itself only an imperfect copy of the chronicler's original, exacted by a scribe whose errors seem to indicate that he had little or perhaps no knowledge of the Quechua language. As Lara ruefully explains, "[Dicha obra pasó] por manos de quién sabe cuántos amanuenses que no conocían el quechua ni poseían un alfabeto adecuado para la escritura del idioma" (*La poesía quechua* 73).

The fact that a scribe not fluent in Quechua penned the only known copy of Father Molina's manuscript has obviously led to a number of uncertainties with regards to various words and phrases contained within the hymns. Sections of hymns ten and twelve are illegible, words that should be separated are frequently strung into

ridiculously long compounds that must be pieced apart, while it seems likely that we will never uncover the meanings of certain indecipherable words. Could these terms refer to important religious expressions carefully guarded from the probing minds of colonial clergy, or are they simply ‘nonsense words’, incorrectly transcribed by an ignorant hand? Lara pessimistically concludes that within the manuscript, “. . . son pocas las palabras cuya integridad ha sido respetada; fracciones del todo ajenas entre sí aparecen unidas formando vocablos capaces de enloquecer a quien se atreva a descifrar su contenido” (ibid.). Perhaps this view is a bit exaggerated, though anyone attempting to translate or even read the Quechua hymns can easily understand his frustration.

If such questions seem difficult to answer, attempts to establish the ‘authentic’ Incaic origin of the hymns may just well prove impossible. The first edition of the manuscript consists of Clements Markham’s English translation published in London in 1873. Markham mentions the instances of incorrect transcriptions in the Madrid master copy, although he still presents the Quechua language hymns as “the words of the prayers actually offered up by the Ynca Priests to their Deities” and the most “valuable part of Molina’s report” (xiii-xviii). Markham declares that the hymns should be considered among the most important sources of information regarding pre-colombian literature and religious practices, along with the Pachacuti Yamqui manuscript (“by an Indian named Salcamayhua”), the Huarochirí manuscript (“a narrative of the false gods and other superstitions of the Indians”) and the “Quichua drama of Ollanta . . . as old as the time of the Yncas . . .”(ibid.). As Lara, Rowe, Duviols, Urbano and many others have pointed out, Markham’s translation of the Quechua hymns remains “desestimada universalmente” (Lara *La poesía quechua* 73).

The prologue and introduction by Francisco Loayza and Carlos Romero to the 1943 edition of the manuscript, *Las crónicas de los Molinas* focus exclusively on the question of the prior confusion regarding the author's identity and the transcription and translation errors of previous versions. Loayza and Romero do not concern themselves with proposing an exegesis of the Quechua hymns, or with establishing their opinions with regards to the 'authenticity' of the prayers. Though he does not specifically mention the Quechua hymns in his epilogue to this same edition, Raúl Porras Barrenechea insists:

el padre Molina es un cronista que inspira plena confianza. Su método es esencialmente objetivo, sin mezcla alguna de comentario, recuerdo o impresión personal. Se ignoran por completo los sentimientos del cronista. No se sabe si aprueba o condena, si lo que relata le sugiere o produce entusiasmo o nostalgia. . . . Obra como la suya es el fruto de un amor profundo y el resultado de un trato comprensivo y amistoso. (Molina *Las Crónicas* 96)

When read alongside the work of chroniclers like the Inca Garcilaso or Guaman Poma de Ayala who unrelentingly filled the pages of their manuscripts with arguments (both subtle and overt) and observations related to personal vendettas, Father Molina's *Relación* does indeed seem objective and impartial by comparison. His use of a distanced ethnographic style, however, certainly does not mean that this priest-chronicler did not alter the words and emphases of the Incan religious leaders' *Çitua* prayers.

In *La poesía quechua* Lara does not hesitate to express his firm belief that scholars should consider the hymns transcribed by Father Molina as, "valiosos fragmentos de poesía precolombina" (63). He asserts that within the chronicles of both Father Molina and Pachacuti Yamqui:

hay fragmentos de profunda belleza, intérpretes del alto nivel de espiritualidad que alcanzó el pueblo incaico. . . Muchos te cautivan por su elevación lindante con la metafísica. Todos, por la fuerza emotiva que palpita en ellos. (ibid. 74)

Lara repeatedly dismisses all critics who cite a colonial origin for the hymns-poems-songs contained within these works *or* within those of Garcilaso, Guaman Poma or *Apu Ollantay*. Of all the previously published studies of the hymns contained within the *Relación*, Lara's is the only one that attempts to comment on the hymns in terms of poetic form, possible verse structures, or thematic content.³¹ The nature of his observations will be discussed in more detail below.

In 1953 John Howland Rowe published an English translation of the hymns included in Father Molina's manuscript. He also provided a new version of the manuscript's Quechua transcriptions; reconstructions which are not based on the Madrid master copy, but on a comparison of the four previous editions of the Molina manuscript. Rowe's interest lies in presenting a literal English translation, along with a precise reconstruction of the original Quechua based on his comparative studies of sixteenth century and modern Quechua dialects. Only in the very final paragraph of this article does Rowe mention the polemic concerning the contested pre-colombian origin of the hymns. He swiftly dismisses the observations of "readers of Molina's rather free Spanish translations"--that is to say, those unable to read the original Quechua—who naively claim to detect "concepts in these prayers which parallel Christian ones . . . due to Spanish influence in the years following the conquest" (J.H. Rowe 95-96). Rowe wholly rejects such assertions, claiming that any serious study of the Inca texts "makes such an idea highly unlikely because the phraseology in the original is so different from that used in Christian Inca literature" (ibid. 96). He goes on to declare, "We are not

dealing here with a reflection of Spanish Christianity but with another great religion, the faith of Pachakuti Inka Yupanki” (ibid.). Rowe never explains, however, just what he means by the distinctly Incan “phraseology in the original” or how this would compare to the literary styles of “Christian Inca literature” (or even how he defines this genre and what works it might include). Instead, we are simply asked to accept the judgment of this Quechua scholar who fails to provide his readers with a more detailed explanation.

The English translations of Father Molina’s hymns offered above are primarily based on Urbano and Duviols’ 1989 edition of the *Relación* (a reconstructed version based on their direct consultation of the Madrid manuscript).³² Although my English translations of the hymns are not as literal as those of Duviols or J.H. Rowe, they are also not as free as Father Molina’s. The above translations lie somewhere closer to the realm of the German *umdichtung*; that is to say, a poem woven around another, though not necessarily directly, literally translated from the original. As Benjamin reminds us:

In the act of translation the ‘given’ content becomes alien and estranged; and that, in its turn, leaves the language of translation *Aufgabe*, always confronted by its double, the untranslatable—alien and foreign. (164)

In the process of translating these hymns to the English, numerous cases of *Aufgabe* do indeed surface, as English clearly lacks an equivalent or even a close approximation for many Quechua words and concepts. Nevertheless, the present translations take into account the rhythms and nuances of the English language in the choice of some words, while also making a concerted effort to evoke as closely as possible, the meanings, tones and intentions of the original hymns.

In the introduction to their edition of the *Relación*, Urbano and Duviols primarily focus on biographical information related to the two Molinas. They briefly mention a few details regarding previous editions of the manuscript (and their shortcomings), but make no comments regarding the ‘authenticity’ of the Quechua hymns, or whether they believe them to be compositions of the colonial era. The editors do not offer any formal analysis of the hymns, nor do they attempt to compare them with other examples of Quechua language prayer. If Duviols and Urbano fail to establish their position with respect to the ‘authenticity’ polemic in this 1989 edition, Duviols certainly makes up for this past silence when publishing his collaborative project with César Itier in 1993-- a newly transcribed and translated edition of Pachacuti Yamqui’s *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú*. The 1993 volume includes extensive notes and introductory essays that provide detailed ethnolinguistic and morphological explanations of difficult to define appellations such as *pacha yachachiq* and *runa wallpaq*. The primary focus of the introduction, however, lies in the authors’ intense interest in categorically refuting any argument claiming that the religious hymns included in the Molina and Pachacuti Yamqui chronicles are of Incaic origin. In his portion of the introduction Itier asserts, “todo el vocabulario de los <himnos> forma parte también del acervo lingüístico catequístico”; a conclusion reached by systematically confirming the existence of a Spanish word for each Quechua word that appears in the hymns (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 39). The authors begin by stating the obvious when they declare that it is impossible to arrive at any conclusion regarding the origin of these hymns by comparing one unknown to another (that is, comparing the characteristics of say, the Pachacuti Yamqui hymns with

those transcribed by Father Molina or Guaman Poma) (ibid. 65). Instead, they seek to disprove the Incaic origin of the hymns by comparing them to a known (the cultural artifacts of the colonizing culture, specifically the Old Testament of the Bible).³³

Many of the observations made by these scholars which pertain to the ‘Christianized’ language and concepts within the hymns could just as easily be interpreted as pertaining to a pantheistic, Quechua cosmology. For instance, the scholars see a clear allusion to genesis in the first line of Pachacuti Yamqui’s ‘Prayer to the Creator’ (which incidentally bears a remarkable resemblance to the first prayer transcribed by Father Molina): *A, Wiraqocha, t’iqse qhapaq, <kay qhari kachun, kay warmi kachun>* . . . [Oh, Wiraqocha, ruler of all beginnings who has said <let there be man, let there be woman>] (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 66, 68).³⁴ Certainly these authors do not believe that the Judeo-Christian tradition is unique in locating the climax of its creation myth at the moment when a powerful deity blesses the earth with the first man and the first woman? Indeed, the creation myths of the Navajo of the Southwestern U.S., the Suruí of Brazil, the Ekoy and Efik of Nigeria, as well as the Incas (and countless other cultures), all include this element of the primordial couple. In the case of the Quechua cosmological myth, it is Inti who sends his son Manco Cápac and his daughter Mama Ocllo to teach the ‘uncivilized’ inhabitants of the earth how to successfully build cities and raise agricultural crops and animals.

In most cases, Duviols and Itier present their observations as indisputable facts, when there are actually still many issues to dispute and plenty of questions to ask. An example of another questionable assertion concerns the authors’ claim that the fourth line of Pachacuti Yamqui’s ‘Prayer to the Creator’ -- “. . . *hanan qucha mant’arayaq,*

urin qucha tiyanqay pacha kamaq, runa wallpaq apu” ‘. . .Creador de la extensión del mar de arriba y del mundo en que vivo, el mar de abajo, señor Hacedor de la Gente’— must refer to Genesis seventeen, “E hizo Dios la expansión de las aguas que estaban sobre la expansión” (ibid. 69). Here again the authors commit the eurocentric error of assuming that the Old Testament of the bible is unique in its presentation of a world surrounded by superior waters of the heavens-- and after a flood-- the lower waters of the earth. How can they be sure that the hymn does not instead seek to commend the spectacular ordering powers of *runa wallpaq* who has carefully placed the *runa* in the realm of the *kay pacha*, comfortably sandwiched between the continuously flowing and interchanging forces of the *hanan qocha* above and the *hurin qocha* below?

Granted, the Quechua universe generally consists of a circular flow between the waters of celestial and underworld rivers (*hatun mayu*) instead of oceans (*hatun qocha*), yet the importance of *hatun*, *kay* and *hurin* (and *ukhu*) as notions of spatial identity are simply too integral to the Quechua world view to quickly gloss over and into “el mar de arriba”, “mundo en que vivo” and “el mar de abajo” (and to declare that the hymn’s line obviously refers to a passage from Genesis). These Quechua words and the complex categories to which they refer are indeed difficult to translate, but in such cases translators and literary critics should recall the important reminder: “Verbal distinctions should be valued, since they stand for mental—intellectual—distinctions” (Borges 44). Indeed in the Quechua worldview, *uku pacha*, *kay pacha* and *hanaq pacha* (loosely translated as ‘underworld’, ‘this world’ and ‘upper world’) reflect the ‘verbal and intellectual distinctions’ of the division of the universe. Living humans inhabit *kay pacha*, while *uku pacha* is “inhabited by tiny little beings and local protective spirits, a

deity of Christian origin, the devil, also resides in this world” (Valderrama and Escalante *Autobiografía* 123). Colonial ecclesiastics frequently used *hanaq pacha* as a gloss for ‘heaven’. Although *runa do* believe that the deceased may reside in *hanaq pacha*, “when *runakuna* die . . . they do not cease to exist but exist in a less immediate state than the living--- a parallel world from which they directly influence this one” (Allen 74). As Gelles and Martínez Escobar point out, “in this scheme of things, humans are viewed as inhabiting the interface (‘this world’ or ‘this life’) between two opposed worlds and as having to negotiate or balance the forces of the upper and lower worlds to achieve equilibrium” (149).

In their effort to conclusively demonstrate that the Pachacuti Yamqui prayers are adaptations of evangelical propaganda of the colonial era, Itier and Duviols have identified eight reoccurring themes that frequently resurface in the prayers and which they point to as exemplary of a monotheistic doctrine. For instance, they assert that the Pachacuti Yamqui prayers establish a sense of the existence of one Supreme Being, an all-powerful God who created the world. Another key assertion, is the claim that the prayers advance a call for the “necesidad y aceptación de la fe y amor permanente en Dios, aunque Dios no corresponda con beneficios materiales” (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 72). If these observations contribute to the refutation of the Incaic origin of the Pachacuti Yamqui hymns, they certainly do not apply to the case of those transcribed by Father Molina. In addition to the eight hymns directed to *Wiraqocha* (translated by Father Molina in his *declaraciones* as ‘Hacedor’ –Creator-³⁵), one hymn is dedicated to the *Pachamama*, one to *punchao ynca inti yayay* (translated by Father Molina as “O sol, padre mío”) and two which involve incantations to both *Wiraqocha* and *huacas*.³⁶

In the case of the hymns transcribed by Father Molina, although eight of the twelve prayers are dedicated to Wiraqocha, other deities such as Inti, Pachamama and the Huacas are not forgotten, thus reinforcing the polytheistic nature of the pre-colombian Quechua religious beliefs.³⁷

In addition to the fact that the hymns transcribed by Father Molina are dedicated to multiple deities, they also repeatedly seek to reinforce the tacit agreement of reciprocal support between humans and gods. In nearly all of the twelve hymns included in the Molina manuscript, the prayer's worshiper poet tactfully reminds the deity in question that in creating humans, s/he has implicitly assumed responsibility for their well-being and that in return for assuring the material wealth of the Inca and his people, faithful runa will in turn love and respect the deity *and* present the god with sacrificial offerings as tangible expressions of their gratitude. All of these intricate and subtle acknowledgments of reciprocal responsibilities are evident in the very first Molina hymn: “. . . *Kamasqayki, churasqayki/qasilla qespilla kawsamusaq*”[to those whom you have given life, to those whom you have created/peacefully, freely may they live] . . . *marqariway/hat'alliway/kay qusqaytarí chaskiway* [take me in your arms/take me by the hand/receive this offering]. The hymns transcribed by Father Molina frequently mention the reciprocal exchange of material goods between humans and deities. Such references contrast with the sentiments which Itier and Duviols claim to encounter in the Pachacuti Yamqui prayers; an emphasis on the need to embrace a strong faith and love for a Supreme God who does not provide tangible, material benefits (72). If, as these two scholars claim, this observation aids in proving the non-

Incaic origin of the Pachacuti Yamqui prayers, then the contrasting examples from the hymns transcribed by Father Molina seem to suggest the reverse.

In one of the Norton lectures delivered by Jorge Luis Borges at Harvard University in 1967, the Argentine poet and essayist points out that often times the overly academic reader becomes so deeply mired in questions regarding the circumstances of the publication or conception of a text and the biography of its author(s), that s/he fails to appreciate the text for what it is—a unique and beautiful artistic manifestation. Borges laments:

I say that we are burdened, overburdened, by our historical sense . . . Now we are worried by circumstances; we want to know exactly what Homer meant when he wrote about the “wine-dark sea” (if “wine-dark sea” be the right translation; I do not know). But if we are historically minded, I think we may perhaps suppose that a time will come when men will be no longer as aware of history as we are. A time will come when they shall care very little about the accidents and circumstances of beauty; they shall care for beauty itself. Perhaps they shall not even care about the names or the biographies of the poets. (74)

While a certain amount of historical and linguistic context can often help the reader to appreciate more fully the complex meanings that create beauty within a poem, song, story, novel or hymn, as literary critics we must be careful not to drown ‘beauty itself’ in the tempests of ‘the accidents and circumstances of beauty’. The above consideration of the Molina hymns seeks to strike a certain balance. While the translations and commentaries contained in the previous pages address some of arguments presented by Duviols and Itier regarding the ‘circumstances’ surrounding the composition of these hymns, my primary focus is concentrated on engaging with the hymns on a literary level. Regardless of such polemics concerning ‘origin’ and ‘authenticity’, the close-readings presented above seek to consider the hymns as complex, poetic incantations and as unique examples of the Quechua oral tradition.

*Aesthetic Representations of Food as an Oppositional Tactic:
Comentarios reales and the ‘Escuela Cuzqueña’*

If the Quechua food-universe in the hymns transcribed by Father Molina serves as a communicatory vehicle between humans and their deities, in examples of colonial narrative and visual texts food serves a similar function, albeit in a less overt manner. In both the narrative of the Inca Garcilaso and the scenes painted by artists pertaining to the *Escuela Cuzqueña*, food serves as a tool for achieving a degree of adaptive resistance in the face of Spanish political, economic and cultural hegemony. In order to avoid censorship, these artists chose not to overtly challenge Spanish authority. Instead, they utilized the European genres of the historical chronicle and the Mannerist or Baroque-style religious canvas as strategic spaces in which they might subtly embed positive images of Andean society vis-à-vis their presentations of the Quechua food-universe.

Inca Garcilaso’s Presentation of Food and ‘Fact’ in Comentarios reales

The use and application of power frequently enter into changes in a society’s food consumption habits. Where this power originates; how it is applied and to what ends; and in what manner people undertake to deal with it, are all part of what happens when food habits change.

-Sidney Mintz Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom

In Garcilaso’s most well-known manuscript, *Comentarios reales* the author refutes, critiques and corrects many of the pre-Toledo chroniclers, while repeatedly asserting (particularly in his “Proemia al lector”) that he is uniquely qualified to

provide an accurate description of the plethora of Incan ceremonies, rites and customs, “como propio hijo, podré dezir mejor que otro que no lo sea” (Miro Quesada xx). In letters written to King Felipe II, Garcilaso refers to his *Comentarios* as a “relación” in which he seeks to present and describe: “las costumbres, ritos y ceremonias que la gentilidad de los Incas, señores que fueron del Perú, se guardaban en sus Reinos; para que V.M. las vea desde su origen y principio, escritas con alguna más certidumbre y propiedad de lo que hasta ahora se han escrito” (ibid.). Although *Comentarios reales*, appears similar in many ways to other historical chronicles—it provides a more or less chronological exposition of the history of an empire, its royal lineage, major institutions and customs—the text also utilizes narrative devices pertaining to the Quechua oral tradition. For example, in an attempt to establish his ‘narrative authority’, the Inca continually describes his relative distance from the events he narrates while also detailing the manner in which he learned about them:

. . . me pareció que lo major traza y el camino más fácil era contar lo que en mis niñeces oí muchas veces a mi madre, y a sus hermanos y tíos, y a otros sus mayores . . . Después de habérmelo dicho los indios . . . alcancé y ví por mis ojos mucha parte de aquella idolatría, sus fiestas y supersticiones, que aun en mis tiempos, hasta los doce o trece años de mi edad, no se había acabado del todo. (bk. I ch. XV)³⁸

Garcilaso often seeks to establish this authority by emphasizing his biography (his childhood living amongst Incan relatives) and his knowledge of the Quechua language—a skill which he considers as the key to properly interpreting and understanding Quechua myths, history and culture.³⁹

The biographies and motivations of the colonial chroniclers vary greatly, yet in all cases one must take care to interpret the information they provide with an ever-vigilant eye so as to remain cognizant of each writer’s intended audience and

ambitions. Garcilaso's family tree included maternal branches of Incan royalty, while his father's roots lay across the ocean in Extremadura. Though Garcilaso spent his formative years in Cuzco, he would never again visit American shores after his journey to Spain at the age of twenty-two. The mestizo writer did not, however, begin to compose the pages of *Comentarios reales* until nearly fifty years after his departure from Perú, thus he had to rely on his own memory, select passages salvaged from the writings of Father Blas Valera and the observations of a few other contemporaries while writing the manuscript.

By the time Garcilaso sat down to write *Comentarios reales*, it seems likely that he no longer entertained any real hopes for receiving compensation for the lands wrested from his Incan relatives by the Spanish conquistadors. He remained intent, however, on clearing the good name of his father Captain Garcilaso, as well as properly honoring his Incan relatives and ensuring that they receive the respect they deserved in Europe. In his narrative then, Garcilaso takes great care to present the inhabitants of Tahuantinsuyu as intelligent, hardworking and benevolent people living in a society more sophisticated in many aspects, than that of Europe. In numerous cases, descriptions of the cultivation, distribution, preparation and consumption of food serve as Garcilaso's communicatory vehicle for introducing the European reader to positive aspects of Tahuantinsuyu and unseemly traits of the Spanish invaders. In this way, the intricately crafted representations of food in *Comentarios reales* reflect the complex (and often devastating) social, political, economic and cultural aftershocks felt throughout the Andes in the years following the conquest of Tahuantinsuyu.

When chronicling Incan war practices for instance, Garcilaso relates that Incan soldiers often overtook their poorly equipped adversaries quite easily. In order to spare the lives of their wives and children from the threat of starvation, the ill-prepared and vanquished enemy would often quickly surrender. Always eager to present the Incas as benevolent colonizers –in stark contrast to the barbarous Spaniards--, Garcilaso assures readers that once enemy soldiers laid down their arms, “Los Incas . . . los regalaban y acariciaban y les daban de comer” (bk. VI ch. XIII). The oral histories transcribed by colonial chroniclers repeatedly mention the Incan custom of allowing defeated societies to retain many of their local gods. On the other hand, Incan laws required subjugated groups to replace their mother tongue with the Quechua language and to cultivate specific quantities and types of food crops for local consumption and for distribution throughout the empire.

In the fifth book of *Comentarios reales*, Garcilaso explains that once a territory had been conquered, imperial engineers would arrive in order to begin the construction of irrigation canals (bk. V ch. II). Census calculators would appear soon after in order to proceed with the job of determining the new province’s population-- information needed for making decisions related to the quantity and type of agricultural infrastructure required in the region. This data would be used to calculate the number of manual laborers needed to begin the arduous process of creating arable terraces by slicing into the sides of mountain slopes (ibid.). While Inca rulers did require subjects to divide agricultural plots into three sections belonging to: Inti, the Inca king and the local populace, Garcilaso insists that this practice was always carried out with careful attention to the needs of each community:

que antes les sobrase que les faltase. Y cuando la gente del pueblo o provincia crecía en número, quitaban de la parte del Sol y de la parte del Inca para los vasallos; de manera que no tomaba el Rey para sí ni para el Sol sino las tierras que habían de quedar desiertas, sin dueño. (ibid.)

In addition to the carefully planned and regulated system for the planting and harvesting of crops, the Incas also created a remarkably extensive system of highways whose 16,000 kilometers of stone roads snaked through the treacherous heights of their Andean empire and provided access to the many storehouses strategically sprinkled along its shoulder (see Hyslop). The weatherproofed storage sheds could indefinitely house surplus foodstuffs as insurance against a lean year in the region, or serve as a temporary repository for food in transit to another area of the empire in need of supplementary sustenance.⁴⁰ In Guaman Poma's *Nueva coronica y buen gouierno*, a 1200 page letter written to King Felipe III in 1615, the indigenous chronicler proudly explains:

cómo sustentaua el Ynga los depósitos deste rreyno que auía en toda la prouincia . . . *chuno* [papa deshidratada para conservar], *muraya* [ch'uñu blanco], . . . *charque* [carne hecha conserva], lana en los Conde Suyos . . . camote y axí, algodón y *maxno* [verdura seca] y coca y *rumo* [mandioca] . . . (1: 308)⁴¹

According to Murra, the architecture of the storehouses helped to protect the stored agriculture products from variances in wind, sun, altitude and humidity and could be found along royal highways, "2400 on one hillside near Cochabamba and over 1000 above Xauxa" (122, 52-54).⁴² As is the case for any government, the stability of the Incas' reign depended on their ability to meet the daily physical needs of their subjects in terms of food and clothing. By creating a meticulously regulated system of cultivation, production and distribution of agricultural and textile products, the Incas succeeded in expanding and sustaining their vast empire.⁴³

In *Comentarios reales*, Garcilaso dedicates chapters IX XVI of “Book Eight” to the description of varieties of fruits, vegetables, grains and livestock native to Perú. Garcilaso carefully describes each foodstuff and details the necessary steps for preparing each item, as well as any medicinal value it may possess. He scoffs at the careless manner in which the Spanish have desecrated the original names of various foods, “no quede sino la corrupción que a todos los nombres les dan” and chastises himself when unable to recall the names of certain fruits, “por la distancia del lugar y ausencia de los míos no podré averiguar tan aína el engaño” (bk. VIII ch. XII, XI). Garcilaso also enthusiastically praises such Andean foodstuffs as the uchu pepper and llama meat as superior to any in Europe and asserts that the Spanish also appreciate these and other high quality Andean products.

During the early years of Spanish colonization and the imposition of the policy of the *reducción*, European crops were introduced into the Andes to be grown as tribute. Although most Andeans preferred their own diet to the new European foodstuffs, the pressure of tribute requirements led to the decline in the production of Andean crops for their own consumption (Kubler 355). The description of this competition between New and Old World foods continues in chapters XVII-XXX of “Book Nine” when Garcilaso describes the arrival of European foods to the Andes. While he does admit that many *runa* learned to enjoy the flavors of Spanish staples such as olives, grapes, wheat, beef, chicken and sugar cane, he also makes note of “las ratas, que también pasaron con los españoles, que antes de ellos no las había” (bk. IX, ch. XXII). Garcilaso also sardonically relates the ‘anxiety’ that plagued the Spaniards until they were able to cultivate their own Iberian fruits, vegetables and grains. So

important was this desire for gastronomical colonization that Garcilaso cites a royal decree in which Carlos V offered the gift of a royal jewel to the first Spaniard who could successfully harvest an appreciable crop of olives, wheat, grapes or barley (bk. IX ch. XXVII).

While the Inca Garcilaso admits that the new Spanish crops initially impressed the indigenous Peruvians, he emphasizes that the Europeans were also amazed by the abundance and quality of the crops they succeeded in harvesting from the rich Peruvian soil. The introduction of Spanish seeds into Andean soils, however, could also wreak havoc on native species. Garcilaso laments that many Spanish flowers and herbs have proliferated to such an extent that:

hay ahora tanta abundancia que muchas de ellas son ya muy dañosas . . . que han cundido tanto en algunos valles que han vencido las fuerzas y la diligencia humana toda cuanta se ha hecho para arrancarlas, y han prevalecido de tal manera que han borrado el nombre antiguo de los valles y forzándolos que se llamen de su nombre, como el Valle de la Yerbabuena, en la costa de la mar que solía llamarse Rucma, y otros semejantes. (bk. IX ch. XXIX)

Garcilaso follows this tale of botanical and appellative assault (for both the valley's native name and crop—the fruit called *rucma* or *lúcuma*—was supplanted by the Spanish yerbabuena) by relating the case of a mutant radish “de tan extraña grandeza, que a la sombra de sus hojas estaban atados cinco caballos . . . cosa tan monstruosa” (ibid.). The author corroborates his report by citing Don Martín de Contreras who claims, “yo soy testigo de vista de la grandeza del rábano, del valle de Cuzapa” and adding that in the valley of Yúcay “comí de una lechuga que pesó siete libras y media” (ibid.).⁴⁴

Julio Ortega discusses these passages in his exploration of Garcilaso's ‘discourse of abundance’ and refers to them as the chronicler's descriptions of the

'abundance of Spanish transplants' ("Leer y describir" 402). He argues that these descriptions of gigantic radishes, lettuces and Spanish herbs reflect Garcilaso's attempt to present "otra prueba del providencialismo histórico" resulting from a fertile mixture of Old World seeds with New World soils (ibid.). Following this argument then, gigantic vegetables and rapidly spreading herbs signal a new 'abundance' which has resulted from a mixture of the 'new' and the 'old'; thus reinforcing Garcilaso's argument that *mestizaje* (of both plants and humans) is a positive process. Although Ortega acknowledges that the chronicler's anecdotes reveal how the hyper-fecundity of some Old World species may become "monstrous" when transplanted to Perú, the scholar does not conjecture as to what this monstrosity might symbolize in Garcilaso's narrative (ibid. 403).

Although we can never know for sure, it seems likely that Garcilaso--keenly aware of the censorial powers of the Inquisition-- took advantage of these pages of seemingly innocuous alimentary descriptions to laud the virtues of indigenous Andean products and fertile soil and to condemn the monstrous invasion of foreign seeds (and soldiers) that decimated the native plants, animals (and humans). Instead of pertaining to a pro-*mestizaje* argument, it seems much more likely that in these pages the monstrous radish and insatiable yerbabuena serve as a metaphor for the greedy, colonizing appetites of the Spanish invaders and not as an example of the 'providential' fecundity of Old World species flourishing in the rich soils of the New.

Visual Representation of the Quechua Food-universe on Colonial Canvases

In the first thirty years following the Spanish invasion of Tahuantinsuyu, European paintings began to arrive in the new colony and were sent to churches, convents and private collections (Mesa 13). By the year 1546 the Spanish painters Juan Gutiérrez de Loyola, Juan de Fuentes and Juan de Torrez had arrived in Cuzco and received stipends for various canvases within the city's Cathedral (ibid.). In 1572 Viceroy Toledo sent four paintings to Europe indicating that indigenous artists had created the works which he described as representing the Incan kings, their dynasty and their conquests (ibid. 14).⁴⁵ Thus, by the 1570s indigenous artists were already actively painting in Cuzco, although it is generally acknowledged that the particular style known as the *Escuela Cuzqueña* did not arise until the first years of the seventeenth century (ibid. 15).

Beginning in 1580, Italian painters of the Mannerist school began to arrive in Cuzco; the most well-known and influential of these was the Jesuit master Bernardo Bitti who arrived in Cuzco in 1583 (ibid.).⁴⁶ Bitti's arrival came in response to a letter written by Cuzco's Fray Bracamonte to the head Father of la Compañía de Jesús in Rome requesting that a "first class painter" be sent to Cuzco (Cummins 3). Fray Bracamonte justifies his request by arguing that 'spiritual instruction' of the 'indios' would be greatly facilitated if they were provided with visual representations of Church doctrine: ". . . mucho provecho que sacarían de ver imágenes que representasen con majestad y hermosura lo que significaban, porque la gente de aquella nación va mucho tras estas cosas..." (qtd. in Cummins 3).

The distorted proportions, abrupt spatial transitions and elongated human bodies which characterized the Mannerists style, however, aroused suspicion in Rome and led to the rise of the early Baroque movement in the late sixteenth century. This anti-Mannerist trend began shortly after the conclusion of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which called for the use of art to instruct and cultivate piety through simplicity.⁴⁷ Baroque artists sought to create a sense of movement, energy and infinite space through their use of strong contrasts of light and shadow (a technique known as Chiaroscuro) and to amend the excesses of the Mannerists through the creation of a truer depiction of perspective. In their efforts to represent a realistic sense of emotional intensity, Baroque artists' carefully depicted minute details and textures of human figures, interior spaces and landscapes.

In Perú, the transition to the Baroque only began to surface between the years 1640-1660 through the work of the Flemish Jesuit artist Diego de la Puente and the influence of Spanish and Flemish paintings that begin to arrive in Perú (Mesa and Gisbert 112). Under the tutelage of primarily Jesuit masters beginning in the seventeenth century, Quechua artists produced scores of canvases depicting religious scenes for the newly constructed Catholic cathedrals and churches located in what are now the countries of Perú, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina. Following the Council of Trent, the Spanish Crown decided that it was necessary to adopt a strategy for curbing the influence of the Protestant Reformation in the Americas. As a result, numerous bibles and series of woodcuts depicting Catholic themes were ordered from Flemish print and workshops and then shipped to America (Ochoa et al. 170). Thus, it

should come as no surprise that the Flemish School of Amberes was particularly influential for the artists of the *Escuela Cuzqueña* (ibid.).

Although the renowned Quechua artist Diego Quispe Tito initially imitated the Mannerist style of Bitti, he soon rejected its excesses and began to produce canvases which more closely resembled the bright colors, detailed representations of nature, generous use of light and careful spatial and proportional representations typical of seventeenth century Flemish engravings and paintings. Born in 1611 in the indigenous *reducción* of San Sebastián near Cuzco, Diego Quispe Titu apprenticed in a Mannerist workshop in Cuzco and continued painting until the age of seventy. Although the official policy of the ecclesiastical authorities proclaimed that artistic work should be carried out “como acto de humildad” (Uriel García *Escuela Cusqueña* 166), in 1627 at the age of sixteen Diego Quispe Titu signed his first work ‘*La Inmaculada*’ (Mesa and Gisbert 18). Henceforth, the artist signed all of his canvases, although he often partially concealed his signature within the ribbons or foliage of his paintings (ibid.). Quispe Tito’s rejection of the Mannerists and his adoption of elements of the Flemish Baroque in creating his own unique compositions are generally credited with inspiring the less Europeanized canvases and murals of what is known as *Pintura Popular Cuzqueña* and which began to appear in the 1680s (ibid. 23).⁴⁸

The primary motivation behind the establishment of Cuzco’s artistic workshops was to aid in educating *runa* in Catholic doctrine. As Uriel García asserts:

Para que la catequización fuera efectiva se empleó el arte, poniéndolo al servicio de la teología . . . Vino a ser desde entonces un modo de enseñanza inusitada, capaz de propagar objetivamente la doctrina católica dicha por símbolos plásticos, por ‘pensamientos por imágenes’. (*Escuela Cusqueña* 166)

With the conclusion of the Council of Trent, the Church issued a more tightly controlled doctrine with regards to what could be considered an appropriate image within a Catholic temple; interpretations of biblical scenes and the implementation of religious symbolism were to follow strict norms issued by the Vatican (Ochoa et al. 168). Yet regardless of the Church's concerted efforts to control the form, content, technique and style of the artists' images, glimpses of adaptive resistance appear on many of the canvases.

Several well-known paintings of the Escuela Cuzqueña depict versions of sacred meals including: *La última cena*, *La comida de la Sagrada Familia*, *La Danza de Salomé*, *El milagro de Santo Domingo en el almuerzo* and *El camino al cielo*. The scene of biblical repast most frequently represented by the Escuela Cuzqueña, however, is certainly *La última cena*. Undoubtedly the most unique of these representations is *La última cena* painted by the Quechua artist Marcos Zapata in the mid-eighteenth century for Cuzco's Cathedral.⁴⁹ Although at first these depictions of Jesus and his disciples seem to abide by the classic European representations of this solemn scene, a second and then a third look at these canvases reveals another story.⁵⁰

In at least three depictions of the Last Supper painted by Andean artists⁵¹, the central platter of this sacred, biblical meal features none other than the Quechua delicacy of *cuy*.⁵² While almost all European representations of the Last Supper during the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries feature loaves of bread and cups of wine interspersed around the table, very few depict any other victuals. Although a central platter usually occupies the center of the table, it almost always remains empty.⁵³ In addition to the prominence of the *cuy* in the Escuela Cuzqueña depictions of the Last

Supper, the placement of a variety of other foodstuffs upon the sacred table further distinguishes these Quechua versions from most European versions of the scene.



Figure 1: *La última cena*, Marcos Zapata, mid-18th century.

Marcos Zapata's eighteenth century version is the most notable in this respect, as he scatters an assortment of fruits across the table and places two baskets of fruit on either side of Jesus' elbows.⁵⁴ The representation of fruit at the Last Supper is absent from all of the above-mentioned European versions of the scene. While Old World fruits such as pomegranates, peaches and grapes appear in the baskets on the sacred table painted by Zapata, familiar delicacies pertaining to the Quechua food-universe such as paltas (avocadoes) and humitas (corn tamales) emerge from the part of the basket lying closest to Jesus' outstretched hands. Numerous granadillas⁵⁵ ring the table, while several partially consumed pomegranates surround the platter of cuy. When painting the rounder, brighter 'Old World' cousin of the equally seed-filled granadilla, did Zapata realize the inevitable doom associated with the powerful pomegranate seed—the cause of Persephone's downfall and Demeter's sorrow? In any case, Jesus clutches his bread and blesses the meal while all of the disciples except Judas fervently clasp their hands together as they gaze imploringly at their master.⁵⁶ With all of these exotic foodstuffs strewn across the table, each disciple's half moon of bread takes on

the appearance of a protective barrier shielding the pious diners from the temptation of such mysterious fare.⁵⁷

The insertion of elements pertaining to the Quechua food-universe within the context of a sacred Christian feast signals the artists' decision to eliminate the central position of Western foodstuffs at the consecrated table.⁵⁸ Yet the question remains: are such exchanges simply representative of the naïve 'mistakes' of uncultured and 'provincial' Quechua artists, or do such 'gastronomical swaps' represent a more purposeful commentary against the aesthetic, religious and cultural oppression of the Spanish colonizers?

Although it is impossible to prove in a definitive way, it appears that by replacing the representation of Old World foods with prominent depictions of Andean victuals, Quechua artists sought to achieve a sort of adaptive resistance to the aesthetic stipulations enforced by the church, without completely breaking away from sanctioned aesthetic forms and styles. In this way, "La escuela cuzqueña puede ser considerada como la iniciadora de un arte popular y aún revolucionaria en América . . . como un arma de lucha dentro de las condiciones sociales de aquellos tiempos, disimulada a su vez, por aquellas simulaciones de catequización" (Uriel García *Escuela Cusqueña* 170). Apparently some critics feel uncomfortable with the notion that Quechua artists could have so consciously attempted to resist Church doctrine, thus it has been posited that the enormity of the cuy and its platter in Zapata's "Last Supper" can only be explained by blaming such uncharacteristic "falta de perspectiva y colocación de objetos y viandas en la mesa" as the artistic errors of one of his unskilled collaborators (Mesa and Gisbert 211).

Likewise, it has been suggested that the inclusion of “native cultural elements” in religious paintings could have been part of a “subtle political strategy to diffuse the Catholic faith” (Morales 100-101). Although Morales does not explain exactly what he means by this hypothesis, it appears as if he is suggesting that the ecclesiastic leadership encouraged Quechua painters to include “native elements” in their canvases as a conversion strategy aimed at attracting the attention and appealing to the aesthetic taste of indigenous viewers (and prospective converts). Not only does this idea seem highly unlikely after the strict decrees regarding appropriate images for temples following the Council of Trent⁵⁹, but this position also assumes that indigenous artists were simply a mechanical extension of the Church’s desires and demands, incapable of creating or carrying out their own aesthetic or cosmological visions.

Particularly in the case of the Escuela Cuzqueña’s representations of the Last Supper, the aesthetic choice to incorporate elements of the Quechua food-universe into religious canvases echoes the sentiment behind Garcilaso’s juxtaposed descriptions of Quechua and Iberian food-universes which contain (partially veiled) critiques of Spanish greed and violence. By placing the cuy at the center of a key biblical scene and by presenting the hyper-fertility of European cultivars as potentially harmful agricultural invaders, Garcilaso and the painters of the Escuela Cuzqueña cleverly critique arrogant Spanish assumptions that ‘Old World’ foods and customs are superior to those of the Quechua Indians. If aesthetic representations of food in Tahuantinsuyu’s religious rituals and hymns were primarily focused on creating a balance of praise and petitions directed towards Incan deities, in post-conquest Perú, artistic representations

of food have often served as subtle tools for the dissemination of positive depictions of Quechua culture and traditions.

¹ That the Incas appreciated the spectacular aesthetic effect produced by gold and silver decorations and ornaments is evident in the descriptions of the gold leaved walls of *Qoricancha*—the ‘Temple of the Sun’, as well as the many sacred objects fashioned from the precious metals. Garcilaso recalls that within *Qoricancha* in Cuzco, “Había un gran maizal y la semilla que llaman *quinua* y otras legumbres y árboles frutales, con su fruta toda de oro y plata, contrahecho al natural”- thus we see a case in which the Incas honored their foodstuffs by creating golden replicas (bk. III ch. XXIV).

² In his book, *Las crónicas de los Molinas*, the Peruvian historian Carlos A. Romero deconstructs the mistaken conflation of Cristóbal de Molina ‘*el Cuzqueño*’ with Cristóbal de Molina ‘*el Almagrista*’ or ‘*el Chileno*’. Both men resided in Perú during the same years, though after much initial confusion and debate, Romero, Barrenechea, Urbano, Duviols and other scholars have come to agree that Molina ‘*el Cuzqueño*’ authored *Relación de las fábulas y mitos de los Incas*, while Molina ‘*el Chileno*’ (*almagrista*) wrote *Conquista y población del Perú* and served as the church choir director of Santiago de Chile’s Cathedral (Rivera Serna 590). Raúl Porras Barrenechea, however, ruefully tempers his opinion by conceding, “No sería raro que, en el futuro, alguien los pegara de nuevo y resultaran uno solo, o acaso tres” (in Romero 88). In *Los cronistas del Perú*, Barrenechea affirms that Molina ‘*el Cuzqueño*’ was the son of Diego de Jaén and María Gómez de Avila of Andalucía and *not* a mestizo as many, following the assertions of Romero, had previously assumed (Porras Barrenechea 350).

³ A *visitador* was an informer of sorts, employed by the Spanish Crown to infiltrate indigenous communities in order to better understand their political, economic and social organization, as well as details regarding their religious beliefs.

⁴ Guaman Poma does not use the word *Çitua* in his description of the month of August. He does, however, describe the month as a time when people, “sacrificauan en los ydolos, *uacas*, pobres desde rreyno con lo que podían, con *cuiuis* [conejos de Indias] y *mullo* [conchas] y *zanco* y chicha y carneros (1: 225). He claims that it was in September when the Incas began to “echar las enfermedades de los pueblos y las pistelencias de todo el rreyno . . . y en esto rruécian todas las casas y calles; lo rriegan con agua y lo linpian. Esto se hazía en todo el rreyno y otras muchas serimonias . . .” (ibid. 1: 231). We can assume that this confusion of months was due to the fact that both Garcilaso and Guaman Poma attempted to refashion the Incan ritual calendar within the perimeters of the calendar used by the Spaniards. To make matters more confusing, the Christian (European) world was in the process of transitioning their calendar from the Roman to the Gregorian calendar during the late sixteenth century, just before these authors composed their works.

⁵ Indeed the Quechua verb used to designate the offering of a sacrifice to a deity is “*mikhuchiy*” or ‘to feed’.

⁶ Father Molina’s translation of *Hacedor*, *Sol* and *Trueño* refer to the Quechua deities *Viraqocha*, *Inti* and *Illapa* who will be discussed in detail below.

⁷ Consult Irene Silverblatt (*Moon, Sun, and Witches* 81-108), Peter Gose and Tom Zuidema for detailed if somewhat contradictory discussions of this fascinating Incan institution. In the various colonial chronicles *aqllas* are also referred to as ‘*mamaconas*’, ‘virginal wives of the sun’, or as ‘chosen virgins’. In other cases, *mamacona* is used to designate the older women living within the *aqllawasi* who were responsible for providing instruction to the younger *aqllas*.

⁸ It is not clear whether the provincial *aqllas* spent their entire lives living within an *aqllawasi*, or whether as Gose suggests, their service to the *aqllawasi* consisted of “poco más que un rito de transición ampliado que culminaba en el matrimonio y el regreso a la vida fuera del *aqlla wasi*, mientras que para aquellas de extracción social superior, era una carrera” (466). It appears as if Gose is basing this assertion on Guaman Poma’s description of one of the various classes of *aqllas* called “*uinachicoc aclla* [‘escogida que hace crecer’] que entruauan de quatro años las muchachas, que aprendían a trauajar, texer, hilar . . . estauan en esta casa hasta dies años”, because even the *pampa acllaconas* [“escogidas campesinas”] remained virgins and served the Inca for life (1: 274). It is of course extremely difficult to determine which women were became *aqllas*, where they served and for how long they served the Incan state through their work within the *aqllawasi*. Gose for example, bases his assertions regarding the universal *aqlla* service of prepubescent girls throughout *tahuantinsuyu* on the testimony of only one chronicler, Pedro Pizarro (1571: 94, 97). Cieza de León on the other hand, claims that the *aqllas* “estauan en el templo hasta ser viejas”, while Cobo asserts that the *aqllas* “en cada pueblo principal y

cabeza de provincia... encerrábanse en estos monasteries desde niñas de diez a doce años” and gives no indication that they are later released to marry (Cieza 2: xxvii; Cobo 2: bk. XIII ch. XXXVII). Zuidema’s conception of this Incan institution takes a ‘middle-of-the-road’ stance in that he agrees with Gose’s argument that many adolescent girls will be released from duty after having served for five years in provincial aqllawasis, but he also asserts that even these girls’ (whose service as an aqlla was temporary) were chosen to serve based on a criteria of “beauty and physical perfection” (Zuidema 55). Basing his argument on the accounts of Cobo and Guaman Poma, Zuidema claims that at the age of fourteen, girls who had been chosen at the age of nine to serve as aqllas were once again subjected to a selection process, after which the “chosen girls” would be sent to temples in the provincial capital (ibid.). The most beautiful of these women would be sent on to Cuzco to serve in temples for life as “aqllas of the Sun”, while the others would “assume the title of ‘acllas of the Inca’” (ibid.).

⁹ Today in the Andes, an ill person may call for a local healer to sacrifice a cuy (preferably black) so that its innards may be read and a proper diagnosis discovered. Garcilaso also mentions that the Incas preferred to sacrifice black llamas, “este color fue entre estos indios antepuesto a los demás colores para los sacrificios, porque lo tenían por de mayor deidad, porque decían que la res prieta era en todo prieta, y que la blanca, aunque fuese en todo su cuerpo, siempre tenía el cocico prieto, lo cual era defecto, y por tanto era tenida en menos que la prieta” (bk. VI ch. XXI).

¹⁰ This sort of banquet is by no means unique to the Incas, as many of the indigenous peoples of ancient and present-day Mesoamerica carry out annual rituals of memoriam by preparing the favorite foods of deceased loved ones. In México and Guatemala for instance, talented artisans craft frolicking skeleton marionettes and figurines from papier-mâché, clay and other materials and families place food, flowers, candles, photographs and letters around elaborately decorated alters in honor of the dead.

¹¹ As Ricardo Valderrama and Carmen Escalante remind us, “es una costumbre bien andina compartir la comida con los ausentes” (“Ser mujer” 165). In contemporary Perú, when a woman’s child is absent from her home she will often blow across the plate of served food in the assumed direction of the absent family member saying, “saborllanpas samanllanpas chayanman” (“May this flavor, may this vital energy reach you”) (ibid.).

¹² Catherine Allen describes a ritual quite similar to the *Aya Marçay Quilla* ritual described by Guaman Poma and the Çitua rites described by Garcilaso and Father Molina. In the community of Sonqo (department of Cuzco) she observed that a special meal of boiled beans, quinoa, papas, bread, noodles and liquor is prepared for deceased family members on November first. A specially designated ‘*mihuaq*’ or ‘eater’, declaims a series of special prayers for the dead before beginning to consume the deceased’s meal. The next day is known as *kachaypari* (send off) and the souls are sent on their way by dancers. A similar meal is prepared for the send off of the dead, on the eighth day after their passing (165).

¹³ Silverblatt also relates that women were responsible for organizing and carrying out all ritual duties related to the cult of the creator of food, *Mamraiguay* in the province of Cajatambo (*Moon, Sun, and Witches* 37).

¹⁴ Silverblatt also describes cases of women who cook for their ancestor *mallquis*. In at least some communities it was believed that attending even one Catholic Mass was enough to forever contaminate a woman’s ability to prepare such offerings (ibid. 205).

¹⁵ Incidentally, the virtually identical first and last prayers transcribed by Father Molina are precisely the ones that so closely resemble the ‘Prayer to the Creator’ attributed to Manco Capac by Pachacuti Yamqui.

¹⁶ Here, I have followed Taylor’s lead in defining the verb *kamay* in a religious context as designating “la comunicación a diversos seres de una fuerza vital” (qtd. in Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 138). Drawing on colonial sources such as the Inca Garcilaso and dictionaries compiled by González Holguín and Santo Tomás, Taylor defines *kamaq* (or *camac*) as “la fuerza que anima”, while the verb stem *kama-* denotes the acts of: “organizar, de ordenar (poner en orden), de transmitir a otro la capacidad de realizarse” (*Camac, camay y camasca* 5-8).

¹⁷ In this line *Nisqaykita* functions much as *nispa* does in line five—as a means of attributing the previous statements (the promises of lines 7,8) to a specific speaker (here, Wiraqocha). *Nisqaykita*, however, does not convey the same authority as *nispa* (which essentially signals the verbatim repetition

of a past speech act). For this reason, I have chosen not to enclose lines 7,8 in quotation marks, reserving this punctuation solely for cases in which a phrase is marked by *nispa*.

¹⁸ Here I have translated line three's *wallparillaq* following González Holguín's (1989) definition, "el que haze bien algo de manos." As noted by Duviols and Itier, the verbal root 'wallpa' has disappeared from all dialects of contemporary Quechua. In their reconstruction of the original sense of 'wallpa', Itier and Duviols point out that most missionaries translated 'wallpa' as the verb 'crear'/create (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 165). They cite Bertonio's 1612 Aymara dictionary as defining *wallpa* as "Apercebir lo que es menester para alguna obra, edificio, viaje, guerra etc" (ibid. 167). In this case then, perhaps the 'skilled craftsman' refers to Wiraqocha's successful educational campaign which transitioned the world out of the darkness and into a more civilized era (as explained in note 12). Duviols and Itier propose a similar hypothesis when considering *wallpariq* in the context of the Pachacuti Yamqui prayers (ibid. 169). They also point out that after 1610, 'wallpay' and 'yachachi' are replaced by the verbs 'ruray' or 'kamay' for the Christian concepts of 'Creation' or 'Formation'. Their hypothesis is both interesting and probable; Catholic priests likely reasoned that it was preferable to avoid the christianization of vocabulary with strong polytheistic/pagan nuances and instead inject more neutral words with the intended Christian significance (ibid. 171).

¹⁹ For an analysis of the nuances of *nispa* in the hymns transcribed by Father Molina see Harrison *Signs, Songs and Memories* 75-77.

²⁰ For other discussions of this Quechua poetic convention see: Harrison *Signs, Songs, and Memories*: 159 and Salomon and Urioste 35.

²¹ Duviols alters Father Molina's transcription to read as follows: "*Pacha, chakana, runa, llana, mikhuy*" and translates it as, "*gente, ganado, víveres*", thus choosing not to attempt a translation of Father Molina's *chacam*. (Molina *Fabulas y mitos* 90). Father Molina's actual transcription (as reprinted in Duviols and Urbano's edition) reads, "*pachachacamrunallama micuy*" and in his *Declaración desta oración*, Father Molina translates the line as, "*la chácaras y las jentes y el ganado*" (ibid.). Meneses' translation follows Father Molina's lead and Rowe also opts for the rendering of *chacam* as *chacra* with his "earth, fields, people, flocks, food." I see no need for Rowe's decision to change *llama* to 'flocks', but I agree with his decision to prefer the assumption that the /c/ in Father Molina's *chacam* should really read /r/ --particularly since Father Molina himself includes the word *chácaras* in his *Declaración*-- instead of opting for Duviols' complete omission of the word when he translates line seven of this hymn.

²² Here I have chosen the English 'helpers' as a gloss for Quechua's much more complex *minkha*. González Holguín defines *minccani* with the very straight forward "*alquilar personas*." If *ayni* generally refers to work performed for a neighbor or relative with the expectation that this work will be returned at some point in the future, then *minkha* usually refers to the repayment of one's previously expended *ayni*. In a contemporary context, however, I have heard the word *minkha* used to signify wage labor. For example, if a mestizo landowner has never lent *ayni* to his *runa* neighbor and hires him to help with the harvest in exchange for a monetary reimbursement this is also considered *minkha* (See also, Mannheim *The Language of the Inka* 90-91 and Allen 93).

²³ See note 14; as Duviols and Itier point out, like 'wallpay', 'wana' has also completely disappeared from present-day dialects of Quechua and is even less documented in colonial sources than its mysterious cousin *wallpay* (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 167).

²⁴ *Ayniy* is an important Andean concept whose complex meaning resists translation. In her discussion of Andean cultural categories of equilibrium, Harrison defines *ayni* as the concept of ". . . reciprocity among equals, where labor is not contracted but (theoretically) exchanged as a service to another, who owes a similar service in return as well. Implicit is an understanding that the same type of work will be performed" (*Signs, Songs and Memories* 52).

²⁵ Father Molina refers to Hymns 4,5, 8 and 9 as "*Otra Oración*."

²⁶ Juan Pérez Bocanegra also records a prayer indicating the influence exercised by the huacas and villcas over the success of agricultural crops, as well as the manner in which a reciprocal relationship between humans and deities could ensure a mutually beneficial outcome for all. Pérez Bocanegra transcribes and translates the prayer as follows: "*A huacacuna, villcacuna, çarayoc, micuiniyoc cai çarallaita yachacuchipuai amatac huacllipu acachu*" ("huacas, villcas, que teneis el maíz, y las comidas,

hazed que este maiz salga bueno, y no permitais que se dañe”) (132). Duviols and Itier point out that as the Spanish colonizers became increasingly effective in destroying the Inca’s huacas, mummies and other physical representations of their ancestral deities, runa were forced to shift their worship of the ancestors to a more symbolic realm, by replacing the physical grave or mummy of an ancestor with the more clandestine alternative of worshipping a mountain or river *apu* instead (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 68).

²⁷ Father Molina does not even attempt to translate this line and Duviols and Urbano indicate the ambiguity of the manuscript here; *allasto* might also be read as *llasto* and *allanto* as *llanto*. If this is the case than it seems fair to assume also that *Tayna* may actually be *Qayna*, a temporal adjective meaning ‘in the past, or ‘long ago’ and a word which would make sense in the context of this hymn which begins by recalling Wiraqocha’s creation of the world. While it is impossible to know just what the hymn’s worshiper poet wished to express in this line, if one renders the line as “*Qayna allasta llanto... Wiraqochaya*”, [‘Harvesting crops in the shadows of that long ago time.... Wiraqochaya’], the verb ‘*allay*’ (‘to harvest, especially tubers’) would make sense given that the previous line praises Wiraqocha as a “*Wallpay wana*” (‘diligent worker’).

²⁸ The abrupt and very negative tone of these final lines as compared to the conciliatory, optimistic endings of the other hymns leads me to believe that perhaps the final lines of the hymn have been lost. The last two lines included in the Molina manuscript, however, refer to various Quechua categories of magic wielding humans or supernatural beings. ‘Nak’asqa’ (‘pursued through the night’) is likely derived from the noun ‘ñakaq’, a supernatural creature believed to attack unsuspecting runa (usually at night) and then drag them off to their death by sucking out the victim’s body fat (see for example, Weismantel *Cholas and Pishtacos* xxvi-xxviii and Morote Best). According to Guaman Poma and Gonçaléz Holguín, ‘Umu’ referred to a runa who practiced malevolent witchcraft (indeed contemporary Quechua speakers use the word in this manner as well) (Guaman Poma 1: 274-275, 247-248; Gonçaléz Holguín 1989: 355). Although Lira defines the word with a more positive connotation-- “Sacerdote supremo en la religión inkayka. Teocrata. Profeta, vidente, vate. Astrólogo, augur, arúspice, zahorí” (*Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español* 1041)—it is clear that in the context of this hymn, umu (used here in its adjectival form [-sqa]) denotes malevolent powers (thus its translation as “bewitched”). The word ‘Watuq’ also refers to a magic wielding runa diviner who may not always use his/her powers for evil (ibid. 553). As in the case of the category of ‘Umu’, however, in the context of this hymn ‘watuq’ refers to the potentially dangerous powers of these Quechua seers, capable of rendering a runa ‘cursed’.

²⁹ Garcilaso’s chronicling of Peruvian history comprises two volumes. *Comentarios Reales* [1609] relates the history, myths and culture of the Incas, while *La historia general del Perú* [1617] describes the conquest, the subsequent civil wars and the manner in which the Spaniards sought to occupy Perú (culminating in the defeat of the Inca resistance led by Tupac Amaru in 1576).

³⁰ I have chosen to use the word *semanteme* here to describe all of the connotations and nuances attached to any particular word. Webster’s International Dictionary (2nd ed.) defines *semanteme* as “... an image or idea connected to a word, as opposed to a morpheme which is an element that relates and connects these images or ideas within a sentence.”

³¹ The observations Lara makes in *La poesía quechua* are later included in abbreviated form in his 1976 publication, *La cultura de los Incas* (350-352).

³² The scholars also offer their own literal translation of the Quechua verse into Spanish, along with occasional explanatory footnotes that often provide definitions of Quechua vocabulary as defined by Domingo de Santo Tomás or Gonçaléz Holguín.

³³ While these introductory essays were written as a preface to the new edition of the Pachacuti Yamqui chronicle and accompanying Quechua hymns, the majority of the arguments regarding the so-called ‘missionary quechua’ of the Pachacuti Yamqui hymns also pertain to the hymns transcribed by Father Molina. At times the essays also specifically refer to the Molina hymns.

³⁴ Duviols translates this line as follows: “Oh Wiraqocha, Señor del principio, Señor que dijiste: <éste sea varón, ésta sea mujer> . . .” In this section I will place Spanish translations in quotation marks, italicize the Quechua and place [English translations] in brackets.

³⁵ Duviols considers Father Molina’s gloss, ‘El Hacedor’ for *Wiraqocha* “totalmente abusiva e inexacta” (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 55).

³⁶ The hymns dedicated to the Creator (*Hacedor*) are also alternately addressed to: *Sol, Ynga, Wiraqocha, Teqse Wiraqocha and Qalla Wiraqocha*. The creator hymns are numbers: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12; the huaca hymns are numbers 3, 11 (although Father Molina entitles Hymn eleven *Oración a todas las huacas* the first line directs itself to *pachaq ch'ulla Wiraqocha*, which Father Molina glosses as '*padres huacas y huilcas*'); Hymn 9 is dedicated to the *Pachamama*; and Hymn 10 to '*Todos los yngas*'.

³⁷ The origins and significance of the *Wiraqocha* deity have been extensively discussed elsewhere (see: Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui which includes references to previous studies). For our purposes here, it is important to keep in mind that *Wiraqocha* was a pan-Andean hero; a deity who supposedly introduced the Incas to the arts of agriculture and weaving and who ended the disastrous first era of a sunless world inhabited by gigantic beings incapable of cooperating with one another and ignorant of the skills needed to construct cities, develop agriculture and organize an empire. In many versions of the *Wiraqocha* myth, the deity dons a white beard and hails from a region near Lake Titicaca. This singular physical characteristic led to an initial assumption that the bearded Spanish conquerors were an incarnation of the Andean deity. To this day the term *Wiraqocha* connotes power, dominance, wealth and whiteness, so that a *runa* will often refer to an authority figure, or wealthy neighbor as '*Wiraqocha*' as a sign of deference and respect [see also: Gelles and Martínez Escobar's 6-7, 146-147; as well as Harrison's discussion of possible origins and translation of the word (*Signs, Songs, and Memories* 94-95)].

³⁸ Further examples of how Garcilaso incorporates aspects of the Quechua Oral tradition in his *Comentarios* will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV.

³⁹ Following the brief dedication and 'Proemio', Garcilaso begins his *Comentarios* with an introduction to the Quechua language entitled "Advertencias, acerca de la lengua general de los indios del Peru." In this section, Garcilaso describes some of the ways in which subtle changes in pronunciation and syllabic accents can change the meaning of a word and how the creation of the plural in Quechua is completely different from European languages. As Miro Quesada points out, "El conocimiento del lenguaje es para él una clave para la precisión del hecho histórico, para la determinación de las áreas geográficas, para descubrir los secretos del alma y la estructura social de los pueblos. La interpretación real o no de una palabra, o la pronunciación fiel o no de esa palabra, aclara o ensombrece desde una doctrina hasta un objeto (xxiv).

⁴⁰ See Michael Symons (chapter 12) for a discussion of the ways in which sophisticated systems of storehouses allowed for the growth and success of such ancient civilizations as Ur (in Mesopotamia), Indus (in present day West Pakistan), Knossos (Crete) and the T'ang Dynasty in their ancient capital of Luoyang China (250- 255).

⁴¹ Later on in the same letter he laments the manner in which the Spaniards abuse the system of the storehouses, enumerating all of the goods and services that the invaders demand without providing proper reimbursement. Guaman Poma denounces "los dichos españoles pasajeros, aunque sean saserdotes que pasan por los caminos rreales y *tanbos*, como llegan a los dichos *tanbos* con cólera arreuata a los yndios *tanberos*... y piden *mitayos* y mucho *camarico* [regalo], acá de maíz y papas y carnero y gallinas y güebos... y *chuno* [conserva de papas], *quinua* [semilla de altura], *chiche* [pescaditos] y chicha y frazada *chuci*, y olla... y pide cocinera que de todo monta la paga doze pesos de cada día y de todo ello, como quien dize que descarga la consencia" (2: 500). This list of both Andean and European products surrendered to the undeserving and unappreciative Spaniards closely resembles a similar list detailed in his chapter on the abuses of the padres (ibid. 536) and the caciques principales (ibid. 714); the length and care with which Guaman Poma describes the foods taken by the Spaniards seems to function both as a way to emphasize the extent of the exploitation inflicted on the *runa*, while simultaneously demonstrating the rich variety of Quechua dishes and products, as well as their knowledge of the cultivation and preparation of American foodstuffs (For an even longer and more detailed list-- provided as proof that there is "pan de sobra en este rreyno"-- of Andean foods enjoyed by *runa* in addition to the "trigo y seuada", see ibid. 2: 840-41). Ortega considers these critiques of disorder and abuses amongst propagated by colonial officials as a primary image and symbol of colonial violence and pillaging ("Guaman Poma" 33). He argues that Guaman Poma's description of food becomes one of the chronicles primary metaphors and serves as a "poderosa version de la violencia, y de la irracionalidad de la práctica colonial, que destruye los saberes y difunde la carencia" (ibid.).

⁴² For more detailed descriptions of the system of Incan storehouses see C. Morris and Guaman Poma 1: 308.

⁴³ Ironically, the numerous, well-stocked storehouses of the Incan Empire facilitated the movement of the European invaders throughout Tahuantinsuyu. Murra relates, “As late as 1547, 15 years after the invasion, Polo de Ondegardo was still able to feed an army of 2000 European soldiers for seven weeks with what they found stored in the warehouses at Xauxa (122).

⁴⁴ While one may argue that Garcilaso’s description of the “grandeza” of this mutant radish and lettuce could be interpreted as an example of his admiration of Spanish foodstuffs, its appearance immediately following the angry denunciation of the plagues of Iberian weeds renders this claim unlikely.

⁴⁵ Unfortunately, all of these paintings disappeared during the 1734 fire in the Palacio del Buen Retiro.

⁴⁶ The Italian Mannerist Angelino Medoro arrived in Lima in 1600 and worked as Luis de Riaño’s master. The Limeño De Riaño later became one of the most important muralists of seventeenth century Perú. Several of his most well-known works include the murals and canvases within the church in the town of Andahuaylillas, in the Department of Cuzco.

⁴⁷ See Mercedes López-Baralt for a detailed discussion of the impact of the Counter Reformation and the Council of Trent on the use and control of religious images in colonial Perú. For information about the Church’s policies regarding the use of images within temples as tools of conversion see Schroeder (215-217).

⁴⁸ Some of Quispe Tito’s innovative techniques adopted by seventeenth century artists in Perú and Bolivia include: dissolving brighter colors in liquid varnish to create muted background tones, the use of intense blacks, whites and reds and the infrequent use of gray (even in shadows muted reds were preferred to grays) (Mesa and Gisbert).

⁴⁹ Other representations of the scene painted by artists pertaining to the Escuela Cuzqueña can also be found in the Museo del Arzobispo, Convento de San Francisco and the Monasterio de Santa Teresa, while versions painted by *Escuela Quiteña* artists can be found in several Ecuadorian churches and convents.

⁵⁰ The most famous European representation of the Last Supper is of course da Vinci’s 1497 masterpiece painted on the wall of the refectory of the Monastery of Santa María della Grazie in Milan. Important Renaissance painters such as Andrea del Sarto (1527), Rafael and Hans Holbien created other well-known versions of the biblical scene. It is likely, however, that representations of this scene by artists working in the Americas were based on engravings by Jerónimo Wierix or Cornelio Galle who had in turn based their work on a canvass painted by de Poussin (H. Schenone 168), the seventeenth century French painter best known for his baroque renderings of biblical and mythological scenes.

⁵¹ The three paintings I have in mind are: “Altar de la última cena. Serie de la procesión del Corpus de Santa Ana” circa 1680, unsigned, but attributed to the circle of Diego Quispe Titu in the Museo del Palacio Arzobispal Arquidiócesis de Cuzco; “La última cena” by Marcos Zapata, mid-eighteenth century located in Cuzco Cathedral, “La última cena” and an unsigned canvas based on an de Bolswert engraving (Mesa) in the Monasterio de Santa Teresa in Cuzco.

⁵² In his study of the various meanings and uses of the cuy throughout the Andes, Morales rather inexplicably asserts, “There are four such paintings featuring the cuy as part of the Last Supper and all of them come from the Quito school. Two paintings are signed by Miguel de Santiago around 1670; one of them is kept in the Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru and one in the Museum of the Convent of San Diego, Quito, Ecuador” (100). He goes on to mention an unsigned version of “The Last Supper” featuring a cuy in the Convent of Santa Clara in Quito, as well as a mural version in the Cathedral of Quito painted by Bernardo Rodríguez y Jaramillo (ibid.).

⁵³ An exception to this tendency is the series of anonymous, seventeenth century Flemish woodcuts housed in the Staatliche Museum in Berlin. In these pieces, a roasted lamb is placed upright on a central platter which serves as the focal point for the image, while Jesus’ right hand touches the outer rim of the dish-- apparently reaching for a morsel to feed to his distraught disciples. It is unclear whether the Wierix or Galle engravings depicted the lamb in their versions of “The Last Supper.”

⁵⁴ Zapata is widely considered to be the most important painter in eighteenth century Perú (Mesa 25). He was a prolific artist and left more than two hundred canvases dated from the years 1748-1764 (ibid.). Zapata’s paintings were requested from as far away as Santiago de Chile and Huamahuaca, Argentina. In

1755 he was hired to paint fifty-five canvases for the Cuzco Cathedral, a job which he completed by frequently filling in enormous spaces with forests, birds, fruit and flowers instead of strictly reproducing traditional religious iconography (Mesa and Gisbert 408). Zapata's careful balance of vivid colors and his particular affection for tones of blue and red were widely adopted by Cuzqueñan artists during the second half of the eighteenth century (Mesa 25). In 1773 Zapata was jailed for unknown reasons at which point he disappears from the historical record (Mesa and Gisbert 408-409).

⁵⁵ *Passiflora quadrangularis*, a slightly acidic tree fruit native to tropical South American and the Caribbean.

⁵⁶ While the other two versions of the Last Supper mentioned above do not include such detailed representations of Andean foodstuffs beyond the presence of the cuy, they do feature numerous red uchus scattered across the tablecloth. Quispe Tito's *Danza de Salomé* and *Comida de la Sagrada Familia* in the San Sebastián church also features uchu spread across the dinner tables. I have not been able to find any reference to this curious detail in any Latin American art history text and I am still not sure what this inclusion might represent.

⁵⁷ While the golden challis placed in front of Jesus in this painting resembles those of most classic versions of the Last Supper, it could be argued that the blood tinted liquid within the glass jars upon the table contain chicha morada and not wine. Indeed, the jars do not resemble the beaker like receptacles of most Renaissance versions of the supper and the ceramic jugs lying at the foot of the table bear a striking resemblance to the chicha jugs represented in the murals of Quechua festivals in the principal cloister of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas in Cuzco. Although the two individual cups visible in the Zapata painting are V shaped, they are glass and not wooden like the Incaic q'ero cups.

⁵⁸ Other striking examples of the integration of Andean fruits and animals in the pictorial representation of biblical scenes appear inside the *Capilla de la Virgen de la Concepción* in the community of Lahualahua near Ocongate and in Ocongate's (department of Cuzco). In Lahualahua, the depiction of the saints and the passion of Christ are framed with a landscape filled with chirimoyas, granadillas, parrots and viscachas, while in Ocongate tropical fruits typical of the Peruvian rainforest fill the baskets painted on the church's interior walls.

⁵⁹ In the interest of propagating the decrees of the Council of Trent throughout Perú, the *Segundo Concilio Limense* was convened by the Church. This Second Council was particularly committed to enforcing Trent's twenty-fifth decree entitled 'Invocación, veneración y reliquias de los santos, y a las imágenes sacras'. As a result, the Second Council ordered: ". . . que los sacerdotes tengan gran diligencia y cuidado en todo aquello que hace al ornato y autoridad de los oficios divinos que se celebran. . . que los obispos visiten las ymágenes y las que hallaren mal hechas e indecentes o las aderecen o quien del todo" (qtd. in López-Baralt 83-84).

Chapter III:

Representations of ‘Outside Cooks’ in Contemporary Quechua Cultural Texts

Cookery is the most ancient of the arts, for Adam was born hungry; and the infant, scarcely comes into the world, utters cries which the breast of the nurse can only still.

Anselme Brillat-Savarin Physiology of Taste

The previous chapter discussed the manner in which Incan *aqllakuna*-- the first professional cooks in the Andes—used their culinary skills and knowledge to satisfy the appetites of voracious deities and demanding Incan rulers. In Tahuantinsuyu, when *aqlla* cooks prepared the *yawarçanco* for the sacred *Çitua* festival, they implemented their culinary skill as a tool for ordering the chaos of disease, warfare and extreme weather of an entire empire. If the *aqllakuna* of pre-colonial Perú prepared so as to protect the citizens of an immense empire during the coming year, the cooks presented in the following Quechua cultural texts utilize their culinary knowledge in order to improve their own socio-economic status (as well as that of their family and children). In the contemporary Quechua texts considered in this chapter and in chapter four, culinary skills help women to earn money to support themselves and their families, gain independence from abusive spouses, deceive and enchant arrogant lovers, exact revenge on an enemy, or even to carry out malevolent deeds against innocent parties.

The meals prepared by contemporary Quechua women who work in restaurants, markets and homes throughout the Andes give a certain pattern to daily, weekly and yearly existence, since in many parts of the world, annual cultural timetables are

comprised of a series of high points marked by “... much-anticipated meals, featuring relevant foods. The collective exuberance helped organize the cyclical gathering, planting, harvesting, shifting of herds, going to sea” (Symons 163). Many anthropologists, sociologists and literary critics have pointed out that in its repetitive presence in daily life, food serves an important role in ordering the lives of individuals and entire cultures (McGee 18; Wood 52; Gusfield 72; Douglas 54; Sceats 126; Symons 160). In this way, the recurring, ritualistic aspects of the meal contributes to the creation of a sense of structure in our lives (McGee 18). In the close-readings presented in this chapter it becomes clear that the appearance of food and cooking contribute to the thematic and symbolic meanings, as well as the temporal and spatial organization of many texts. In the textual analyses presented in this chapter (and in chapter four), it becomes clear that important moments in a text are often signaled by a departure from structured, daily meals, or the alteration of the quality or quantity of a frequently consumed ingredient or dish. When the act of cooking or consuming food breaks from typical daily rhythms, an important transition or locus of meaning frequently appears.

Struggling for Socio-Economic Stability and the ‘Everyday Practice’ of Cooking:

In addition to the role which food plays in ordering and providing meaning to temporal cycles in both domestic (inside) and public (outside) spaces, the economic exchanges associated with preparing, selling and consuming a meal in an ‘outside’ space also affects larger socio-economic (and sometimes political) struggles and

structures. Utilizing the categories of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ discussed in the introduction, the close-readings presented below explores representations of ‘outside cooks’ which appear in contemporary Quechua texts pertaining to the genres of: novel, testimonio and photography. In each of these texts, ‘outside cooks’ are presented as determined, resourceful Quechua woman who market their culinary knowledge in order to increase their socio-economic independence and influence.

The well-known food historian Jean François Revel, identifies two types of cuisine: “popular” (developed within a particular region and perfected in the home) and “erudite” (utilizes ‘exotic’ ingredients from far-away lands and is developed by a professional chef, historically this cuisine was destined for royal or aristocratic tables)

(19). The historian praises ‘popular’ cuisine on many counts:

[this cuisine] has the advantage of being linked to the soil... based on age-old skills, transmitted unconsciously by way of imitation and habit, of applying methods of cooking patiently tested and associated with certain cooking utensils and recipients prescribed by a long tradition. It is this cuisine that can be said to be unexportable. (ibid.)

‘Erudite’ cuisine on the other hand, is based on “invention renewal, experimentation... it also risks falling into the sort of pointless complication . . . into a dangerous form of the Baroque, thus impelling amateurs to return periodically to the cuisine whose roots lie in the products of the land” (ibid. 19-20). In this formulation, ‘erudite’ cuisine is deliberately created, while ‘popular’ cuisine is learned unconsciously. Although not mentioned by Revel, it is also clear that the elaboration of ‘erudite’, ‘haute’, or ‘courtly’ cuisines is a realm generally dominated by men, while women transmit what he calls ‘popular’ or ‘regional’ cuisine to their daughters, generation after generation.

The cuisine prepared by the Quechua cooks represented in the following texts is more ‘popular’ than ‘erudite’, more ‘regional’ than ‘exotic’; the Quechua cooks generally learn their skills by watching a mother’s, grandmother’s, or neighbor’s elaboration of dishes, not by reading a cookbook, watching television cooking shows, or attending a culinary arts academy. The ingredients for the meals prepared by most Quechua cooks can be readily purchased at the nearby market, or harvested from their own fields, while it is unlikely that their recipes will be exported to the kitchens of faraway lands. Nonetheless, these so-called ‘popular’ cuisines nourish the majority of the world’s people and play a more central role in ordering the everyday lives of most families and communities than any ‘special occasion’, ‘internationalized’ erudite cuisine. In pre-colonial, colonial and contemporary Perú, skillful Quechua cooks have realized that their familiarity with Andean agricultural cycles and food markets allows them to acquire the freshest ingredients at the best prices. Their knowledge of Quechua culinary traditions then helps them to transform these local goods into tasty dishes that can be sold (with a higher profit margin) to hungry customers in markets, street corners, chicherías, or restaurants. Thus, the income earned from the marketing of this ‘popular’ culinary knowledge provides many cooks –including those who work in Andean markets and chicherías, as well as those represented in Quechua texts-- with enough cash to attain a certain degree of economic independence.

Although women make up the majority of ‘outside cooks’ in Cuzco (and the overwhelming majority of those working ‘inside’), the kitchens of the city’s finest hotels (which also pay the highest wages) usually hire only male cooks who have studied ‘erudite’ ‘European’ or ‘International’ cuisines in cooking schools in Lima.¹

Even the smaller tourist-oriented restaurants generally hire men to run their kitchens, while relegating equally skilled female cooks to serve as poorly paid prep cooks. In Cuzco's Mercado Central (or in any of the city's dozens of chicherías), however, Quechua women work at least six days per week preparing platefuls 'popular' cuisine; reasonably priced soups and segundos which fuel local workers and students, as well as the scores of runa who arrive from the countryside in search of work. While many of these women work sixty hours or more each week and agree that cooking professionally is hot, tiring work, most of them contend that cooking is a safe and profitable job which provides them with both a cash wage to pay for their family's needs and enough left over food to provide an important portion of their family's weekly calories.² Thus, in their role as the providers of meals (as well as advice, conversation and gossip), Quechua women who work as professional cooks often increase their personal and economic power, allowing them to achieve a degree of independence and influence that remains largely unattainable for women of similar socio-economic and educational backgrounds who work in occupations unrelated to 'outside' food preparation and/or distribution.

In the texts explored below, cooks are generally depicted as agents who make their own choices, rather than simply accepting the imposed will of others. 'Outside' cooks in particular are portrayed as women who actively pursue their own goals and shape the trajectories of their own lives. The representations of cooks in the Quechua cultural texts explored below reveal this positive aspect of the occupation, while also presenting many of the obstacles and prejudices which cooks must often overcome. Although the novel, testimonio and photographs explored below do not provide

detailed representations of food and its preparation and consumption, these texts do focus on important social standing and roles played by cooks throughout the Andes.

When considering the aesthetic representations of ‘outside cooks’ and their food-universe in the pages that follow, the concept of *mêtis* serves as a useful category of meaning for recognizing the multiple skills and talents displayed by these women. The character trait of *mêtis* was much admired by the Greeks and can be understood as combining:

flair, wisdom, forethought, subtlety of mind, deception, resourcefulness, vigilance, opportunism, various skills and experience acquired over the years. It is applied in situations which are transient, shifting, disconcerting, and ambiguous, situations which do not lend themselves to precise measurement, exact calculation, or rigorous logic. (Detienne and Vernant qtd. in Scott *Domination* 164)

As we will see repeatedly in the close-readings that follow, the ‘outside cook’ must often display *mêtis* when dealing with employers, customers, neighbors, husbands, or mythical beings.³ A cook’s careful use of *mêtis* is just one of the ‘tactics’ she may utilize in actively defending herself and her family from an oftentimes inhospitable social, economic and political environment.

The Historical Rise of the Restaurant, the Chichería and the ‘Outside Cook’:

Rather than look up to those who demand power, we must accept that, somehow, cooks--seemingly so meek and enchained—nevertheless run things

Michael Symons *A History of Cooks and Cooking*

In remembering a time before cooks the great gastronomical writer Brillat-Savarin wistfully sighs:

First parents of the human race, whose feastings are historical, what did you not lose for a ruddy apple, and what would you not have given for a truffled turkey hen? But in your Earthly Paradise you had no cooks, no fine confectioners! I weep for you! (*Physiology of taste* 414)

In a footnote of his *Journal of a Tour to the Helvides* dated August 15, 1773, Brillat-Savarin's contemporary James Boswell, declares that he has finally formulated an adequate definition for humans. He pronounces:

My definition of *Man* is, 'a Cooking Animal'. The beasts have memory, judgment, and all the faculties and passions of our mind, in a certain degree, but no beast is a cook. While a trick monkey might roast chesnuts, Man alone can dress a good dish; and every man whatever is more or less a cook, in seasoning what he himself eats. (qtd. in Symons 34)

While humans are without a doubt a 'cooking animal', cooking has not always been considered a profession. While Greek comedies such as Aritophanes' *Masters of the Frying Pan*, *Men of Dinnerville* and *Aioloscion* feature cooks as central characters and represent scenes in which Athenians travel to the marketplace in order to hire a cook for a special meal, the public restaurant serving food prepared by a professional cook only emerges around the time of the French Revolution. Factors leading to this 'restaurant revolution' include the sudden unemployment of scores of cooks who had previously worked in aristocratic households, as well as the French desire to improve upon the English custom of taking meals in taverns (Symons 41, 290). Brillat-Savarin defines the owner of these new gastronomic institutions in the following terms: "A restaurateur is anyone whose business consists in offering to the public a repast which is always ready, and whose dishes are served in set portions at set prices, on the order of those people who wish to eat them" (*Physiology of Taste* 309). He also observes that with the rise of the restaurant, culinary art is stimulated by cooks who realize "a highly

worthy recipe for ragoût can make the fortune of its inventor, cupidity, that power of powers, fires all the imaginations and puts every cook to work” (ibid.).

The rise of restaurants and professional cooks in the Andes parallels the emergence of large concentrations of transient populations in colonial mining and commercial centers such as Potosí, Huancavelica and Cuzco (Cieza de León 1: ch. I). The Quechua and Spanish men working in these cities were unlikely to have the time or the knowledge to prepare their own meals and as Cieza de León disapprovingly remarks, many of the indigenous men working in Potosí spent their daily wages indulging their cravings with any number of dishes offered by the Quechua cooks in the plaza (1: ch. CX). Although the emerging market economy in colonial Latin America encouraged the exploitation of Native American labor (particularly in the mining industry), it also created economic opportunities for indigenous women who worked as independent sellers, market women, cooks, owners of dry goods stores, or even long-distance traders (Socolow 41). These skillful entrepreneurs left records indicating their knowledge of Spanish commercial law, their ownership of property and adeptness in managing to pass these properties onto their chosen heirs, thus taking advantage of European laws of inheritance and Spanish tolerance of pre-conquest social structures (ibid.).

Throughout colonial Latin America, indigenous women often specialized in the sale of locally produced alcoholic beverages: *pulque* in central and southern México, *aguardiente* in Brasil and *chicha* in the Andes (Socolow 116; Llosa 115).⁴ In contemporary Perú women still dominate the business of selling chicha. As mentioned in chapter one, some women sell their brew from buckets situated in the aisles of local

market, although the local *chichería* remains the most important space for the preparation, sale and consumption of chicha throughout Andean cities and towns.⁵ Ironically, the economic and social freedoms that result from a woman's work in either a colonial or contemporary *chichería*, market food stall, or a restaurant remain unattainable for higher class women whose social position precludes them from working in a public (and to a great extent, even her own) kitchen (Socolow 114). In a similar argument, Silva Dias demonstrates how the marginal position of poor women and slaves working as cooks, bakers, street vendors and shop owners in nineteenth century Brasil actually allowed them to penetrate complex webs of street trading, bribes and small scale speculation which helped them to achieve solvency in their food businesses.

Although the alcoholic beverage called *chicha* can be made from fermented maize, quinua, cañihua, ch'uño, peanuts, algarrobo or molle bush seeds (and sometimes mixed with berries to create the slightly sweet *frutillada*), the Incas preferred maize chicha which they considered a sacred beverage and when specially brewed, worthy of serving as a sacrifice for their gods. Cobo's description of this Andean liquor is worth quoting at length, as it aptly sums up the colonizers' contradictory attitude towards the brew; while they denounced it as unchristian and filthy, they also oversaw the production their own 'clean' batches for special occasions.

Debajo de este nombre de *chicha* se comprehenden todas las bebidas que usaban los naturales deste Nuevo Mundo en lugar de vino, y con que muy frecuentemente se embriagan; al cual vicio son tan inclinados, que ni han aprovechado haberse convertido a nuestra Santa Fe . . . ni el trato y comunicación con los españoles, ni los castigos que hacen en ellos sus curas y las justicias, para que se aparten dél . . . Hácese la *chicha* de muchas cosas, acomodándose cada nación a aquellas semillas y frutas que más en abundancia produce su tierra, para hacer *chicha* dellas. Unas *chichas* se hacen de *ocas*, *yucas* y otras raíces; otras, de *quinua* y del fruto del *molle*... pero la *chicha* de todas y que generalmente se bebe en esta tierra, la cual, como vino precioso, tiene el primer

lugar entre todas las demás bebidas de los indios, es la que se hace de maíz ... (Cobo 1: bk. IV, ch. IV)

With the arrival of the Spaniards who called the Andean alcohol by the name of an island brew from either the Caribbean or the Canaries, the Quechua word *aqá* was widely replaced by the Antillean word *chicha* (Horkheimer 82).

The chichera elaborates her brew following one of two methods: *Wiñapo* chicha is made from fermented grains that have been soaked and then allowed to germinate for several days, while *moqo* chicha is produced from grains that have been chewed (usually by either young girls who have not yet tried coca, or by old women, depending on the region and the chichera) and then expectorated, allowing for the saliva to expedite the fermentation process (personal communication, Rumalda Quispe).⁶ Many Quechua connoisseurs of the alcoholic beverage attest to *moqo aqá*'s superior flavor and intensity, while many urban mestizos claim prefer the more 'hygienic' *wiñapo* chicha. Colonial chroniclers also expressed their disapproval with regards to the production of *moqo aqá*, although they suggest their approval of the variety made from germinated corn. Guaman Poma offers advice for colonial authorities asserting:

Que los yndios no an de ueuer chicha mascada con la boca que ellos les llama moco [maíz mascado para chicha] . . . por ser perca cosa sucia, cino que ueuan una chicha de maýs nacida que ellos les llaman sura asua [chicha de maíz germinado] para que los cristianos la ueua y aproeua. Y las ollas y tinajas y coladera y cántaros sean linpios". (2: 827)

Cobo notes the prevalence of *moqo* chicha throughout the Andes, as well as the existence of the 'cleaner' *wiñapo* version:

la más ordinaria que beben los indios del Perú es la que se hace de maíz mascado; para lo cual se ven no solo en sus pueblos, sino también en muchos de españoles donde hay concurso de indios, como en Potosí, Oruro y otros, hechos

corrillos en las plazas de indias viejas y muchachos sentados mascando *maíz*, que no poco asco causa a los españoles sólo verlo... los españoles también suelen hacer *chicha* de *maíz* por regalo, pero hácenla con más limpieza y curiosidad que los indios...” (Cobo 1: bk. IV ch. IV)

Cobo’s description of *chicha* production in colonial Potosí bares a striking resemblance to an early twentieth century description of this city’s central plaza where the beverage was both produced and sold in small shacks:

a red flag at the entrance signifies *hay chicha* while a white flag says it is all gone... *Chicha* is an alcoholic drink of peanuts or corn, masticated by the oldest (because they can do nothing else), hence usually toothless, women, then expectorated into an *olla* (pot), allowed to ferment, drawn off and is then ready for use.... ‘they say’ *chicha* is also made by presses in an entirely sanitary way... (Hoepfner Woods 47)⁷

While *chicha* may have seemed unpalatable to this North American diarist, it served as an important symbol for Andean indigenismo in the first decades of the twentieth century and it continues to be enjoyed throughout the Andes at family, community and national celebrations, or simply as an afternoon treat.⁸

In his *Memorias*, the famous Cuzco indigenista leader Luís Valcárcel praises the food served in local *chicherías*:

se preparaban diversos platillos, en los que predominaba la costumbre indígena, papas con ají molido, presas de carne, menudencias de carnero o habas con mote. En la preparación de las comidas se utilizaban variedades de ají, inclusive los muy picantes como el rocoto . . . la comida se servía en tres o cuatro platillos, teniendo como base la papa, olluco. Los platos de lujo era el conejo asado, el chactado, al beber *chicha* se hacía una especie de desafío. (30-31)

As mentioned by Hoepfner Woods, the red flag (*‘aqa llantu’*) poking out from roadside shacks, market stalls and the corner store signals to thirsty customers that a fresh batch of *chicha* is ready and waiting for them inside. In her discussion of the indigenista movement, Weismantel points out that in its role as “. . . an outpost of rural

and Indian cultural in the city . . . the chichería was a place where residents of the urban Andes could seek spiritual and cultural replenishment” (*Cholas and Pishtacos* 32).⁹ As a business woman in an urban space who frequently serves clients visiting from rural villages, the chichera can easily create a large social network of acquaintances and also amass a good deal of news and information pertaining to relationships and events occurring in both the city and the countryside.

This wealth of knowledge also allows the chichera to occupy a position of local influence, as we will see below in the analysis José María Arguedas’ novel *Los ríos profundos*. As revealed in the Quechua language testimonio *Autobiografía*, the economic independence which a woman working in a chichería can potentially gain, allows her more freedom to make choices regarding her own living conditions since she no longer remains solely dependent on the support of male partners or family members. Similarly, the images created by the Quechua photographer Martín Chambi visually presents chicheras as a strong, confident and self-assured business women who are comfortable in their surroundings and with their own identity.

In the close-readings that follow, the various representations of cooks¹⁰ --in the novel *Los ríos profundos*, the testimonio *Autobiografía* and the photographs of Martín Chambi-- portray Quechua women who use their culinary knowledge as a ‘tactic’ for improving their socio-economic status (and that of their children) and for resisting efforts by hegemonic societal sectors to silence their opinions, desires and cultural values. engaging in entrepreneurial activities in a public space. These cooks bake, boil, baste and brew in a public space removed from a ‘domestic sphere’. Those who consume the meals and beverages prepared by these women are not family members,

but paying customers and thus, the women represented in the following texts should be considered ‘outside cooks’.

Throughout this chapter I will repeatedly revisit the theme of food preparation and marketing as an empowering, everyday ritual. In the pages that follow, the acts of preparing, serving and selling food to others will not be considered not as a servile duties, but instead, as an occupation which actually allows the female cook to increase her economic, social and political independence and well-being. As Elizabeth Jelin reminds us, we must not discount the power of the ‘silent rebellion’ which is often loaded with symbolic meaning and which unfolds without the declaration of an explicit ‘discourse’, even though it is oftentimes, “. . . more eloquent than any public declaration or manifesto could every be, impoverished as these always are by translation into a language and code of thinking that are foreign” (178).¹¹ This chapter argues for the need to consider women’s work as ‘outside cooks’ as an important activity which provides them with varying degrees of economic power and which also functions as an undeclared (and often unperceived) resistance against a patriarchal society’s attempts to exclude their voices, skills, creativity and desires.

The Representation of Rebellious Chicheras in Los ríos profundos:

The consideration of an Arguedian novel within the context of this multi-genre study seems particularly appropriate given the Peruvian author’s own commitment to interdisciplinary projects. As Sandoval and Sandoval assert, “It is arbitrary therefore to study Arguedas’ literary work as independent or disconnected from his work as ethnographer, folklorist, compiler, translator and interpreter of legends, myths, songs

and especially from his deep preoccupation with the study of autochthonous creativity and culture” (xxxiii). Indeed *Los ríos profundos* addresses many of the cultural, political social, economic and historical issues presented by Arguedas in his ethnographies, compilations and translated texts. Within the novel the author condemns the feudalistic *latifundio* system of the Peruvian Andes, the unjust treatment of Quechua families forced to serve large landowners, as well as the excesses and hypocrisy of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities that reinforce (either passively or explicitly) the abusive rule of the *hacendados*¹². During the period in which Arguedas was writing *Los ríos profundos* (prior to its 1958 publication), the military dictatorship of General Manuel Odría (1948-56) ruled Perú by simultaneously repressing the left and courting the favor of the landed oligarchy (Sandoval and Sandoval xxix). This epoch was also characterized by the escalating tensions between peasants and hacendados in the Andes, while the social and economic gap between the rapidly modernizing coast and the feudal highland society continued to widen (ibid.).

In this historical context of heightened political, economic, social and cultural tensions, chapters seven “El motín” and eleven “Los colonos” stand out from the rest of the novel in their presentation of an inversion of the hierarchical society in which wealthy, non-indigenous (either mestizo or white and often coastal) men controlled all aspects of a community’s existence. Thus the rebellion of the chicheras in chapter seven and the colonos in the final chapter become instances of a *pachacuti*; the Quechua messianic notion of the ‘reversal of time and space’ which foretells of a return to the time when runa ruled the Andes, free from the oppression of European patriarchal society.¹³ Like the paintings of the *Escuela cuzqueña* and the segments of

Garcilaso's narrative discussed above, these chapters of *Los ríos profundos* pertain to a long tradition of counter-discursive Quechua cultural practices and texts dating back to the Taqui-Oncoy movement and perhaps before.¹⁴ These texts and practices act as important vehicles for the preservation of cultural identity, although their subversive messages may be concealed in a feigned acceptance of patriarchal, hegemonic discourses (as in the case of the seemingly pious artists of the *Escuela Cuzqueña*). Chapter seven of *Los ríos profundos* is particularly important because it demonstrates the potential power of rural, Quechua men and particularly women to actively demand a change from the oppressive and unjust status quo. Within the literary genre of a primarily Spanish language novel, Arguedas creates the characterizations of strong, independent and organized female protagonists through depictions of Quechua verbal defiance and popular protest.

If the initial six chapters of this novel focus on the introspective mental wanderings of the first person, adolescent narrator, chapter seven disrupts these personal reflections when action erupts upon a collective, 'real-world' stage on the streets of Abancay. In this chapter, "the famous chichera" Doña Felipa leads a large group of her angry colleagues in a march to storm the warehouse where the local supply of salt is stored. Frustrated with the continual disappearance of the community's salt cache, the chicheras become irate when they learn that the salt is being taken by Abancay's wealthy hacienda owners to feed to their cows. As they march towards the warehouse the angry women cry out in Quechua:

¡Mánan! ¡Kunankamallan suark'aku!	[No! Only until this very moment will they rob!]
¡Kunanmi suakuna wañunk'aku!	[This very moment the thieves will die!] (99-100)

Arguedas' decision to frame this popular uprising around a struggle for the control of the town's salt supply is not an arbitrary choice. Colonial chroniclers report that during religious fasts, marriage ceremonies, baptisms and certain cleansing rituals, Quechua religious leaders forbid the consumption of salt (Molina *Fábulas y mitos* 82, 100). For example, Father Molina reports that beginning in the year 1571, word spread among the runa population that huacas had once again begun to wander across the Andes seeking to destroy the Spanish invaders and their 'God'. Quechua religious leaders warned runa that in order to escape the wrath of the huacas they must reject the Catholic faith and prove their loyalty to the huacas:

. . . ayunasen algunos días, no comiendo sal ni ají, ni durmiendo hombre con mujer ni comiendo maíz de colores, ni comiendo cosas de Castilla, ni usando dellas en comer ni en vestir, ni de entrar en las iglesias . . . y que desta manera volverían en amor a las huacas. . . (ibid. 100)

Since the foods that were prohibited during fasts (primarily coca, chicha, salt, colored maize and uchu pepper) were generally among the most esteemed and difficult to obtain foods, salt's inclusion in this list of religiously regulated substances signals its importance within the Quechua food-universe.

In pre-colonial times, carefully regulated systems of reciprocal exchange assured that certain members of an ayllu would work in salt flats extracting the vital mineral and then transport it to regions in which the staple condiment was scarce (Murra *La organización económica* 90-91). Like coca leaves and uchu peppers, salt deposits were often located at a distance of several days journey from a community's home base. Nevertheless, all of these goods were considered essential staples and thus reliable access to the products was constantly maintained through reciprocal agreements (ibid. 203, 205; Spalding 97). Following the conquest and the breakdown

of many of these reciprocal, ‘vertical’ economies, colonial *corregidores* capitalized on the importance of salt in Quechua cooking practices and its scarcity in many communities by requiring *runa* subordinates to pay onerous tribute taxes in salt which could then be sold at a profit to other Indians (Spalding 117). The corrupt management of the community salt cache in Abancay recalls the greedy salt trafficking of colonial *corregidores* and suggests that if not for the town’s *chicheras* and their demands for justice, many of the same abusive practices would continue to occur in the rural towns of contemporary, highland Perú. In this chapter of *Los ríos profundos*, the struggle for the control of a communal food supply (in this case salt) reflects the larger political, economic and cultural clashes between wealthy, white landowners, lower middleclass *mestizos* workers and impoverished Indian farm workers and indentured servants. Since *runa* consider the sharing of food with neighbors, relatives and strangers to be an important part of both everyday and ritual practices, hoarding food—especially that which was intended to be shared by the community—is considered a particularly deplorable transgression.

Sparked by the failure of local authorities to fairly distribute this staple foodstuff, the revolt of the *chicheras* becomes both a turning point in the novel, as well as one of the text’s most memorable scenes. Until this chapter, none of the novel’s characters openly question the abuses committed by Abancay’s unjust landowners, clergy, or city officials (Cornejo Polar *Los universos narrativos* 134). Thus, when the infuriated *chicheras* revolt against the corrupt city officials, the event modifies both the novel’s rhythm and its thematic focus: “la triste paz de Abancay recibe una desarga eléctrica” (ibid. 133-34). Organized by female *chicheras*—a group whom the town

leaders had been previously considered as economically, politically and socially insignificant-- this uprising explicitly addresses the hacendados' excesses. Indeed, until the moment of the chicheras' uprising, "nuestra atención ha estado dirigida hacia los problemas íntimos de individuos y no a grupos o fuerzas sociales . . . [ahora] es la lucha del pueblo contra la injusticia el gobierno, o los que gobiernan" (Castro-Klarén 151). Yet from this point on, the novel deals with social instead of individual problems. The larger, public conflict between the chicheras/*colonos* and the town's white, moneyed officials serves as a stage upon which Ernesto's private identity conflict (does he 'belong' with the former group, or the latter?) begins to unfold more explicitly (see for example, endnote 15).

In all of the texts explored in this dissertation, culinary representations create loci for meaning and communication. In chapter one, the excerpts from interviews with market women and the descriptions of their workplace reveal how the spatial layout and organization of market stalls, the types of foods sold and prepared by each vendor and the manner in which these women market their products all contribute to the construction of hierarchies of power within the market and the development of economic relationships and interchanges, while also inflecting each food with a variety of meanings, nuances and social roles. On the other hand, chapter two demonstrated how carefully constructed culinary representations—either lyrical or in prose-- can serve as vehicles for the communication of desires and remonstrances to both human and divine audiences. Although Arguedas does not include many descriptions of food preparation or consumption in this novel, he does present a fictional example of what Barthes refers to as "food transformed into situation" (21-22). In the case of the

chichera revolt in chapter seven of *Los ríos profundos*, the improper management of salt leads the chicheras to perform a “social function” in order to regain access to the community’s supply of this vital foodstuff. In this novel, Arguedas uses detailed character constructions, evocative dialogues and the intimacy of a first person narrative voice to demonstrate how food—and in particular, the women who cook it—plays important social functions in the Andes, while also reminding readers that guaranteeing equitable access to foodstuffs in Perú continues to be an ongoing and as yet unresolved challenge.

In chapter seven of this novel, the first triumph secured by the chicheras is the verbal defeat of Father Linares. As if to emphasize his calmness and purity in the face of the passionate anger which surrounds him, the town’s religious leader wears white robes which, the narrator notes, provide stark contrast to the bright, multi-colored garments of the infuriated Quechua women (Arguedas *Los Ríos Profundos* 100). At first Ernesto relates that it was impossible for *us*¹⁵ to hear the Father’s voice, then finally the crowd hears the words that he directs “en Quechua” to the chicheras’ leader (ibid.). Father Linares fervently pleads (“rogaba”) with Doña Felipe not to offend God and assures her that the authorities are not guilty of robbery (ibid.). The lead chichera responds by challenging Father Linares to answer the question that all of the chicheras would surely like to ask:

¿Y quién ha vendido la sal para las vacas de las haciendas?
¿Las vacas son antes que la gente, Padrecito Linares? (ibid.)

Everyone in the town plaza hears both her question and the Padre’s weak and inevitable response: “-¡No me retes hija! ¡Obedece a Dios!” (ibid.).

To this demand Doña Felipa responds both physically and verbally; inclining her body towards the Padre she loudly (“a voces”) and astutely answers him by turning his own religious rhetoric against him: “-Dios castiga a los ladrones, Padrecito Linares” (ibid.). Following this satiric retort, the crowd is unable to hear the Padre’s response (“El padre dijo algo...”). In the rules of verbal combat, a muffled reply at such a crucial moment clearly means defeat, while Doña Felipa’s resounding shout (“...y la mujer lanzó un grito...”) proves her victory: “-¡Maldita no, padrecito! ¡Maldición a los ladrones!” (ibid.). In this passage, Doña Felipa’s repeated use of the Spanish diminutive [-ito] when addressing Father Linares serves as a subtle insult. In the context of this heated exchange, the tenderness suggested by the familiar diminutive becomes ironic and condescending. By calling Linares “Padrecito”, Doña Felipa reminds him that he is forsaking the poor in favor of the rich and should be ashamed of himself. The use of the diminutive in this context can be interpreted in one of two ways: the Father’s behavior makes him undeserving of the affection suggested by the use of this diminutive suffix, or alternately, that his actions have diminished the respect that his title would normally grant him, demoting him to a mere ‘Padrecitò).

Although the narrator signals that the exchange between Padre Linares and Doña Felipa takes place in Quechua (“Oímos entonces las palabras del Padre. Habló en quechua”), Doña Felipa switches to Spanish in a shouted command that both closes her conversation with the Padre and signals her return to the group’s intended goal (capturing the storehouse where the heisted salt is being held). Her decision to transition to Spanish serves as a bold rejection of the Padre’s patronizing plea, as if to show him that not only can she speak his language as he speaks hers, but that she wants

him to clearly understand her decision: “-¡Yastá! ¡Avanzo, avanzo!” (ibid.). The other chicheras follow their leader’s code-switch and repeat after her, “¡Avanzo, avanzo!” (ibid. 101). Cornejo Polar points out: “trascendiendo su motivación concreta, el motín se convierte en símbolo de la ruptura de una de las más sutiles formas de dominación, la que se ampara en la religiosidad del pueblo (*Los universos narrativos* 136). Indeed, the first uprising presented in this novel occurs when the chicheras challenge the leader of the town’s religious institution; a verbal rebellion which is immediately followed by their physical confrontation with the representatives of a despotic State.

The shots fired by the town’s gendarmes can stop neither the women’s advance, nor their shouts of “¡Avanzo, avanzo!” (Arguedas *Los ríos profundos* 101). The narrator/protagonist Ernesto joins this march towards the salt warehouse amid shouts and gunshots. The gendarmes’ fire soon ceases, however, and the women successfully reach the deposit and begin shout orders to each other in Quechua. Upon encountering even more bags of salt than they had imagined, the women yell out in an ungrammatical Spanish directed to an absent Padre Linares: “¡Ahistá sal! ¡Ahistá sal! ¡Este sí ladrón! ¡Este sí maldecido!” (ibid. 102). Doña Felipa who so ably defeated Padre Linares in the pair’s verbal dual, quickly establishes order amongst the group of women. Until this scene at the salt warehouse the lead chichera has only been described in terms of the primary weapon she deployed-- her voice. Now the reader is told that she establishes order through her gaze over the women who dutifully distribute the salt amongst each other for transport to the homes of those in need. Once it becomes clear that Doña Felipa commands through both aural *and* visual signals, the previous description of the leader’s voice is enhanced by an account of her features. Her

physical traits and the play of light and shadow that both obscures and accentuates them add to the mystery and authority of the woman:

Del rostro ancho de la chichera, de su frente pequeña, de sus ojos apenas visibles, brotaba una fuerza reguladora que envolvía, que detenía y ahuyentaba el temor. Su sombrero reluciente le daba sombra hasta los párpados. Un contraste había entre la frente que permanecía en la sombra y su mandíbula redonda, su boca cerrada y los ojos negros de viruela que se exhibían al sol . (ibid. 103)

Although her eyes are ‘barely visible’, her forehead remains hidden by a shadow and her mouth remains shut, Doña Felipa’s still exudes a ‘fearful’ and ‘regulatory force’ that silently orders her followers to obey. The narrator reinforces the superior quality of her leadership noting that while “la violencia del éxito” caused the other women to forget the *colonos* trapped into service at the hacienda of Patibamba, Doña Felipa made sure that they too would receive an ample supply of salt (ibid.104).

Words once again become both weapons and shields as a group of defiant chicheras makes its way through town towards the Patibamba hacienda. From their balconies, Abancay’s white and mestizo residents insult the chicheras, equating their challenge of hegemonic excesses and their economic power with sexual promiscuity: “-¡Ladronas! ¡Descomulgadas! . . . -¡Prostitutas, cholas asquerosas!” (ibid.). In response, the chicheras choose to intone a Quechua carnival tune which serves as both a shield and a victory song capable of drowning out all of the insults and providing “un ritmo especial, casi de ataque, a los que marchábamos a *Patibamba*” (ibid. 105). In extolling the hidden beauty and richness of the *Pati* tree in response to the verbal abuses hurled at them by the townspeople, it is as if the chicheras are smugly scolding the town’s leaders for having underestimated their previously ignored (hidden) power

(“*Patibamballay/patisachachay/ sonk’oruruykik’a/k’orimantas kask’a/sonk’ruruykik’a/k’ollk’emantas kask’a . . .* (ibid.). ‘Oh, my little *Pati* tree!/from my dear Patibamba/the core of your fruit/it’s made of gold/the core of your fruit/it’s made of silver . . .). Yet even while the singing continues, the “resplandor se apagaba” as Ernesto observes thick clouds of dust that begin to cover the red flowers lining the road, thus foreshadowing a somber end to this temporary triumph (ibid.).

The chicheras seem surprised that their arrival in Patibamba is not greeted with a joyful welcome. The silence and closed doors of the servants’ shacks seems to anger the chicheras and one of them exclaims in Quechua with a voice both “varonil” and “llena de amenaza”: “*¡Pim manchachinku, merdas?*” (Who makes all you shits afraid?) (ibid. 106). Once the scared and silent women finally emerge from their homes, the voice of this chichera becomes “tierna y dulce” as she quickly organizes the distribution of the plundered goods and emphasizes the women’s right to accept what is being offered: “*¡Sal del pueblo, para ti, madrecita! . . . ¡Salid a recibir, madrecitas!—gritó entonces en quechua . . .*” (ibid.).

On their way to Patibamba, the chicheras’ signal their triumph through song and indeed, their use of songs, speeches and insults establishes their verbal dominance over Abancay’s gendarmes, ecclesiastics and the State’s military regiment. If the Quechua servants of the Patibamba hacienda suffer in silence, the chicheras represent a segment of the city’s population that refuses to remain quiet in the face of oppression. Ernesto’s schoolmate Romero expresses a sentiment shared by Padre Linares and many of the townspeople when he asserts, “*las chicheras se defienden o se vengan con la boca*” (ibid. 219). One of the most important creative vehicles for speech deployed by the

Quechua men and women of Abancay is the composition of improvised lyrics to accompany well-known *huayno* songs. Certeau's conception of the role of language as a "semiotic tactic" helps us to understand the power of the chichera's improvised insults and song texts in this chapter:

Whereas grammar watches over the 'propriety' of terms, rhetorical alterations (metaphorical drifts, elliptical condensations, metonymic miniaturizations, etc.) point to the use of language by speakers in particular situations of ritual or actual linguistic combat. (39)

In constructing the dialogues, insults and songs of the chicheras in this chapter, Arguedas demonstrates how Quechua speakers often use linguistic ingenuity as both a defensive and offensive 'tactic' when confronted by the aggressions of hegemonic societal sectors. The chicheras in *Los ríos profundos* execute these 'rhetorical alterations' through their use of: semantic couplets, scatological imagery and insults, allusion to well-known *huayno* lyrics, sarcastic use of terms of endearment and the posing of provocative, rhetorical questions.

The chicheras are the only townspeople who dare to compose insulting verses in the very presence of the *huayrurus*.¹⁶ Shortly after their uprising, one of the women asks a harpist to play a festive *jaylli* song which she then accompanies with celebratory verses of her own creation (presented by Arguedas in both Quechua and a Spanish translation).¹⁷ The song begins by insulting the strength of an unnamed *huayruru* "*manchak' wayruru*" ['frightened *huayruru*'], whose incompetence is affirmed first through repeated attacks on his competence, "*mana atinchul/mana atinchu*" ['he isn't capable/he isn't capable'], then through skeptical, ironic questions and exclamations signaling doubt, "*maytak' atinchu/Imanallautas atinman*" ['In what way is he capable?'/ 'Of what would he be capable?'], "*jway! atinman*" ['ha! As if he would be

capable’] (Arguedas *Los ríos profundos* 187).¹⁸ This prelude of disparaging insults aimed at the soldier is followed by a clean, concise affirmation of the powers of his adversary, Doña Felipa (ibid.).

<i>Doña Felipa makinwan</i>	with Doña Felipa’s hand
<i>Doña Felipa kallpanwan</i>	with Doña Felipa’s strength

This semantic couplet creates a stark contrast to the opening lines of the *jaylli* which present a circus of verbal forms manipulating the verb “*atiy*” (‘to be able; capable of’).

As the bold *chichera* intones this *jaylli*, customers nervously eye a soldier who begins to stand up and move towards the center of the room. Their fears of reprisal are dispelled, however, when it turns out that the off duty official only wants to dance. The participation of the soldier in the festivities seems to embolden the singer even more. As if she could not feel content simply denying the strength of the *huayruru* in the initial verses, the final lines of the *chichera*’s improvised song shift to a direct attack on the unnamed soldier’s filthy, vapid nature. “*Huayruruy/huayrury*” [‘My soldier, my soldier’] she sarcastically coos (using the subtle possessive suffix [-y]) and then abruptly demands, “*imallamantas kaswanki*” [‘and just what are you made of?’]. The performer dares to answer her question in a most insulting fashion (albeit using carefully constructed semantic couplets) declaring, “*¡Way! titillamantas kask’ anki, / ¡Way!, karkallamantas kask’ anki*” [‘Ha! You are only made of lead / Ha! You are only made of cow pies] (ibid. 189). The scene further emphasizes the power of words in the struggle between the *chicheras* and the oppressive ruling groups within Abancay.

Rama discusses at length the importance of *huayno* music in terms of both the form and the content of Arguedas’ fiction:

. . . el tema profundo de un cuento o una novela pueda transitar, paralelamente al desarrollo de la narración, por la serie de ‘*huaynos*’ que se intercalan, los cuales lo reinterpretan líricamente al tiempo que lo trasladan a otro plano, de naturaleza simbólica, que es el que autoriza la comunicación con un universo de diferentes valores. (215)¹⁹

In *Los ríos profundos*, songs often appear in emotionally charged situations, in presenting each *huayno* or *jaylli*’s original Quechua lyrics along with the Spanish translation, Arguedas creatively resolves the complex task of expressing Quechua language dialogue within the context of a Spanish language novel. As evident in the above-cited song, the chichera expresses her anger and contempt for the civil guards without having to exchange any words with her enemy.

In both interviews and critical essays Arguedas often emphasized the richness of the Quechua oral tradition asserting, “ es una de las literaturas más bellas y estremecedoras de todos los tiempos, testimonio de su visión del hombre y de la tierra y del proceso de dominación y de resistencia, frecuentemente triunfante a esta dominación, a que estuvieron sometidos desde la invasión hispánica” (qtd. in Larco 27).²⁰ Arguedas’ use of song as an important vehicle for the expression of creative dissent should not surprise us then, for the author was a great champion of the Quechua oral tradition and a dedicated compiler and translator of Quechua language songs. In his prologue to the collection *El canto Kechwa* Arguedas asserts:

No encontré ninguna poesía que expresara mejor mis sentimientos que la poesía de las canciones kechwás. Los que hablamos este idioma sabemos que el kechwa supera el castellano en la expresión de algunos sentimientos que son los más característicos del corazón indígena: la ternura, el cariño, el amor a la naturaleza. (*El canto Kechwa* 10)

As we have seen above, Quechua songs also serve as powerful tools for attacking adversaries and contesting political, economic and cultural repression.

Yet what is the relationship between these women's profession as chicha brewers and their organization of this act of civil disobedience? Of course their skills as preparers of fermented corn beer do not directly prepare them for the organization of a successful protest against corrupt town leaders. Their jobs as chicheras do, however, provide them with the necessary economic, social and organizational strength to carry out such a protest. Additionally, working as the owners and employees of chicherías means that these women constantly circulate within an important space for socializing and exchanging news, ideas and gossip. Perhaps more importantly, the chicheras' economic independence gives them the necessary power, confidence and social clout to organize the uprising described in this chapter. Thus the chichera's occupation provides her with the necessary confidence, social ties and knowledge of local politics to organize this sort of protest.

While Doña Felipa and the other chicheras are certainly the most notorious and vocal cooks presented in *Los ríos profundos*, they are not the only important cooking characters represented within the text. In the final two chapters of the novel, the importance of the boarding school cook and her kitchen also in Ernesto's life becomes evident and in the penultimate chapter, Ernesto announces what the reader has already assumed, "la cocinera era mi amiga, de mí y de Palacitos" (Arguedas *Los ríos profundos* 198). The kindhearted cook offers her kitchen as a safe space in which weak and lonely characters such as Ernesto, Palacitos and the mentally ill Opa can find refuge and solace.

Ernesto's tendency to find comfort within the kitchen and amongst cooks becomes clear in the opening pages of the novel. When the *Viejo* decides to insult the

adolescent and his father by offering them accommodations within the Quechua servants' kitchen Ernesto asserts, "Yo no me sentía mal en esa habitación. Era muy parecida a la cocina en la que me obligaron a vivir en mi infancia; el cuarto oscuro donde recibí los cuidados, la música, los cantos y el dulcísima hablar de las sirvientas indias . . ." (10). This incident is key in establishing Ernesto's ambiguous position in the dialectical *misti* vs. *runa* Andean universe created within the novel. While his father feels insulted, Ernesto's personal history allows him to feel at home in the dingy kitchen. Ernesto describes the humble kitchen within the Viejo's estate in great detail:

Era una cocina para indios el cuarto que nos dieron. Manchas de hollín subían al techo desde la esquina donde había un a *tullpa* indígena, un fogón de piedras. Poyos de adobe rodeaban la habitación. Un catre de cadera tallada, con una especie de techo, de tela roja, perturbaba la humildad de la cocina. (ibid.)

This dark but familiar interior constructed of wood, stone and adobe reminds Ernesto of his childhood quarters and also resembles the boarding school with its "paredes negras" and "foco opaco, cubierto de manchas que las moscas dejaban" (ibid.198).

Nonetheless, he feels secure in these kitchens and amongst the women who work there.

In his *History of Cooks and Cooking* Symons asserts, ". . . while most novelists keep cooks in the background, they do tend to deal more than other creative artists with personal feelings, intimate relationships and everyday experiences. In their one-to-one form, novels are adapted to the private . . . to the extent that they actually do represent women's lives, they do not entirely ignore cooks (27-28). Given his own much publicized biography, it should not surprise us that Arguedas gives cooks important roles in this novel both as competent political figures in the public space and also as nurturing individuals within the private realm. The author's own discussion of his early years helps us to understand why he feels a special connection with Quechua cooks. In

a 1970 interview with Ariel Dorfman, the author places special importance on the moment when, as a small boy, his stepmother sent him to eat and sleep with the Quechua servants in the kitchen. Arguedas asserts, “Nunca le podré agradecer suficientemente a mi madrastra tal ‘castigo’, pues fue en esa cocina donde conocí a los indios, donde empecé a amarlos” (Larco 25). Thus, the experiences of the young Arguedas are echoed by Ernesto’s feelings of solace within the kitchens and amongst the cooks he encounters throughout the novel.

While the boarding school cook offers Ernesto refuge within her kitchen during his months in Abancay, she also accompanies him in one of the most emotionally infused scenes of the novel—the death of the Opa. When the entire world seems either to abuse or to cast away the Opa, the cook always allows the woman to rest in her kitchen. When it becomes clear that the Opa’s plague-induced death looms near, the kind cook prays “Our Father” in Quechua over the body of the pallid woman and asks the Christian god to deliver the Opa from further suffering. Ernesto and the cook somberly contemplate the body of the dead woman in silence before the adolescent rushes off to announce the contagious death to Padre Linares. Before being taken away by the Padre, Ernesto pleads with the cook to follow the Quechua custom of washing his clothes if he dies, instead of burning them; the cook receives this morbid request in silence (Arguedas *Los ríos profundos* 222).

A few days later—and despite Padre Linares’ own initial silence with regards to the health of the cook-- Ernesto assumes and guesses the worst: “¡Murió! —le dije; porque su respuesta, tan rápida, me pareció que lo delataba” (ibid. 234). Ernesto’s strong connection to the cook is further emphasized by his ability to presume the horrid

details of her lonely death. Padre Linares admits that she did die in isolation in the hospital and without asking Ernesto accurately provides the conclusion to the tragic story: “--Rapada; sin cabellera la enterraron” (ibid.). When the Padre asks how he came to know these details, the adolescent simply replies, “Por presentimiento, Padre”, for at this point there is little more that he can say (ibid.).

As demonstrated by the examples above, Arguedas presents a richly nuanced, multi-lingual representation of Quechua cooks and chicheras in *Los ríos profundos*. Through his careful manipulation of narrative point-of-view, detailed construction of character and complex and use of doubly inflected, bilingual dialogue and song, Arguedas introduces the reader to various political, economic, cultural and personal conflicts at a number of levels. Within the novel, meaning is constructed *outside* –with references to the political, economic and social contexts in which the novel unfolds and which inspire the active resistance of Abancay’s chicheras--, while more intimate, *inside* meanings associated with Ernesto’s personal relationship to cooks and their kingdoms of the kitchen, play an equally important role in the development of the narrative.

Representations of Chicheras and Chicherías in the photographs of Martín Chambi:

While Arguedas’ *Los ríos profundos* is undoubtedly the most aesthetically nuanced narrative representation of the political, economic, creative and affective power of Quechua cooks and chicheras, the photographs of Martín Chambi are certainly the most complex and beautiful visual depictions of Quechua cooks and their

food-universe. Chambi's images often depict chicheras, chicherías and the everyday consumption of food and drink in the city and surrounding regions of early to mid-twentieth century Cuzco. The meanings, contradictions and symbolism created and captured within these photographs will be the subject of the following pages.

In her collection of essays entitled *On Photography*, Susan Sontag presents her title subject as: a powerful and potentially dangerous art; a tool for capturing 'real' life and 'real' people in a particular historical moment and space; and an aesthetic form that concomitantly encourages the photographer's participation in and alienation from the surrounding world (Sontag 4). Like written texts, photographs are artistic creations carefully crafted and manipulated by the eye of an artist, although as viewers we tend to approach photographed images "not as statements about the world so much as pieces of it, miniatures of reality that anyone can make or acquire" (ibid.). Nevertheless, we must remember "the camera's rendering of reality must always hide more than it discloses" and that as in the case of interpreting a written text, a photograph also necessarily contains multiple meanings (ibid. 23). The interpreter of a photographic text should therefore listen to the advice offered by the image itself: "There is the surface. Now think—or rather feel, intuit—what is beyond it" (ibid.). One should also realize, "photographs, which cannot themselves explain anything, are inexhaustible invitations to deduction, speculation, and fantasy" (ibid.). This invitation tempts many of us, especially if we consider photographs as "a way of imprisoning reality" or as a trace, "something directly stenciled off the real, like a footprint . . ." (ibid. 163, 154). Of course a photograph's ability to 'imprison reality' depends on the skill of the

photographer's eye, her ability to capture a certain 'quality of presence', or even her creation of surprising juxtapositions or contrasts.

In the context of the early twentieth century indigenista movement in Cuzco, the Peruvian photographer Martín Chambi Jiménez sought to implement his art as a tool for 'imprisoning' the 'reality' of his Quechua subjects. Born in 1891 in the highland village of Cuaza in the department of Puno, Chambi first saw a camera as a young boy in the English owned Santo Domingo Mining Company near his home (Camp 223). Immediately enchanted with the instrument, he became determined to learn the art of photography and at the age of sixteen he arrived in the city of Arequipa with the intent of convincing the renowned commercial photographer Max T. Vargas to accept him as an apprentice (Huayhuaca 19). After their first meeting the master photographer agreed to assume guardianship of the adolescent and to teach him his art (ibid.). For the next decade Chambi worked in *Estudio Vargas* in the so-called "Ciudad Blanca"; first as an apprentice and later as an associate, the young photographer took portraits of Arequipa's middle and upper class residents (López Mondéjar 10-20). In 1918 Chambi moved to Sicuani for two years before establishing himself in Cuzco, where he worked as a successful artist and businessman, taking photographs for wealthy Cuzqueñan clients, postcard producers, Argentine newspapers and himself for the next thirty years (ibid.). After the devastating 1950 earthquake in Cuzco, however, Chambi published very few images²¹, although his work was exhibited in an international photography convention in México D.F. in 1964, in the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in 1979 and in various other international expositions in Zurich, París, London and Buenos Aires (ibid.).

Beginning with its mid-nineteenth century rise in the nascent form of the daguerreotype, photography has always been fascinated by the idea of capturing images that depict the luxury of social elites and misery of the impoverished” (Sontag 55). As an extension of the voyeuristic tendencies of the middle-class *flâneur*, the photographer sought to gaze upon the reality of his subject “with curiosity, with detachment, with professionalism, the ubiquitous photographer operates as if that activity transcends class interests, as if its perspective is universal” (ibid.). One renowned photographer who explicitly announced his intentions of transcending class interests and prejudices through the practice of his art was the early twentieth century German photographer August Sander. The photographic style of this great artist resembles many aspects of Chambi’s most well-known and admired images (the similarities between Sander’s work and that of Chambi is mentioned by several critics including López Mondejar 11; Huayhuaca 64-65; and Weismantel *Cholas and Pishtacos* 30). Sontag deftly describes Sander’s unique “look” as: “not unkind; it is permissive, unjudging... [he] was not looking for secrets; he was observing the typical” (59). While this ‘unjudging’ look is certainly characteristic of many Chambi photographs (“El juicio oral”, “Campesinos bebiendo chicha en ch’oqo” [both reprinted in Huayhuaca])²², it is in the unusually broad sweep of social classes represented in Sander’s photographs that his work most clearly reminds us of Chambi’s images. The sense that Sander adjusted his style to the social rank of the person he was photographing-- professionals and the rich tend to be photographed indoors, without props, while laborers and derelicts are usually photographed in a more ‘natural’ setting (often outdoors) (Sontag 60-61)—also recalls a similar tendency in Chambi’s compositions.²³ Despite their tendencies to adjust

photographic 'style' to particular subject, both artists became experts in training their gazes to resist and even to actively subvert stereotypical class, racial and gender (see for example Chambi's "Torera") categories prevalent in the societies in which they lived and worked.

As mentioned above, Chambi is best known for the comprehensiveness of his photographic history of Cuzco's social classes and tensions between the years 1920-1950. As mentioned above (see note vi), Cuzco became an important intellectual and economic center during these years which corresponded with local demands for decentralization and regional autonomy and president Augusto Leguía's projects of economic modernization known as "Patria Nueva" (Poole "Figuroa Aznar" 53). In the mid-1920s violent peasant uprisings swept through Cuzco's pastoral provinces, while in the city, indigenista leaders José Uriel García and Luís Valcárcel espoused their contrasting opinions regarding the correct 'path' for the contemporary "indio." In his *Tempestad en los Andes* (1927), Valcárcel argues for a return to the values of a pre-conquest Inca society, while in *El nuevo indio* (1930) Uriel García maintains that the colonial era actually encouraged racial improvement, so that instead of focusing on a revival of 'Incaic' traditions (as suggested by Valcárcel), the indigenistas should promote the emergence of a vibrant 'mestizo' culture. Chambi preferred Valcárcel's version of indigenismo and believed that photography should be conceived as a medium for providing a historical documentation of the rapidly disappearing 'authentic Andean Indian' (ibid. 62). This *modus operandi* as well as Chambi's description of his photographs as a "collection" of ethnic "types" correspond with Valcárcel's positivistic

methodologies calling for the scientific and ethnological study of the Inca past (Poole “Fotografía” 63).

While Chambi created carefully composed photographs in his Cuzco studio or in the opulent homes of his wealthy clients, some of his most memorable images depict subjects in the surroundings of their everyday lives:

en las haciendas de los señores de horca y cuchilla con sus siervos y sus concubinas, en las procesiones coloniales de muchedumbres contritas y ebrias y en esas tiznadas chicherías que otro cuzqueño ilustre de esos años, Uriel García, llamó ‘las cavernas de la nacionalidad’. (Vargas Llosa, in López Mondéjar 5)

If we consider Chambi’s representations of chicheras and chicherías in Cuzco during the early twentieth century as historical documents, we appreciate the photographs’ indications that at least some Quechua entrepreneurs attained a level of relative economic independence. Focusing on the photographs as artistic assemblages, one notes the manner in which Chambi seeks to represent chicheras as strong, independent and economically successful Quechua women who seem proud of their occupation and culture.

In a 1927 photograph entitled “Señoritas en la chichería” (reprinted in López Mondéjar), Chambi depicts a chichería patronized by unexpected clients. The photograph features four well-dressed young women perched upon the rustic chairs of a Cuzco chichería. The ladies’ elegant hats and bright white stockings contrast absurdly with the dingy floor and walls of the humble establishment.²⁴ The women’s body language only exacerbates our sense that they do not belong in the chichería. The two women clutching chicha glasses hold the large receptacles (one glass remains completely full and only a sip has been taken from the other) away from their dresses,

while the three pairs of legs most visible to the camera are carefully positioned so that only the tips of the ladies' shoes should touch the dirty floor.

The table sitting in the center of the frame is scattered with what appear to be crumbs and the two sardine cans lying on the table open their mouths wide for the camera, while one of the ladies pierces her fork into the can-- her own mouth remains firmly closed. Only one of the would-be merrymakers (she holds a small guitar in her

lap) grins a bit at the camera. The young boy at her side is dressed jauntily in a striped sailor top and matching knickers, a beanie in his hand. He looks

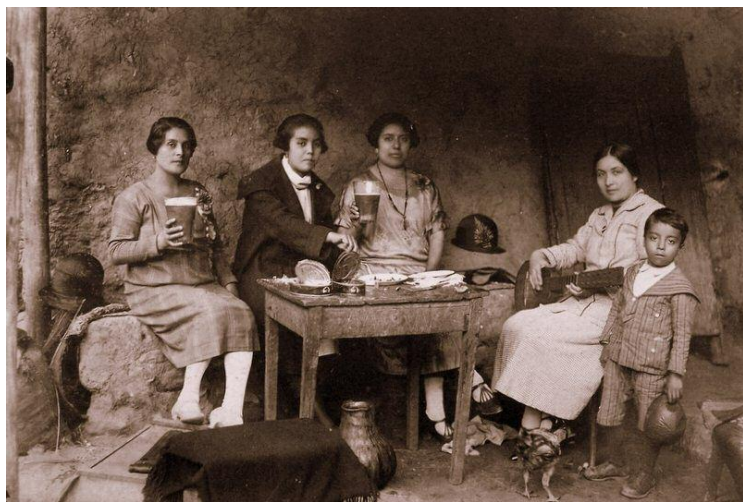


Figure 2: *Señoritas en la chichería*, 1927

confusedly at the camera, though it remains unclear whether he feels apprehensive about the photographic instrument or the locale? The apparent discomfort in the women's body language, as well as their own physical contrast with that of their setting, can only be explained by an accidental arrival at the chichería, or by their resolute decision to frequent the establishment. A consideration of the political and social context in which the photograph was 'taken' (or as Ansel Adams would prefer us to say, 'made') helps to explain the ladies' presence in the chichería. In order to better understand this photograph we should recall that in the Peruvian highlands of the

1920s, “...when a party of *damas* from Arequipa elected to visit a Cuzco chichería, they were engaged in more than a bold escapade outside their usual class milieu . . . these young women announced their allegiance to the *indigenismo* movement sweeping the Andes . . .” (Weismantel *Cholas and Pishtacos* 31).

If the previous photo presents a study of women located out of their element, the 1931 photograph entitled “Mestiza tomando chicha” (reprinted in López Mondejár; Suárez) depicts a woman who is decidedly comfortable with her seat, her surroundings and her beverage. Unlike the women in the above-described photograph, this woman holds her chicha glass close to her body; almost resting the tumbler upon her enormous skirt and woven money pouch. The tailored, imported finery of the ladies’ clothing in “Señoritas en la chichería” contrasts sharply with the flowing abundance of the mestiza’s *lliqlla*-shawl and



Figure 3: “Mestiza tomando chicha”, 1931

skirts. These garments are made of cloth spun from textured animal fibers, as opposed to the smooth glossiness of the señoritas’ dresses.

The corners of the mestiza’s mouth are ever so slightly turned upward as she stares into the camera. As in the narrative description of Doña Felipa discussed above, the eyes of this mestiza also remain almost imperceptible-- only a slice of the whites of her eyes peeks out from behind the creases. Indeed, the eyes of the ‘mestiza’ and of the

'señoritas' contrast decidedly. The latter's open wide as they look straight into the camera; eyes and bodies (perched precariously upon stone or adobe benches) remain alert, as if ready to jump up at a moment's notice and flee. The mestiza does not appear ready to move at all; the roundness of her skirt (with its horizontal stripe at the base) matches the form, shading and width of the stripe crossing the wooden barrel at her side and of the round woven basket propped up behind her. This is a woman who enjoys a break during the day, but who seems comfortable and content both with herself and her surroundings. The titles of both of these photographs also take care to explain the sort of subjects depicted in the images. While the "mestiza" is defined by her action, "tomando chicha", the señoritas are introduced by the incongruity of their location, "en la chichería"-- whether or not they will actually drink the chicha in their hands is not addressed in the title and is indeed uncertain.

In a photograph taken in the same year as "Señoritas en la chichería", a row of six runa crouch in front of their adobe and thatch house, sharing chicha from two tin cups served by a woman who shows only her back to the camera. Of the three women who make their faces visible to the camera, two are laughing together and sharing a tumbler of chicha, while an older woman holds onto the toddler (who looks ready to flee). We can also perceive the faces of two men with serious countenances and stiff, upright postures—shoulders remain pushed back and eyes look directly into the camera. The women have assumed a more hunched down posture and seem much more interested in their own conversation than in looking at the camera. The woman distributing the chicha from a large earthenware jar sits in front of the row of campesinos in her role as the distributor of chicha to her friends and/or family. It

appears that Chambi has photographed this group in front of their own house (or maybe the neighbor's) and even the camera-conscious men seem much more relaxed than any of the "señoritas."

This image also illustrates the communal aspect of the chicha break, as the runa imbibe the brew from shared cups, they chat with each other while waiting their turn for a sip. Like the depiction of the "mestiza" whose own body and clothing seem to reflect and transition into the forms and textures of the photograph's background, the "campesinos" sit upon the ground and against the house, a physical indication of their comfortable relationship to their surroundings. In fact, in Chambi's depictions of runa mealtimes or chicha breaks, he unfailingly reveals the communal, relaxed atmosphere of the repasts. In these photographs, men and women sit on the ground, smiling and chatting as they share their food.²⁵

As discussed in the introduction, food can often be equated with language since both pertain to systems of communication in which their ordered appearance and protocol of usages carry certain nuances in certain situations (Barthes 21-22). In the representation of a runa meal in this photograph, Chambi includes various aspects of 'food as a system of communication' as understood within the Quechua culture. For instance, a runa viewing this photograph would likely infer that the woman serving chicha was the owner of the house and that the those who are receiving her beverage have probably just finished working on one of her family's agricultural plots. In exchange for their efforts (and according to Quechua cultural codes), the neighbors/relatives have stopped by her house to enjoy a bit of conversation and refreshing chicha. In this silent representation of a runa meal food communicates a

wealth of information regarding the relationships, activities and interests of the subjects depicted.

Taken in the year 1930, Chambi's "Vendedora de Chicha en Quiquijana" (reprinted in Huayhuaca) portrays a *runa* alcohol vendor as a successful and independent businesswoman. Although the chichera's facial expression is certainly less content and confident than that of the woman in "Mestiza tomando chicha", the composition of the shot and its ability to focus the eyes of the viewer lead us to feel respect for this chichera. This chichera stands erectly alongside her wares—an earthenware chicha jug and jars, with her *montera* propped up against her jug. The double layers of her *lliclla*-- held closed with a large silver *tupu* clasp-- and her finely detailed woven vest and blouse cuffs reveal her success as a businesswoman. As in the case of the "Mestiza tomando chicha" the patterns of this chichera's clothing correspond to the lines and coloring of her surroundings. In this photograph, the intricate patterns of the young woman's *lliclla* draw our eyes down to the similar play of dark/light contrasts of the



Figure 4: "Vendedora de Chicha en Quiquijana", 1930

woven ropes tied around her chicha jug. The river, bridge and houses that fill the background of the photograph remain out of focus, thus forcing the viewer's eye to concentrate on the chichera who is perfectly centered within the frame. She stands as a

confident and successful young woman who feels secure in her milieu. Although the chichera has clearly stopped to pose for the camera, the shot contains none of the falseness and discomfort revealed in the photograph of ‘señoritas’ in the chichería.

If the posed, studio photographs taken by Chambi for his urban, bourgeois clients often revealed a sense of rigid, insincere posturing (see for example, the well-known and almost sinister 1930 photograph “La boda de Gadea”), his visual representations of *runa* (either posed or spontaneous) reveal proud, successful subjects who feel comfortable and confident in their surroundings. As Huayhuaca asserts, Chambi’s portraits of *runa* “. . . retratados individualmente en esas circunstancias, era conferirles una dignidad y una relevancia insólitas, era ir contra la corriente ideológica que tendía a disminuirlos o escotomizarlos” (50). While Chambi’s visual representations of chicheras and farmers depict dignified and self-assured subjects-- both in their everyday lives and on special occasions—Arguedas’ representation of chicheras focuses on their verbal and organizational cunning and in their unwavering dedication to their leader and their goal-- even in the face of verbal and physical assaults. Through both the form and the content of their compositions, these two artists suggest that their Quechua subjects possess intimate knowledge (political, entrepreneurial and sociological) of their communities, neighbors and workplaces.

Representations of Cooking and the Path Towards Economic Independence in a Quechua Testimonio:

So far this chapter has presented examples of the positive representations of economic, political and personal power attained by Quechua cooks within the artistic

genres of the novel and photography. The Quechua language testimonio *Autobiografía*, narrated by Asunta Quispe Huamán and Gregorio Condori Mamani, also provides a unique representation of a Quechua woman's struggle to attain socioeconomic independence through the 'outside' marketing of her culinary skills. The genre of the testimonial narrative or *testimonio* is a relatively recent addition to the Quechua oral tradition. The testimonio is generally understood as "a form of collective autobiographical witnessing that gives voice to oppressed peoples" (Gelles 3). It is a multi-authored text in which a 'speaker' replaces a traditional 'author' as the principal creator who narrates his or her story to a 'listener' who transcribes, edits and publishes the narrative (ibid.). The 'listener' is of course literate, while the 'speaker' is most often illiterate and impoverished, thus leading to all of the complications and contradictions of "high and low culture, dominant and emergent social formations, dominant and subaltern languages" (Beverley *De/Colonizing the Subject*99). Additionally, Beverley describes the genre as including written narratives whose extension approximates that of a novel or novelle and which is narrated in the first person by a 'speaker' who either witnessed or lived the recounted events (ibid. 92).

The complexities involved in creating, reading and interpreting testimonios stem from their polyvocalic, collaborative nature; their ambiguous status as primarily *oral* narrations subsequently transferred to the *written* page; as well as the fact that their 'editor' / 'listener' (who usually belongs to the hegemonic, educated elite and is alternately referred to as: 'collaborator', 'transcriber' or 'co-author') nearly always relates the lives of groups or individuals held subordinate to a hegemonic ruling group (due to the 'speaker's' gender, ethnicity, race, or class). Debates regarding these issues

abound in critical articles and texts, yet for the purposes of the following discussion of *Autobiografía*, only a brief mention of these theoretical dialogues will be necessary²⁶.

When considering *Autobiografía* --as is the case with any testimonio-- the interpreter must take into account the extensive processes of interviewing, transcribing and editing involved in the creation of the text. As Marcone reminds us, “la repetición fiel de un discurso ajeno es una ilusión o, mejor dicho, una convención . . . en la medida en que toda enunciación es un evento que ocurre en un tiempo y en un espacio, un acto verbal es único en términos históricos y no puede volver a ocurrir nuevamente” (83; see also Davies 16). In addition to this problem of achieving a precise reiteration of a verbal enunciation, this goal is doubly fraught by the complications involved in the mediation and transfer of the spoken-word performance to the inherently silent written text. Like many testimonios, *Autobiografía* relates the myths, traditions and life stories of ‘speakers’ who belong to a primarily oral culture and whose creative traditions are disseminated not through written texts, but through oral performance. Thus, “La principal dificultad para el estudio de estas literaturas, se cifra en su insoslayable vinculación con una serie de prácticas no escriturales: prácticas lingüísticas, religiosas o rituales, arte verbal” (Lienhard 99).

This testimonio (in addition to the other examples of Quechua oral narratives discussed in chapter four) can be considered both as a part of the Quechua oral tradition and as an example of what Lienhard terms “literatura escrita alternativa” (hereafter, ‘alternative written literature’). For the purposes of this study, texts pertaining to the Quechua oral tradition will be understood as those based not on fixed texts reproduced in written form, but those that persist and are shared by means of the memory of a

collective group or of a specialist in a certain oral tradition (ibid. 274). Songs, stories, myths and poems pertaining to the Quechua oral tradition can be considered as: “Latente en la memoria de sus portadores, el texto verbal—que es sólo un aspecto de un texto múltiple: verbal, musical, gestual—se actualiza oralmente, en general públicamente, y es memorizado en tal oportunidad por una nueva ‘generación’ de depositarios y de la tradición” (ibid. 274-275). As mentioned above, these oral texts are constantly enriched and altered according to the context and audience for which they are performed.²⁷

Many of the stories, myths, beliefs and songs narrated by Asunta and Gregorio in *Autobiografía* also refer or pertain to a wider repertoire of texts in the Quechua oral tradition. Furthermore, the entire testimonio taken as a whole can be understood as an example of ‘alternative written literature’, which Lienhard defines as a postmodern category of Latin American literature (and arguably North American as well, as evidenced by the work of such authors as Sherman Alexie, Leslie Marmon Silko and Louise Eldrich) characterized by: “textos que se relacionan, de algún modo, con los universos orales de los primeros habitantes del continente, de sus descendientes directos (‘los indios’) o indirectos (los ‘mestizos’) (32). These texts include Mesoamerican codices, colonial epistolary literature (chronicles, letters, memories), as well as contemporary written and oral narratives (poetry, stories, novels). Lienhard posits that all ‘alternative written literature’ is characterized by, to a greater or lesser extent, a ‘double determination’; the first part of this double identity corresponds to the ‘depository of oral memory’ (the ‘owner(s) of —often collective-- knowledge’), while the second identity refers to the ‘owner of writing’ (corresponding to the ‘official’

author of the completed text, who controls its organization, contents and even tone) (ibid. 127). This ‘double determination’ is particularly evident in testimonios when the ‘owner of knowledge’ (referred to above by Gelles as the ‘speaker’) is explicitly identified.

While Lienhard cites examples of Arguedas’ novels and contemporary Quechua written poetry as his primary examples of ‘alternative written literature’, clearly testimonios such as *Autobiografía* also contain this identifying characteristic of ‘double determination’. As evidenced in the close-readings that follow, *Autobiografía* exemplifies the complex, postmodern quality of a “heterogeneous” text whose unique configuration reveals “la presencia semiótica del conflicto étnico-social: yuxtaposición o interpenetración de lenguajes, formas poéticas y concepciones cosmológicas de ascendencia indo-mestiza o europea” (ibid. 16). For all of these reasons then, *Autobiografía* can be understood as ‘alternative written literature’ that also pertains to the Quechua oral tradition.

A close-reading of the second section of *Autobiografía* offers a unique opportunity for understanding the role played by food and cooking in the life of a Quechua woman. Asunta’s culinary skills provide her with the necessary tools for ordering the individual turmoil that plagues her during many points in her life. While it doesn’t deliver her from poverty, Asunta’s ability to attract regular clients to her prepared food stalls serves her well, providing both emotional and economic independence throughout her life. Asunta’s ability to cook is the first and most marketable skill that she can depend on throughout her life. Cooking provides Asunta with money that allows for her economic survival and with a sense of pride that

supports her emotionally. Asunta's culinary career begins with her employment to an evil schoolteacher after first arriving in Cuzco, then in the home of a kind family in San Blas, next during a stint at a cook house in Santa Ana, later at the construction sites and mining camp alongside an abusive first husband, and finally in Cuzco once again—first as a separated woman and later while living with Gregorio. Asunta never mentions how she learned to cook, but like many of the women who sell meals in Cuzco's central market, it is likely that she learned by observing her mother and sisters while they worked in both the priests' and family's kitchen.

After having followed her first husband Eusebio to an inhospitable construction site near Arequipa, Asunta manages to sustain herself as a professional cook, even though Eusebio remains both economically and emotionally unsupportive. Asunta explains her first weeks at the camp:

wachakusqay qhepaman qhali kashaspañan, wayk'uyta qallarini pisqa peonman pensionta qospa: almuerzota cenaytawan. Chayá manaña ñawpaq hinañachu kani. Centavokuna ganakusqaywan ña gastoypa karanña hinaspan manaña paypa bolsillontañachu qhawallayaq kani. Khaynan allin de lo mejor kasharayku . . . (103)

Once I felt well again after giving birth, I began cooking daily meals for five workers: lunch and dinner. Now things weren't like before. With the centavos I was making, now I had enough for my expenses, so now I no longer had to always keep an eye on his pockets. So everything was good, we were doing very well . . . (my translation)²⁸

In this passage, Asunta eloquently expresses her sense of relief by subtly contrasting the couple's current economic situation with her memory of their previous struggles.

Impossible to adequately translate into the English, the repeated use of the enclitic suffix *-ña* in Asunta's narration (here she uses it seven times in just four lines)

concomitantly suggests her sense of exhaustion and her thankfulness for a respite from

financial pressures. In the above translation, I have rendered the suffix (and at times, independent particle) ‘ña’ as ‘now’. The repeated appearance of this same suffix in such a concentrated space, however, suggests a meaning of the more emotionally infused, ‘finally’. The grammatical structure of the English language, however, does not allow for the creation of either the subtly --the suffix ‘ña’ must be rendered as the stand-alone adverb ‘now’—or the measured cadence of the Quechua original. Whereas ‘ña’ appears seven times in the Quechua version, the English approximation ‘now’ is used only twice in the translated passage since in many cases, there is simply no place in English syntax to locate what in Quechua functions as a subtle, adverbial marker.

Once Eusebio’s drunkenness leads to his dismissal at the construction site, the couple heads towards Juliaca without a clear notion of where life will lead them next. The importance of her role as a cook is once again reflected in the fact that the only possessions she chooses to carry on the journey are her baby and her cooking pots: “*waway q’epiyusqa, mankaykuna montoyusqa karani*” (105) (“carrying my baby and with my cooking pots all in a pile.”).²⁹ A few days later when her husband announces his intentions to travel to a mining camp in search of work, Asunta uses her pots as capital in order to buy food for the trip. Decades later, Asunta still recalls the exact quantities of goods she was able to purchase with this money:

*Noqapas tawantin mankaykunamanta, kinsata vendepuni chhayna
usasqakunata Juliaca plazapi; chaywantaqmi rantirayku arrozta huk media
arrobata, gallon aceite comerta, hoq gallon kerosenetawan, chay llipinmi
q’epiyku karan viajeykupaq”* (ibid.)

I also sold three of my four used pots there at the Juliaca market and with that we bought half an arroba [about twelve pounds] of rice, a gallon of cooking oil and a gallon of kerosene; all of this we carried on our journey.

After the couple moves to some nearby mines in search of work, Eusebio begins to complain about his wife's cooking. Once again, Asunta's memory provides her with a precision recollection of her former husband's violent outbursts:

. . . carajeawaq mikhuna wayk'usqatataq wikch'uyukoq, uyayman hich'aywanankama: --Alqo warmi, carajo! Alqoykipaq hina wayk'unki. Toma, carajo! Rakray!—Khaynatan uyayman hich'awaq. (105)

. . . criticizing me for the food I cooked, he'd throw it out, or even hurl it in my face: -- Dammit Bitch! You cook as if I were your dog. Take this, dammit! Wolf it down!--. And with that he would hurl it at my face.

At this point in her life, however, Asunta has cooked professionally for many clients and does not doubt her culinary skills. Instead, she immediately attributes her husband's abuse and criticisms to his sufferings in the mines: “Seguro llank'ananmi sasa kanman karan phiñasqalla kananpaq . . .” (106). (“Surely his job must have been really difficult for him to act so angry . . .”).

When Eusebio's abuse becomes too much to bear, Asunta realizes her error in remaining with him for so long and she decides to leave him:

'Imataq vidari kanman, mana kay qhareq ladonmanta t'aqakapunaypaqri, maki, chakiyqa kantaq, simiy rimanapaq, ñawiy qhawanapaq? Acaso such'uchu kani? Kay makikunapas cocinata ruwantaq!'—nispa. (107)

Saying—‘What sort of life is this, if I am unable to separate myself from this man's side, if I have hands, feet, my mouth to speak with, my eyes to see with? What am I, a cripple? These hands also make meals!’.

Gelles and Martínez Escobar unnecessarily remove the eloquent semantic couplet (underlined above) in their translation of this passage. Also, their translation of Asunta's final exclamation, “These hands here make all the meals” suggests her role as the sole cook within the couple's household, as if to say that her hands make all of ‘the family's’ meals (125). This allusion is absent in the Quechua version and it seems

important to retain Asunta's declaration that her hands *do* (*ruwantaq*) the work of preparing meals. Thus, in this passage Asunta reminds herself of her worth as an 'outside cook', in addition to preparing meals at home ('inside') for Eusebio, she also works as a professional cook outside the home. This is an important distinction since it is in this section of her narrative that Asunta consciously recognizes the value of her cooking knowledge. Her experience as an 'outside cook' can provide her with enough income to survive as an independent woman and allow her to escape from the abusive Eusebio. In declaring that in addition to possessing the attributes of any healthy woman (hands, feet and a mouth that work properly) she also has two experienced, *cooking* hands, thus this moment in her narrative foreshadows the decision that she is on the verge of making.

Asunta's faith in her cooking skills gives her the courage to escape from an abusive first husband and upon arrival in Cuzco she quickly finds a job in a *picantería* in the neighborhood of Wanchaq.³⁰ The kitchen in this *picantería* becomes a life saver in more ways than when since in addition to sustaining Asunta economically, her workplace provides the necessary warmth to save the life of her daughter Catalina. The infant girl is born prematurely, only a few months after Asunta escapes from Eusebio. Born in the kitchen soon after Asunta finishes preparing a batch of *chicha*, the tiny baby manages to survive and grow alongside the warm fire of the *picantería* stove. Catalina is the only one of her seven children who reaches adulthood and Asunta remembers this birth as a particularly traumatic event. Perhaps not surprisingly—given the context in which the child was born-- Asunta describes the event with culinary

metaphors when recalling the shocking fragility of her newborn infant and her miraculous survival:

Llamiyusqa seda monton chhullmiroq hinaman rikch'akoqraq. Umachanpas papaya poqosqamanta aswan ñapuchallaña . . . wañuyta platon kashaspa, wañuyta desafian. (108)

And in this way she could still fall apart-- like a pile of silk, a hand passed over could still destroy her. Also, her little head, like an overly ripened papaya, so very soft . . . again she was served upon death's plate and again she escaped.

The tenderness with which Asunta relates this maternal memory is only partially reflected in the English translation. Asunta uses precise grammatical inflections and striking imagery and metaphors to express both her affection for her vulnerable infant and her pride that like her mother, the child has survived against all odds.

The narrator's choice of verb which evoke rich imagery (*llamiyuy*, 'to pass one's hand over something'; *poqoy*, 'to ripen, or mature'), as well as her precise use of affixes to inflect both verbs and nouns with detailed nuances make this passage one of the most poignant moments of the testimonio. In the first line: "*Llamiyusqa seda monton chhullmiroq hinaman rikch'akoqraq*", Asunta uses the continuative suffix 'raq' or 'roq' (translated as the adverb 'still') on two occasions. The repeated use of the suffix suggests that although the hazards of birth have been overcome and the child has been delivered into the world with life, danger's shadow still lurks upon the horizon. In the next line, Asunta describes one of the risks she has in mind when she compares her newborn's 'little head' to that of an 'overly ripened papaya', and laments that it is 'so very soft', (*ñapuchallaña*). Asunta loads the word *ñapuchallaña* with a string of three affixes which help her to express the tenderness she feels for her infant. Once again, English grammar simply does not allow the translator to convey the nature of these

maternal feelings with the same intensity and eloquence expressed in the original passage. Specifically, the adjectival construction *ñapu-cha-lla ña* includes the diminutive (and affectionate infix) *-cha-* (the equivalent of the Spanish *-ito/-ita*); the affectionate infix *-lla* and the adverbial suffix *-ña* (which in this case means ‘very’ since it is preceded by *-lla*). When considered all together, these affixes infuse the word with a concentrated yet subtle sentiment that is difficult to express in non-agglutinating languages.

Food and cooking also play significant roles in other major events in Asunta’s life, such as her early separation from her mother (she leaves home after accidentally tipping over a canister of the priest’s milk and subsequently incurring her mother’s wrath, 94-95), as well as her courtship with Gregorio. Asunta first meets Gregorio while working as a cook in a Cuzco picantería, “*aqhata ruwaspa extrakunata wayk’uspa*” (110) (‘making chicha and cooking snack dishes’). Gregorio’s courtship strategy is clearly food-centered. According to Asunta, he begins by treating her to chicha at her own workplace, progresses to bringing her and little Catalina pork rinds and pastries (although Asunta wryly notes, “*Pero tiyaq ripusqayku p’unchaymanta pachan mana pastel ni chicharron kanchu*”/ ‘But since the day we began to live together, there are no more pastries or pork rinds’) and culminates in an invitation to join him for an outing to the Corpus Christi celebration in the nearby district of San Sebastián (ibid.).³¹ Although the proposed visit to San Sebastián never occurs, the pair does end up in another of Cuzco’s picanterías where Asunta clearly remembers:

. . . iskay otaq kinsa platotachu sina mikhuyku. Chay platokunataqmi mana allin wayk’usqa karan, mana puntonpichu aderezasqa pero chicharronkunaqa allin kasqa, chaymi may chikan turiyaspa ninin: --‘Qan engañawaranki, mana allin wayk’usqa iskay platota mikhuyachiwaspa’. (109, 110)

. . . we ate two or three dishes. Those dishes weren't cooked well, not properly seasoned, but the pork rinds were good, that's why I often pester him jokingly: --'You tricked me, making me eat two dishes that weren't cooked well'.

Like any professional, Asunta compares her own skills to those of her competitors and as her reflections and comments reveal, the buying, selling, preparation and consumption of food and drink play important economic and social roles in the lives of Quechua men and women.

The manner in which Asunta describes her various cooking ventures reveals these entrepreneurial undertakings as a definite source of pride. She relates in great detail the initial invitation she received from other *chupi qhatu* women to sell prepared meals at the Cascaparo market in Cuzco.³² Asunta recalls the initial dearth of customers and then relates her afternoon success on that first day of business when so many people asked for seconds that she ran out of food (112). She recounts that soon after beginning work as a *chupi qhatu*, the success of her business began to surpass that of her friends, so that after securing a formal agreement to cook regularly for several clients, she moved to a less envious corner of the market.

Quechua women who work as market vendors and cooks enjoy a degree of independence that other readily available jobs such as domestic service (often impossible to secure for women with children) certainly lack. For instance, cooking in the market gives women freedom in making many decisions regarding their business:

They can decide with whom they are going to do business and also how they are going to fix their prices. At the same time, the arrival at the market of other vendors, gives them the opportunity to exchange experiences and communicate with people of other communities, although it has been noted that there is competition among them to gain a certain steady clientele and to occupy the best places for the sale of their products. (Yeager 196)

Asunta narrates her accomplishments as a professional cook with a sense of satisfaction noting: “*Pero negocio ruwasqay p’unchaymanta kunankama mana imaymanapaqñachu Gregorio wasallan. Ña noqapas imayna centavokunallatapas sut’uchimuniña wiksaykupaq*” (‘But since the day I’ve been working in this business until today, no longer does Gregorio’s back alone have to support us’) (113). Yet the economic success achieved by Asunta in her cooking business does not last for long and in the paragraphs following her triumphant recollections, she describes the abusive and unjust treatment of market vendors and cooks when faced with the wrath of municipal police.³³

As in Gregorio’s narrative, Asunta clearly believes that the economic situation of Peruvian society in the 1970s (the ‘present’ during which the couple relates the story of their lives to Valderrama and Escalante) has become much bleaker than in decades past. Thus she laments that with regards to her previously flourishing food business, “*Kunanqa manañan negocio resultanñachu, lliw recadokunan cielokunapiraq mana ganancia kanñachu*” (‘Now it just doesn’t turn a profit, the prices of all ingredients are sky high, there are no earnings’) (115-116). Although near the end of her life Asunta insists that if she felt stronger she would start a business selling used clothes at the *Baratillo* flea market, her profession as a cook clearly filled her with pride throughout much of her life. Indeed, she even apprentices her daughter Catalina to a former employer in a Cuzco chichería, thus teaching the young girl that with a certain amount of skill and luck, a Quechua woman can support herself through her cooking. Although the testimonio narrated by Asunta is filled with depressing memories of abuse, hunger, poverty and forced servitude, the manner in which she represents the role of cooking in

her life does not conjure up memories of servitude and confinement, but recalls instead, a sense of economic independence and pride in having achieved a degree of self-sufficiency for herself and her daughter.

Asunta's verbal eloquence in relating her life story to Valderrama and Escalante (and indirectly to thousands of readers in the transcribed form of the written testimonio) provides an example of the ways in which culinary knowledge can provide Quechua women with a 'tactic' for carrying out acts of resistance in their daily lives. Faith in her cooking skills fuels this resistance and helps Asunta to escape from an abusive husband, to insist on providing for herself after remarriage, to confront a cruel municipal agent with her characteristic pluck and to convince an aloof local priest to hand over the marriage certificate she needs in order to apply for a market cook's license. In the testimonio narrated by Asunta and in the representations of chicheras in *Los ríos profundos* and in the Chambi photographs, cooking serves as a tool for achieving economic power. This financial stability helps these 'outside cooks' to attain domestic stability and independence, personal self-respect and in the case of Arguedas' novel, political and social authority.

¹ The information contained in this paragraph was obtained by more than twenty separate interviews with both female and male cooks working in Cuzco's luxury and tourist-oriented restaurants, small working-class restaurants and chicherías, as well as sidewalk and market food stalls and weekend 'food fairs' held in the working class neighborhoods of San Sebastián and San Jerónimo located on the outskirts of the city. The interviews were carried out between the months of June and November, 2005 and were not audio taped at the request of many of the interviewees.

² Although self-employed cooks who sell food from sidewalk, food fair, or market stalls generally report a slightly higher net profit than those women working in another's kitchen (the former earning an average of 25 soles per day as compared to the latter's average of 18-20 soles per day), they also risk losing money on a bad business day and do not receive 'free' leftovers at the end of the workday. Nearly 95% of the female cooks interviewed affirmed that their current job gave them more satisfaction (many mentioned the advantages of being able to chat with fellow cooks while working), more economic stability and less occupational-related health problems and stress than previous jobs (such as: clothing vendors in city flea markets, laundresses, ambulatory vendors and domestic servants).

³ Certeau's explanation of the multifaceted talents and tactics deployed by culture echo many of the characteristics of *métis* and describe qualities which Quechua cooks must acquire and perfect in order to protect their creative and independent space carved out of the surrounding hegemonic landscape.

⁴ It seems clear that women have been the sole elaborators of chicha in the Andes (and sellers during colonial and contemporary times) since the pre-colombian era. Guaman Poma makes this clear in his repeated denunciation of the time-consuming task carried out only by women: "Los dichos yndios de este rreyno con la chicha que sacan las dichas pobres yndias . . . Con esto le mete en tanto trauajo a las pobres yndias" (2: 840).

⁵ While most chicherías offer courtesy snacks called *picantes* (usually small portions of vegetable dishes made from ch'ño, tarwi, quinua, or papa and served with spicy the *uchukuta* sauce) and several daily 'extras' (often the choices include an organ meat broth with papas and rice, stuffed rocoto pepper, the thick, spicy *capchis* stew, or *papa helada* stuffed with cheese), most patrons are primarily interested in ordering a *caporal* (half liter glass) of freshly brewed chicha.

⁶ The alcoholic content of most batches of chicha varies between 2-12 percent, with the average batch containing between 3-5 percent alcohol. Generally, the stronger the alcohol content the more esteemed the chicha and since fermentation slows at high altitude with low humidity, most highland chicheras try to allow their chicha to ferment for at least two weeks (Vokral 202).

⁷ Santiago Antúnez de Mayolo suggests that in addition to the ritual and social significance of chicha, the consumption of this fermented corn beverage also helps to avoid the spread of water born illnesses (since boiling and fermenting the liquid destroys parasites and bacteria) and also provides vital calories and nutrients (40). For more detailed descriptions of the complex process required for the production of chicha, see Hugh Cutler and Martín Cárdenas and Elena Llosa. See John Super for a discussion and bibliographic references to colonial travelers who praise chicha in their journals as a nutrient rich, healthy beverage which contributes to the "healthy, strong, and robust" appearance of Quechua Indians throughout the Andes (76-77). See Morris for a discussion of the economic, political and religious significance of chicha consumption in the pre-colonial Andes ("Maize Beer" 21-35).

⁸ *Indigenismo* refers to the pan-Latin American intellectual movement of the early twentieth century. This movement espoused the goal of defending indigenous populations and agitating for political and cultural reforms (at both the regional and national levels) that were based on 'indigenous cultural forms' as conceived by mestizos and urban intellectuals (Poole "Figueroa Aznar" 52). The height of this movement in Cuzco took place between 1910-1930, thus encompassing some of Chambi's most active years as a visual artist. See also de la Cadena for a detailed discussion of Cuzco's particular brand of *Indigenismo*.

⁹ In *Autobiografía* the title narrator presents a clear example of the importance of the chichera for rural travelers. Gregorio relates that after leaving jail and arriving in the unfamiliar town of Urcos he immediately went to the local chichería and offered to treat the chichera to a drink. The primary motive for showing such generosity was his need to obtain information regarding possible travel companions for the dangerous journey to Cuzco. He knew that more than anyone else in town, the chichera would likely be able to introduce him to probable travel cohorts (Valderrama and Escalante *Autobiografía* 61). Later

in his narrative, Gregorio relates the tale of the lord of Huanca's original appearance. Gregorio claims that when the man Pedro Arias first arrived in Cuzco in hopes of finding a runa who could lead him to the lord's town of Huanca-Huanca, he headed straight for the nearest chichería where he did indeed meet a suitable guide (ibid. 69-70).

¹⁰ In this chapter, cook will be understood as referring to both the preparer of food *and* the preparer of chicha (the chichera).

¹¹ In *Los ríos profundos*, however, the chicheras' reaction to the oppressive practices of their town's racist, patriarchal leaders is of course anything but a 'silent rebellion'.

¹² For a discussion of these problems in the context of nineteenth and twentieth Peruvian history see Sandoval and Sandoval (xxv-xxxi).

¹³ Critics have noted that the rebellions presented in these two chapters could actually stand alone as fully developed episodes, arguing that they retain their integrity even as autonomous narratives in terms of their descriptions of complex characters, events and climaxes (see: Yurkievich in Larco 249; Castro-Klarén 149-51; Rama 261).

¹⁴ Taqui Onqoy was a sixteenth century indigenous movement which provided a serious challenge to colonial authority. Its leaders admonished Quechua men and women not to attend Catholic mass, eat Spanish foods, speak the Spanish language, or wear European garments (Millones 87).

¹⁵ The narrative point-of-view in this chapter alternates between the first person singular and plural, whereas the first person singular dominates the previous six chapters. As Cornejo Polar points out, this ambiguity of voice signals Ernesto's uncertainty as to whether he belongs within or (and?) outside the group of rebellious chicheras (*Los universos narrativos* 138). Often when Ernesto feels out of place within a particular social situation he finds comfort in his musings about nature. In the celebratory atmosphere of the chicherías following Doña Felipa's successful uprising, the adolescent recalls: "Yo quedé fuera del círculo, mirándolos, como quien contempla pasar la creciente de esos ríos andinos de régimen imprevisible; tan secos, tan pedregosos . . ." (Arguedas *Los ríos profundos* 111).

¹⁶ In a footnote Arguedas explains that this is the nickname given to Peruvian Civil Guards because of the color of their uniforms (*Los ríos profundos* 153). The huayruru is a tiny, red and black seed often used in *despacho* offerings prepared for Andean gods or for jewelry; carrying or wearing a huayruru seed is said to bring a person good luck and protection.

¹⁷ The improvised songs performed by Quechua singers in this chapter exemplify many of the characteristics presented by Ong in his studies of song performance in predominantly oral cultures. According to this theorist's precepts, the chichera's capacity for improvising lyrics pertaining to local events (Felipa's flight and the soldiers' inability to catch her) is achieved through a "remembrance of songs sung" and through the interaction between the singer's and the audience's memories of Quechua songs performed in the past (Ong "Oral Remembering" 18). The chichera's adeptness for creating pertinent, humorous lyrics (many of which conform to the Quechua poetic device of parallel structure) can therefore be explained by Ong's account of the composition processes mastered by performers in oral cultures. He asserts that the performer of an oral tradition relies on her knowledge of certain themes and formulas pertaining to the oral tradition of her culture, as well as her own skills: " 'rhapsodizing', stitching together formulas and themes in various orders triggered by the specific occasion in which the remember is remembering" (ibid. 21).

¹⁸ The English translations of the Quechua text in this section are my own.

¹⁹ Rama presents this assertion (as well as the others cited below) as an example of his notion of 'transculturación narrativa'—contemporary Latin-American narratives (written by authors such as Arguedas, Roa Bastos, Rulfo and Guimarães Rosa) whose most original and innovative characteristics are drawn from the poetic and ideological tradition belonging to the marginalized, 'vanquished' populations of the continent (primarily rural, poor, and indigenous). In *La voz y su huella* Lienhard expresses a similar sentiment when he asserts: "La escritura indo-mestiza moderna, aparentemente cercana—al menos cuando elige un idioma europea para expresarse—a la de los textos latinoamericanos europeizados, sigue en realidad exhibiendo características híbridas . . . subraya de diversas maneras su ascendencia oral" (52-53).

²⁰ In *Los ríos profundos*, *huayno* songs are presented as a genre of the Quechua oral tradition effective as a tool for resisting domination. In the following pages examples of Quechua stories and myths that contest such domination will also be presented.

²¹ Huayhuaca postulates that the decline in Chambi's artistic production beginning in the 1950's could also be related to the ever increasing influx of commercial photographers intent on imitating his style, thus flooding the market with "pseudo Chambi" images (48).

²² Vargas Llosa expresses a similar sentiment in his introductory remarks to López Mondéjar's collection of Chamb photographs: ". . . el mundo de Martín Chambi es siempre bello, un mundo donde aun las formas extremas de desamparo, la discriminación y el vasallaje han sido humanizadas y dignificadas por la limpieza de la visión y la elegancia del tratamiento" (in López Mondéjar 6).

²³ As Huayhuaca notes, when creating portraits of Cuzco's bourgeois, Chambi usually opted for carefully composed, "artificial", studio photographs, while he reserved more spontaneous or "natural" shots for photographs of the "mundo campesino y rural, de los grupos populares" (37).

²⁴ In her discussion of this photograph Weismantel points out, "The objects around them only heighten the sense of awkwardness: a ceramic jug and a chicken seem perfectly at home on the dirt floor, but the women's silk hats, which they have placed beside them, perch incongruously on the adobe bench (*Cholas and Pishtacos* 30).

²⁵ See for example: "Campesinos en un vivac del camino" (undated), "Descanso de Faena agrícola" (Sicuani, 1919), "Merienda en Ocongate y nevado de Ausangate" (Cusco, 1931), "Campesinos bebiendo chicha en Cho'oque" (Cusco 1928), "Campesinos en la fiesta de Santiago" (Cusco 1929). The first four photographs mentioned are reprinted in Huayhuaca, while the last photograph is reprinted in Suárez.

²⁶ See LeJeune, Beverely, Barnet, Sommer, Yúdice and Gelles for a panoramic view of these theoretical discussions. Paul Gelles in particular, provides a detailed account of the process entailed in creating the original bilingual text which he translates along with Gabriela Martínez Escobar as *Andean Lives: Gregorio Condori Mamani & Asunta Quispe Huamán*. The English language title avoids the original's erasure of Asunta's participation (in some editions of the Spanish/Quechua text the title is given as *Autobiografía*) and also the confusion of presenting the text as an autobiography.

²⁷ It should be noted that the term 'oral tradition' is also problematic. This term tends to evoke negative stereotypes that regard the genre as a repetitive, antiquated curiosity-- a relic pertaining to exotic, primitive peoples who never attained more sophisticated forms of communication such as written, or audiovisual texts.

²⁸ Although I have consulted the English language translation of *Autobiografía* published by Gelles and Martínez Escobar, the translations that follow are based on the original Quechua language transcription. Important differences between my English versions and those offered by these two translators surface in key narrative moments and these divergences will be discussed in further detail in the following pages.

²⁹ When Gregorio's first wife Rosa Puma (who, like Asunta, worked as a professional cook) first goes to live with him, he recalls that she also arrived at this house carrying only her bed and her pots and pans—assumedly her only possessions (62). Indeed, a Quechua woman's pots and pans (particularly if she lives in a rural community) are usually among her most costly and prized manufactured possessions.

³⁰ For a discussion of the importance of *chicherías* (and *picanterías*) as potential places of employment (and a welcome alternative to the job of a live-in domestic servant) for Quechua women arriving from the countryside, see de la Cadena 1995.

³¹ Gregorio meets all three of his wives while they are working as cooks in Cuzco markets and in Asunta's case, a *picantería*. In recalling his reasons for courting his first wife, Gregorio remembers his bachelor days, "ña wayk'upuwaqniy warmi ganasniyoqña" ("now I felt like having a woman to cook for me"). When he meets Rosa Puma at the Cascaparo Market his pragmatism soon convinces him to court her: "Allintataq wayk'uyta yachaq, allintataq atendiwaq y mana qhariyoqtaq pay kasharan..." (She knew how to cook well and she served me well and she didn't have a husband") (Valderrama and Escalante *Autobiografía* 62). This reasoning sounds strikingly similar to the memories of his brief courtship with Asunta years later. After the death of his second wife Josefa, Gregorio once again lives alone-- once again he must cook for himself (*ibid.* 73). Yet four months later he meets Asunta at the 'Ch'uspi Cárcel' *chichería* and decides to 'seek out her friendship' (Asunta refers to the 'Ch'uspi Cárcel' as a *picantería*—perhaps because of her job as a cook-- and indeed the terms are fairly interchangeable.

The name *picantería* emphasizes the locale's supply of 'picantes' or spicy snacks, while *chichería* of course indicates a specialty in serving fermented corn, or quinoa brews). Gregorio recalls his motivations for courting Asunta in the same straightforward manner in which he remembers his reasons for wooing his first wife: ". . . noqapas mana warmiyoytaq kasharani paqtaq allinta serveq" (since I was without a wife and since she served generous portions") (ibid. 73).

³² Chupi is a thick soup of papas, ch'uño, vegetables or shrimp, while 'qhatuy' is the Quechua verb for 'to sell' and 'qhatu' is often synonymous with 'market'. Although *chupi qhatu*s do often sell chupi, they may sell any economically priced soup or broth and/or main course (usually a bit of rice and boiled papas, tarwi, or steamed moraya, served alongside a small piece of chicken or beef). See also Gelles and Martínez Escobar's explanation of the term (162-163).

³³ Asunta, like many of the women working within Cuzco's Central and Wanchaq markets, lacked official papers and sanitary certificates for much of her career. Such papers can only be obtained if one possesses official identification (such as a birth certificate or a marriage license) and convert the cook into a 'licensed' vendor subject to paying municipal taxes and other fees. Asunta's 'informal' status made her vulnerable to the random patrols of municipal agents seeking to locate undocumented cooks and vendors; encounters which often result in fines and the confiscation of goods, leading to the financial ruin for many of these women's economically precarious businesses (Paulina Quispe personal communication; 113-114).

Chapter IV:

Powerful Forces in the Kitchen: Representations of Supernatural Cooks in the Quechua Oral Tradition

So far as I can remember, the Greeks had no great use for books. It is a fact, indeed, that most of the great teachers of mankind have been not writers but speakers. Think of Pythagoras, Christ, Socrates, the Buddha, and so on. . . In one of the dialogues of Plato, he speaks about books in a rather disparaging way: 'What is a book? A book seems, like a picture, to be a living being; and yet if we ask it something, it does not answer. Then we see that it is dead' .

Jorge Luis Borges This Craft of Verse

Oral Tradition, a Complex and Dynamic Genre:

The compilation, edition and publication of oral traditions dates back to the projects of renaissance missionaries, although today the practice is carried out with relatively fewer prejudices, errors and omissions. 'Informants' are no longer limited to village chiefs or ethnic lords; instead individuals or groups agree to share their stories with 'editors' who do not always pertain to or work for the society's hegemonic class (Lienhard 91). Moreover, contemporary publications of audiotaped and transcribed texts frequently correspond to the explicit desire of the 'informants' to make their peoples' lives and oral traditions known to a wider audience (ibid.). Yet as Dedenbach-Salazar and Lienhard remind us:

Before the European conquest, the autochthonous societies of the continent to the west of Europe carried out their basic semiotic practices within a communicative framework which—but only for the sake of contrast with those systems which privilege (even fetishise) writing—I shall call "oral." . . . Amerindian "orality" always was—and still is—a complex semiotic system relying not merely on verbal ("oral") communication, but also on the most diverse media, including plastic, graphic, choreographic, gestural, musical, and rhythmical. (171)

Transcribed versions of these traditions thus lack certain important elements of the oral performance which cannot possibly be transferred to the written page. Regardless of this limitation, print versions of texts pertaining to the Quechua oral tradition allow for the wider dissemination of this culture's worldview, creativity and aesthetic style to an extent that would be impossible in its original, oral form.

Quechua is and has always been an oral language. Speakers of the language share jokes, stories, songs, histories and myths orally; funerary, marriage and religious rites are recited from memory and from a very young age children begin to learn numerous oral narratives from neighbors and relatives. With the arrival of the Spaniards and their graphic-centric culture, the Quechua inhabitants of the Andes struggled to keep their own oral traditions from being exiled into the distant recesses of a foggy memory. Beginning in the sixteenth century Spanish became the language of power in the Andes. Since then, most laws have been declared, penal codes, charters and constitutions drafted, novels, poems, textbooks and histories written, plays performed and movies scripted in the language of the European invaders. At the same time, however, Quechua voices speaking (and sometimes writing) in their own language have been recorded in anthologies of songs, poems, myths and plays, while bilingual fiction writers such as Arguedas have experimented with new ways in which to represent uniquely Quechua themes and dialogues. As we have seen in the close-readings presented above, for centuries *runa* artists have created multilingual, multi-genre representations of Quechua artistic expressions, geography, religion, history, economy and political structure.

In nearly all of the texts analyzed above—the Incaic hymns, Garcilaso’s historical chronicle, Arguedas’ novel and Asunta’s testimonio—both the form and content of the Quechua oral tradition play important roles in presenting the arguments and critiques of the texts, while also influencing such formal aspects as: sentence structure, word choice, presentation of narrators and characters, as well as the creation of images and metaphors. For instance, both the form and the content of the sacred hymns transcribed by Father Molina and discussed in chapter two are derived from this oral tradition. Performed during the Incan *Çitua* festival, these Quechua hymns likely pertained to the category of religious songs known as *haylli*, while their content was largely dedicated to the praise of important deities whose feats are conserved within the collective memory of the oral tradition. The formal influence of this oral tradition is also evident in the pages of the historical chronicle discussed in chapter two—*Comentarios Reales*. The Inca Garcilaso carefully abides by the oral tradition’s convention requiring that proper credit be given to the source(s) of a narrative. In introducing his written version of Incan history, Garcilaso identifies his maternal uncle as a key source (bk. I ch. XV). The author’s respect for the richness of the Quechua oral tradition and language is made evident in his admission to readers that his own written rendition of Inca history remains quite inferior to the oral version:

. . . no la he escrito con la majestad de palabras que el Inca habló ni con toda la significación de las de aquel lenguaje tienen, que, por ser tan significativo, pudiera haberse entendido mucho más de lo que se ha hecho. (bk. I ch. XVII)

Nevertheless, the influence of the Quechua oral tradition is unmistakably apparent in Garcilaso’s written version of the Inca ‘origin myth’. For example, when Garcilaso relates the first version of the ‘Origin of the Incas’ and the rise of Manco Cápac, the

brief account is contained within six compound sentences. Of these six sentences, however, four begin with the phrase “Dicen (pues, que, de) . . .”—the Spanish equivalent of the Quechua narrative device “nispa” (indicating a direct quote and loosely glossed as, ‘saying’) (bk. I ch. XVIII).¹ In chapter three, the use of Quechua language songs and verbal defiance in *Los ríos profundos* demonstrates how elements of the oral tradition can be effectively integrated into a primarily Spanish language novel, while the complex genre of the testimonio serves as a stage for the presentation of Quechua songs, myths, metaphors and stories by the narrators Asunta Quispe Huamán and Gregorio Condori Mamani.

When reading a printed Quechua text one must make the important distinction as to whether or not the work is a transcription of an oral narrative, or if the text was originally composed in written form (the texts described in part II of this chapter are all transcriptions of originally oral narratives). As Martin Lienhard reminds us, any writer who proposes to transport a product of an oral system to a literary text, is necessarily extracting it from its original context and thus (at least to some extent) “strips it of its materiality” (133). A story, poem or song originally performed as an oral text and only later transferred to the written page cannot be read in the same manner as a novel or poem originally conceived as a print text. For instance, many Quechua stories and songs are performed in a conversational context thus:

. . . a text is not delivered ready-made to the recipient but is dynamically and dialogically constructed in the real time of the storytelling event, as the narrator responds to diverse types of input: questions from the audience, interruptions, requests for explanations, laughter, supportive vocalizations, and facial expressions. (Ryan 41)

Of course one must also remember that the transcription of an individual or collective performance of a song, story, myth, or poem does not represent the only known version of this particular text, since oral performances “reflejan la personalidad y las convicciones sociales y culturales de sus narradores, pero también el contexto histórico en el que fueron relatados” (Taylor 21). Thus a certain story or song may be related in dozens of different versions—each altered to fit the unique social, economic, political, historical or cultural context of the particular region in which it is being retold.²

The following pages explore the ways in which an oral tradition provides a unique vehicle for the presentation, diffusion and preservation of a cultural group’s desires, values, fears, moral lessons and critiques of oppressive power holders. With regards to this last possibility, Arguedas often emphasizes the effectiveness the Quechua oral tradition as an expression of creative dissent:

es una de las literaturas más bellas y estremecedoras de todos los tiempos, testimonio de su visión del hombre y de la tierra y del proceso de dominación y de resistencia, frecuentemente triunfante a esta dominación, a que estuvieron sometidos desde la invasión hispánica. (qtd. in Larco 27)

Similarly, close-readings of an oral tradition’s rumors, gossip, folktales, songs, gestures, jokes and theater of the ‘powerless’, often reveal a “critique of power while hiding behind anonymity or behind innocuous understandings of their conduct” (Scott *Domination* xiii). Oral texts such as tales, song and riddles often contain complex double-meanings, thus “ambiguous, polysemic elements of folk culture mark off a relatively autonomous realm of discursive freedom . . . [which] are accessible to one audience and opaque to another audience which the actors to exclude” (ibid. 157, 158).³ This shield of anonymity which oral cultures offer their artists is the result of the impermanence of its spoken performances. Each oral ‘enactment’ remains unique in

terms of the time, place and audience for which it is performed; thus characteristic of spatio-temporal impermanence suggests that the oral narrative can be considered as a form of Certeau's 'tactic'. Stories, myths and songs may undergo constant adjustment, revision and abbreviation, so that each oral performance "can be nuanced, disguised, evasive, and shaded in accordance with the degree of surveillance from authorities to which it is exposed . . ." (ibid. 161). The multiplicity of its authors also provides a culture's oral tradition with protective cover, allowing it "to carry fugitive meanings in comparative safety" (ibid. 162).

José María Arguedas, a tireless defender of the Quechua oral tradition, describes the language of Quechua narrative as 'imminently oral' and insists that 'a silent reading of a Quechua text is almost impossible' (*Canciones y cuentos* 67). He explains this assertion by stating that if the stories are read aloud, the text itself will obligate the reader to inflect her voice, revealing the extremely expressive nature of these inflections in Quechua ('as in other strictly oral languages') (ibid.).⁴ Thus, this dedicated translator also acknowledges the difficulties inherent in transferring oral texts to the written page and warns readers about all of the dynamic nuances that they will miss if they merely read the stories and songs instead of orally experiencing them. Arguedas continues his discussion of the Quechua oral tradition by praising its rich bank of original phrases, imagery and sensory descriptions and for its ability to create a world in which animals and humans can easily enter and exit psychic trances; where "everything moves in a community which we could call musical in nature" (ibid. 67-68). Unfortunately, Arguedas laments, all of this richness and intensity of expression is difficult to translate into Spanish; a language that lacks the grammatical flexibility and

wealth of precise vocabulary and inexhaustible adjectives available to the Quechua storyteller. Even when approximated by the astute translator, glossed versions of the clever onomatopoeias that practiced story spinners can invent in an instant never prove as entertaining or expressive as when pronounced aloud by skilled Quechua narrators.

Following the lead of scholars such as Arnold and de Dios Yapita, Harrison and Mannheim, the subsequent pages explore the ethnopoetics of various Quechua oral texts in which Andean foods and beverages play an important symbolic, metaphoric, or descriptive function. In analyzing Andean oral texts Mannheim suggests a combination of “line-by line analysis” -- looking at formal verbal techniques and rhetorical organization (Hymes 1981)-- and also considering what he calls “etnografía de la actuación”, that is, focusing on the context in which the oral text is ‘performed’, as well as the ways in which the ‘audience’ participates in the creation of the text (Mannheim “Hacia una mitografía” 53-54). He reminds students of Andean oral tradition that Quechua stories often surface during daily life when the narrator seeks to offer advice or a tacit “moral discourse” relating to the context of the conversation (ibid. 62). In my analyses of Asunta’s discourse in the previous chapter I use this technique of ‘line-by-line analysis’ and in the following pages I will also concentrate on how meaning is created through the ‘performance’ of an oral text. Additionally, in the interpretations of the oral narratives presented below, I also focus attention on subtleties such as reported speech and other types of citation: pauses, onomatopoeia, archaic words and phrases which “can radically alter surface meanings” (Tedlock *The Spoken Word* 54 in Mannheim & van Vleet 332).

Arnold and de Dios Yapita's anthology pays special attention to Aymara 'stories of origin' related to the papa and other Andean tubers, as well as emic categories used to classify the tubers.⁵ In addition to providing analyses of the semantic and symbolic meanings related to representations of papas in Quechua song and poetry, Harrison (1989) also discusses and critiques the eurocentricity of Western scholars in their attempts to categorize papas (see also: chapter one, 62). The following pages benefit from Arnold and de Dios Yapita's detailed explanation of their field research methodologies (particularly their emphasis on repeated interviews with storytellers in order to encourage them to interpret their own tales) and from Harrison's careful attention to the multiple meanings associated with Quechua suffixes, syntax and word choices in her literary analyses of Quechua songs and poems. Likewise, her emphasis on the importance of considering the context in which an interviewer elicits or hears a particular oral text contributed to the construction of the literary analyses that follow.

Representations of the Cook in Quechua Oral Narratives:

While the cook is a specialist in the preparation of food, this is certainly not all that she prepares. The plate of food that the cook sets in front of her client or her family contains both caloric and symbolic energy and this chapter will focus on the ways in which the latter contributes to the creation of meaning within a number of Quechua oral narratives. The analyses of the contemporary oral narratives presented below, focus not only on the particular kinds of language, imagery, tone and symbols associated with a food-universe, but also consider the context in which such moments arise. If by now we have accepted the concept of food as language and cooking and eating as

communication (Barthes, Lévi-Strauss), then the suggestion that the cook might be understood as a storyteller, should not be met with too much resistance. For after all, it is the cook who possesses the ingredients and knows how to most expertly wield them, while the diner/audience, hungrily awaits her meal. Thus, the creative energies involved in the preparation and ingestion of food are analogous to those employed in the elaboration and consumption of Quechua oral narratives. In controlling the heat of *her* boiling pot, the spiciness of *her* sauce and the potency of *her* chicha, does the cook not, in effect, use her creativity and knowledge to control the very substance that her hungry client is eagerly waiting to consume? As she prepares a meal or beverage its elements are hers to stir, spice and shape. Only she controls the effect which this meal will produce on the body of the expectant diner who will quite literally incorporate the cook's creation into his body? In the Quechua oral narratives presented below, the undeniable power enjoyed by 'inside cooks' becomes evident in many surprising ways.

In the novel, testimonio and photographs discussed in chapter three, aesthetic representations of female cooks depict runa women who achieve varying degrees of independence in an indirect fashion-- through the exchange of their culinary skills for cash. For example, in the testimonio *Autobiografía*, the transcription of Asunta's (edited) narration reveals the ways in which her occupation as an 'outside cook' provides Asunta with an element of control in her oftentimes economically and emotionally unstable life. In the oral narrative performances explored in this chapter, however, the representations of Quechua cooks reveal women working 'inside' domestic spaces and who use their access to the meals of their acquaintances as a 'tactic' for attaining varying degrees of control over the unsuspecting diner's body,

mind, or soul. These conniving cooks are usually supernatural beings whose use of food to achieve malevolent ends serves as a warning for the Quechua audience who listens to the performance of these oral narratives.

In the oral narratives explored below, supernatural cooks use their control over runa meals in order to punish them for breaking certain cooking or eating taboos (such as: failure to offer a libation to the *pachamama* prior to eating, pursuing an intimate relationship with someone who has stolen food from the family fields, rejecting a plate of food prepared by a family member, urinating while cooking, or serving a family member rotten food). In these Quechua narratives, scenes that present a character breaking such food-related taboos often foreshadow impending doom for the imprudent violator or unsuspecting diner. As discussed above, the Quechua hymns transcribed by Father Molina reveal the Inca belief that supernatural forces and gods such as *Wiraqocha*, *Inti*, *Pachamama* and the *Huacas* controlled the relative successes and failures of imperial food crops. Likewise, the frequent association with food and the supernatural in contemporary Quechua oral narratives reflects the relative continuity of such beliefs among runa farmers and storytellers living in the Andes today. In the tales discussed below, malevolent supernatural beings often attempt to disrupt the lives of runa men and women by manipulating their food sources, while the ‘moral lesson’ provided by the stories often emphasizes the vital importance of securing a reliable and safe food supply for one’s family.

Representations of Supernatural Cooks in the Contemporary Quechua Willakuy

In the Andes (and throughout most of the world and history) women cook and serve the vast majority of meals consumed at home, in the market, on street corners and in restaurants. Their important role as the primary preparer of a society's foodstuffs allows women to "exercise power through food" so that throughout history, "...cooking, like sex, has been considered a mode through which women can express their feelings" (Sceats 127). The previous chapters attest to the complexity and subtle nuances with which Quechua texts depict the act of cooking and how--through their occupation of various social, political and economic spheres-- cooks are represented as occupying a space which hovers between "freedom and unfreedom, resistance and acquiescence" (Weismantel *Cholas and Pishtacos* 145).⁶

Different women, authors and diners may alternately (or even simultaneously) consider the cook as a figure who wields power, or as a servant burdened by her labor in the service of filling stomachs. The complexity of the question requires that we keep both of these points of view in mind, while not overlooking the fact that the consumption of a cook's meal remains an act of absolute trust. When consuming a meal we can never be entirely certain just what substances we are ingesting and we trust that the cook will nourish and not poison our body. Thus, cooking may provide a space in which a woman can exercise a certain amount of power. She may express positive or negative feelings through her cooking and regardless of whether or not the diner consciously accepts this fact the preparer of meals is rendered powerful through the eater's trust. This point becomes particularly important when exploring the representation of 'magical' cooks in the Quechua oral tradition. In these narratives,

women adulterate the food of others as a strategy for attaining a desired (and often malevolent) effect.

In his Harvard lecture on the theme of ‘Orality’ Borges observed, “I suppose a nation evolves the words it needs . . . language is not . . . the invention of academicians or philologists. Rather, it has evolved through time, by peasants, by fisherman, by hunters, by riders” (81). With this idea in mind, it should not surprise us that among its long list of specific verbs which signify “to eat” [for example: *ch'onqay* ‘to eat juicy foods’, *k'utuy* ‘to eat hard foods’, *llaqway* ‘to eat crushed *uchu* pepper’, *khachuy* ‘to eat hard fruits and *ch'awkchay* ‘to eat loudly’], the Quechua language also includes the verb *mihupakuy* ‘to eat outside one’s own house’ (Rosa Quispe, Hernan Quillahuamán, Wency Condori Callapiña, Alejandra Mango, Paulina Quispe, Personal Communication; Cusihuamán 2001). The fact that the Quechua lexicon includes a specific verb for expressing this action signals the importance of the concept in *runa* culture. In the oral narratives that follow, it will become that *mihupakuy* must be undertaken with a care and that a relationship of trust should always be established before eating food outside of the family home.

In the following pages, the word *willakuy* will be used when discussing contemporary narratives which pertain to the Quechua oral tradition. Depending on the context, the verb *willay* (as it is currently used throughout the Southern Peruvian highlands) can be glossed as ‘to tell’ ‘to warn’ ‘to advise’ or ‘to inform’, while its noun form *willakuy* is generally used to describe an oral narration. A *willakuy* may be identified by the narrator and/or audience as either fact or fiction and may last for less than two minutes or extend as long as an hour or more. In the community of

Ch'akalqocha where I carried out most of my fieldwork, the word *willakuy* was only used to describe those narratives which were performed by the community's *yuyaqkuna* (either *yuyaq mama* or *yuyaq tayta*). Holguín's Quechua dictionary registers the verb 'yuyay' as meaning, "Acordarse, pensar y tener cuidado de algo, o tener cargo del" and also, 'yuyacuni' "Estar pensando e imaginando algo", 'yuya, yuyani, o yuyarayani' "Traer algo en la memoria." Contemporary usage of *yuyay* and its variations do not greatly differ from these early seventeenth century definitions and today, *yuyaysapa* has come to mean 'extremely intelligent', while the verb 'yuyay' can be glossed as 'to remember, to retain in one's memory'. All of these semantic inflections are contained in the categories of *yuyaq mama* and *yuyaq tayta* in Ch'akalqocha, so that in this community, locals consider that a *willakuy* can only be told by elders whose intelligence and acute memories are uniquely endowed with the necessary skills for properly relating the narratives. Although not all of the texts discussed below were told by *yuyaqkuna* from Ch'akalqocha, I will use the category of *willakuy* to describe the following Quechua oral narratives in order to avoid the nuances associated with classifiers such as 'tale' or 'story' which do not necessarily pertain to these Quechua texts.

Layqas, Saqras and Condenados in the Kitchen

At the dawn of the Renaissance some of the developments associated with the Reformation (the rise of science, the emerging modern world) began to create deep anxieties amongst the orthodox populations, coalescing into the "witch craze" that possessed Europe from about 1450 to 1700. During this period, thousands of people

(mostly innocent women) were executed on the basis of “proofs” (the infamous ‘water test’ or search for marks on the body left by Satan), or torture-induced “confessions” of having engaged in diabolical witchcraft (sorcery practiced through an allegiance to Satan) (Michelet 180-185). Additionally, women who were locally acknowledged as skilled healers were often accused of being ‘witches’ or ‘empiricists’, since they relied on their senses rather than on faith or doctrine and because their methods called for a process of trial and error and on observations of cause and effect (Symons 201).

The fanatical energy fueling this hysteria greatly increased with the issue of the papal bull *Summis Desiderantes* decreed by Pope Innocent VIII in 1484. Published in 1486 by the Dominican inquisitors Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer, the book *Malleus Maleficarum* (‘The Hammer of Witches’) included the Pope’s bull as a preface and served as the ‘guiding light’ for a century of Inquisitional tribunals (ibid. 171). *Malleus* described the dangerous evils practiced by countless women and vividly outlined the satanic and sexual abominations carried out by witches (ibid. 171-175). The book represented a systematization of the Church’s doctrine in terms of defining what could be understood as witchcraft and heresy (Silverblatt “El arma de la hechicería”122). The tome was translated into many languages and was published in several editions in both Catholic and Protestant countries, outselling all other books except the Bible.

The European conquistadors, ecclesiastics and government administrators who arrived in the Americas in the sixteenth century carried with them many of these reactionary, misogynist beliefs. Consequently, during the colonial era it was not uncommon for women—especially older women and widows—to be accused of

practicing witchcraft (Socolow 24). It was also commonly believed that witches preferred to use food as their medium for harming unsuspecting victims with their evil spells (ibid. 158). In pre-colonial and colonial Perú, indigenous women who were poor, widows, or spinsters were considered morally weak and particularly susceptible to falling under the influence of the devil-- a belief which was also commonly held in medieval Europe (Silverblatt *Moon, Sun, and Witches* 167; ibid. "El arma de la hechicería" 127; Michelet 119-139).⁷ Even after many *runa* men had converted to Catholicism and moved into colonial *reducciones*, Quechua women often continued to organize and participate in the worship of Andean deities and ancestral cults, albeit this meant that they had to move to the inhospitable, high altitude puna.⁸

Studies of witchcraft in colonial Latin America reveal the intimate connection between witchcraft and cooking:

Typically, women made men "eat" their witchcraft, using their power over the domain of food preparation for subversive ends, a practice that was common in pre-Hispanic times as well as in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Castile. From the number of cases in which food was the medium for witchcraft, it appears that ingestion was thought to be one of the most effective ways of passing on the polluting substances of witchcraft . . . in eating, the pollution was introduced directly and effectively into the body. (Behar 180)

The belief that food could be used to harm rather than to nurture gave women a very specific and real power that could serve as an important defense against abusive male dominance—and as a way for women to penetrate men's bodies (ibid. 200). Of course this apprehension of the powers wielded by cooks is not limited to the context of the colonial Americas. Ancient Romans were also suspicious of cooks, a prejudice made clear by a question posed to a group of his pupils by the famous educator, Seneca: "Are you astounded at the innumerable diseases? Count the cooks!" (ibid. 98). Plato

also shared a low opinion of cooks, although his loathing stems less from a fear of their magical concoctions and more from a belief that their tantalizing dishes lead humans to seek hedonistic, superficial pleasures that interfere with the consideration of more important philosophical questions. In *The Republic*, Socrates declares that like ornate music, “elaborate food produces disease” and that in an ideal state, citizens would feast on wine, wheaten loaves and barley-cakes and consequently “lead a peaceful and healthy life, and probably die at a ripe old age, bequeathing a similar way of life to their children” (ibid. 36).⁹

In describing Quechua ‘witches’ in the Andes, the Spanish chronicler Polo de Ondegardo comments, “About these witches... there are a great number of them, and differences between them. Some are adept in making potions of herbs and roots in order to kill those they give these confections to. Those who perform this kind of witchcraft are almost always women” (qtd. in Silverblatt *Moon, Sun, and Witches* 172). Guamán Poma also describes numerous ways in which *hechiseros* use Andean foodstuffs as key ingredients for the elaboration of evil portions.¹⁰ Most of the ‘maldiciones’ that Guaman Poma explains involve the use of uncooked maize:

Cómo se echan maldiciones a unos y a otros, haziendo serimonias . . . le toman quarto masorcas de mays o papas de las *chacaras* [sementeras], toman las hojas y lo atan en palos... Todo ello entierra en su *chacara* [sementera] de su enemigo. Otros hichezeros toman mazorcas de mays que llaman *cuti zara* y sebo y los cauellos y espinas, los cauellos del enemigo. Procura hurtárselas o paga a otra persona a que se las tome del mismo enemigo. Todo ello entierra en su *chacara* [sementera] de su enemigo o en su casa o en parte adonde acienta, haziendo mil serimonias para que muera y padisca trauajo y pobreza con toda su casa y familia”. (1: 247-48)¹¹

Although the Quechua chronicler asserts that most hicheros were duly punished by the “becitador general de la sancta yglecia”, he does not reveal very much information regarding the age or gender of the ‘witches’ (ibid. 2: 638).

This fear that women may take advantage of their access to food as a tool for dispensing magical confections (both to strangers and unruly family members) is not limited to the texts of colonial chroniclers and extirpators of idolatry. The numerous versions of *willakuy* such as “*Ukuku kimsa wawayuqmanta*”, “*Isicha Puytu*”, “*Sagra paya*”, “*Layqa wayk’uq*”, “*Yana Kuru*” and many others, point to the presence of this preoccupation in the Quechua oral tradition as well. These narratives involve supernatural characters such as *layqas*, *saqras*, *condenados*, or *ñak’aqs* who use their access to food in order to create chaos in the lives of human *runa*. As Lara points out, the inspiration for Many Quechua *willakuy* narrate the adventures and exploits of these supernatural figures; in the narratives presented below, the *condenado* appears as a *leimotiv*, while the *saqra* and the *layqa* also appear frequently.¹² In these *willakuy*, ‘inside cooks’ who prepare food for domestic consumption and not for commercial sale are the perpetrators of evil culinary deeds. This distinction makes their actions seem even more fearful and sinister, since the poisonous meals are served by trusted cooks within a familiar domestic space.

In the narratives discussed below, ‘*saqra*’ is used as an adjective to describe an evil character whose actions ostensibly serve the devil (as in the story “*Sagra paya*”), while *supay* is used as a proper noun describing the Christian devil. This distinction appears as early as 1608 in González Holguín’s dictionary entries for *Çacra* --“Cosa tosca, vil o baladi, o mal hecha, o basta o suzia”-- and *Çacraruna* --

“Hombre vil suzio bronco-feo”--, as opposed to his definitions for *Çupay* --“el demonio” and ‘Çupayruna’: “Hombre endiabloado, o malo como vn demonio”-- (*Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español* 75, 88). In contemporary usage, however, *saqra* and *supay* are often used interchangeably as in *Sákkhra*-- “demonio, satán, cachafás, el mal genio”-- (Lira *ibid.* 868-869; see also Cusihuamán 1976: 133).

The word *layqa* on the other hand, is translated below as ‘witch’, a gloss which reflects the contemporary usage of the word as “hechicería, profesión y conjunto de operaciones del hechicero o brujo” (Lira *Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español* 553; Cusihuamán 1976: 77). *Umu* can sometimes be used interchangeably with *layqa* and in a contemporary context, both words usually carry a malevolent connotation. While Gonçalez Holguín, Santo Tomás and Guaman Poma define *vmu* as “hechizero”, Lira instills the word with a positive connotation, describing it as a title for a clairvoyant --“Umúlli: Profetizar, vaticinar, augurar, predecir. “Llápa íma umulliskkáykin hunt’ákun úmu. Todo cuento predijiste, o gran sacerdote, se ha cumplido” (Gonçaléz Holguín 1989: 355; Santo Tomas 147; Guaman Poma 2: 638; Lira *Diccionario Kkechuwa-Español* 1041).¹³ Gonçaléz Holguín even describes a separate category of ‘hechizero’ (*hampiyok*) who casts spells on one’s food and who specializes in “*Hampiyok mikuy*” (“Hechizos en comida”) (1989: 543). During the extirpation of idolatries in colonial Perú, however, ecclesiastical authorities made no distinction between malevolent and benevolent witchcraft and *runa* were not only punished for their malicious use of magic (as *layqaq* or *umuq*), but also for working as healers (*hampiqr p’aqoq*) and diviners (*watuq*) (see for example Sánchez 1-23; Silverblatt *Moon, Sun, and Witches* 159-210).

Although it does not seem to appear in the Quechua oral tradition until after the arrival of the Spanish, the *condenado* is another supernatural figure that plays an important role in many *willakuy*. Arguedas describes condenados as the souls (‘almas’) of people who have died in a tragic manner (assassination, suicide or an accident, commonly labeled “la mala muerte”):

almas pecadoras que juzgadas por Dios, han sido sentenciadas a vivir en las Cordilleras. Son espíritus que salen a la hora del crepúsculo o en ciertas horas de la noche y andan por los alrededores de la cordillera infundiendo susto a los caminantes. (Arguedas “Folklore del Valle de Mantaro” 131, 169)¹⁴

These troubled souls often frighten nocturnal travelers and isolated shepherds to death. Furthermore, the *condenado* should not be confused with ‘the devil’ or with a ‘dead human’ “es un ser sub-humano que sufre y destruye como medio de encontrar su redención . . .” (ibid. “Cuentos religioso-mágicos” 197-98). In the Quechua oral tradition, condenados frequently appear in the form of animals—dogs, cats, lizards, toads, snakes or even birds (particularly owls)—and while they often do not realize that they have died, they may also reveal the reason for their condemnation when they appear before the living.¹⁵ Although many condenados take the form of animals when they return to haunt the earth, those that return in human form usually feel no hunger (Rosa Quispe, personal communication).

In interviews that I conducted during the months of August-November, 2005 in the community of Ch’akalqocha (Chincheros province), I repeatedly spoke with the *yuyaq tayta* Grimaldo Quillahuamán Cusihuamán who affirmed that although the physical form of a *condenado* is often indistinguishable from that of a human, their unusual food preferences reveal their true identity:

Condenadoqa runakuna hinas purinku hinaspas kiskatas mihunku, kiskata punkukunapi wiñayunku. Chayta mihunku chiqaq, según destinumansi purinku. Pisillatas mihunanku, chay destinunkuchá riki. Roq'ata mihurunku a veces chay kiskallata. (transcription, Wency Condori Callapiña and Alison Krogel)

Condemned souls appear human-like as they walk, however, they eat spines,--- spines that grow over doorways. That is what they eat for certain, according to the destiny that they walk towards. It is said that they to eat only a little, I suppose this is their destiny of course. The *r'oqata* cactus they always eat, or sometimes just those spines. (my translation)

As seen in the story “*Qholla wawata condenadotaq*” discussed below, condenados may also exhibit cannibalistic tendencies when encountering defenseless runa on lonely mountain paths.

The *ñak'aq* or *pishtaco* is often described by rural Quechua Indians as a stranger (oftentimes ‘pale’ or ‘foreign’) who walks around the hills and mountains surrounding rural villages waiting for an encounter with a lone runa traveler whom he can attack, lull to sleep and then suck out the runa’s *wira* (life-sustaining fat).¹⁶

Quillahuamán describes *ñak'aqs* in the following manner:

Arí chay ñak'aq qharipis kan warmipis kan, chiqaq ñak'aqqa kan. Tutapi purinku— maymanchá. Muhuyninman chinkayunku. Ahá, purinku, tawa kinsa horata purinku, chay horasta runakunata maskhanku-- chakrapipis, otaq maypi runakuna kanku. Qhawakachayuspa purinku-- ñak'aq paqpa larukunapi paqayukunku. Chay paqpaq k'uchuchamantas qhawayunku samayukunku.

Chaytaq mana allinta risakunan karan, maypis puñuyta saquesunkikuman. Kaypi wañuwaq, chay k'uchuchapi panpapi puñupuwaq risakunaqtin riki. Chaypaqsi apakunku pantiyunmantas allin allpata, apakunku tulluta, apamunku nispa. Ñut'uchata kutanku polvorata ch'isipi chaywansi phukuyusunkiku-- anchaykunapi k'anchan chaska chaska. (transcription, Wency Condori Callapiña and Alison Krogel)

Yes, there are female *ñak'aq* just as there are male *ñak'aq*, it is true that the *ñak'aq* exist. They walk by night—where might they go? Over yonder (signals with hand) near the limits of the community’s fields they are lost. Yes, they walk, at four, three (in the morning) they walk, at that hour they search for humans—in the fields, or wherever humans are found. Always looking around they walk—underneath the edges of the maguey cactus the *ñak'aq* hide themselves. They say that from that edge of that maguey they watch and they rest themselves.

And when there are evil spells, in whatever place they [the *ñak'aq*] leave you asleep. There you would die, in that little corner on the ground, you would remain forever asleep, because of the spells of course. They say that this is way why they bring fine dirt from the cemetery, they bring bones, it is said that this is what they bring. They finely grind [cemetery] dust and soon after dark, it is said that they blow this [dust] towards you-- in those places bright stars shine. (my translation)

In the stories that follow, all of these frightful, supernatural beings attempt to wreak havoc on the lives of unsuspecting runa and in many cases, their monstrous appetites and poisoned victuals serve as their weapon of choice.

“Ukuku kimsa wawayuqmanta”

Condendados (condemned souls), *saqras* (demons/devils) and *layqas* (witches) often use food to seduce, trap, or kill their victims, while the unusual eating habits of a character often foreshadow impending doom. In the story “*Ukuku kimsa wawayuqmanta*” (“La osa que tuvo tres hijos”) a crafty young cook uses her knowledge of magic and cooking in order to escape from the clutches of the town’s mestizo leader (“*llaqta mistiqta*”) (ibid. 50).¹⁷ The leader’s desire to control the young cook leads to his undoing, as she uses her culinary skills to destroy both him and his town. The magic-wielding woman in this story specializes in instigating the dismissal of a town’s best cooks so that she can be hired to replace them. In the story’s opening scene we learn that the town leader has recently hired the wily girl as his new ‘inside cook’. Not long after her arrival in town, the young cook also becomes the man’s lover, although he soon learns that the young seductress lives an evil double life. One evening the jealous mayor decides to spy on his lover and discovers that not only does she lick the blood of the snake hidden in her ceramic

cooking pot, but she also flies off to commune with the devil (“*Supay*”) during the night.¹⁸

When the devil angrily expels the mayor from his hideaway, the man lands in a deep and distant crevice where he remains trapped for several days. Although it seems that the man should have learned his lesson about the dangers of mysterious women cooks after his first experience, he is tricked a second time by another woman who offers to prepare him food. This time, the *ukhumari* (‘bear’, a frequent character in Quechua tales) who both rescues and holds the mayor captive dedicates most all of her time to finding and preparing food for her human lover. The struggles of the ill-fated mayor seem to send a clear message-- beware of falling prisoner to the cunning seductions of charming female cooks.

“*Isicha Puytu*”

In the tragic *willakuy* known as “*Isicha Puytu*” a mother is forced to use her supernatural powers against her own daughter, while the narrative’s clear moral lesson warns listeners of the dangers associated with forsaking one’s family and violating food-related etiquette. In this *willakuy*, food represents the warm, wholesome quality of the family home. Unwilling to believe that her beloved daughter has succumbed to the material temptations offered in the home of a *curaca*-seducer¹⁹, *Isicha Puytu*’s mother tries to lure her daughter home by sending her carefully prepared meals. The grief-stricken mother does not hesitate when in need of a strategy to convince her wandering daughter to return home-- surely a basketful of homemade goodies will remind *Isicha Puytu* of her old way of life? When the girl’s brothers are sent to fetch her, she hurls a

painfully stinging insult at her distressed brothers and father when she declares, “*Imatataq kaytari apamuwanki. ¡Kay mikhuqchukarqani ñuqari!*” and throws the proffered food in their faces” (‘What is this that you have brought me? As is I were the sort to eat this class of food!’) (Lira *Cuentos* 74, my translation). When not even the carefully crafted meals of Isicha’s mom are powerful enough to lure the young girl away from the clutches of the wealthy local landowner, the listener begins to suspect the girl’s ultimate doom.

When Isicha’s brothers report back to their parents with the tale of the girl’s rejection, they simply cannot believe what they hear: “*Chiqaqtachus wawanchis chhayna kashan*” (‘No, it’s not possible that our child could do something like this’) (ibid. 75).²⁰ After some time has passed Isicha’s mother decides to send the girl’s father to inquire after her, once again sending a package of goodies for her daughter. Yet the spoiled mistress receives her father in the same disrespectful fashion. Twice she insults her father verbally calling him a “*machu alqu*” and just as before, she rejects the food sent by her mother: “*Kay rikch’aq mikhuna mikhuqchu karqani, yaw machu alqu— nispas mana chaskikuyta munanchu--. ¡Lluqsiy kaymanta machu! ¡Ama ñuqata riqsipakuwaychu! – nispa taytantaqa qarkuranpun*” (‘Saying, I don’t eat this sort of food, old dog—, she didn’t want to accept the gift—Get out of here old man! Don’t wait for me to recognize you! -- saying this she threw her father out’) (ibid.).²¹

When the girl’s father returns home and sadly reports the manner in which his daughter has treated him, Isicha’s mother still refuses to accept such news. The girl’s mother decides to make one last desperate trip to the curaca’s home. On this occasion, the narrator carefully describes how the mother prepares her daughter’s meal (which

was previously referred to only as Isicha's "*quqawcha*"--bundle of snacks). Determined to bring her daughter home, Isicha's mother directs her nervous energy to the kitchen: "*Quqawtas ruwamusqa k'ispiñuta, sara mut'ita, ch'uñu phasita. 'Kaykuna misk'ikuqmi wawayqa karqan. Kaykunamantachá wañukushan wawayqa', nispas*" ('She set about making the snacks: quinoa and cañihua cookies, boiled corn, steamed ch'uño. Saying, "These were my child's favorite treats. My child must be dying to eat these things" ') (ibid. 76).

Both words and food serve as symbols for shared memories or experiences. Like the reader who encounters a never-before-experienced-word that remains meaningless, so too does food lose its meaning when consumed without any notion of the accompanying nuances, connotations and cultural significance(s). We can understand and interpret the world around us precisely because the majority of the words, signs *and* foods we encounter appear familiar to us; they are already loaded with so many levels of implied meaning that they can be used to allude to something more distant, less tangible. In listening to the description of the foods prepared for Isicha by her mother (see above cited passage), a Quechua audience would realize the significance of these foods—an observation which is impossible to translate for a reader who is unfamiliar with foods such as: *k'ispiñuta, sara mut'ita, ch'uñu phasita*. A *runa* listener would understand that grinding the quinoa and *cañihua* flour to make *k'ispiñuta* cookies is a time consuming task and that the sugar used to sweeten them is usually only purchased for special occasions. Similarly, the amount of ingredients and time needed to properly prepare *ch'uñu phasita* means that the food is not frequently enjoyed in *runa* households. These implied, culture-specific meanings are lost in the

translation, although the maternal strategy of preparing a child's favorite foods in order to create an affective lasso is certainly a fairly universal idea.

When arriving at the house of the curaca, Isicha greets her mother with insults. Even when the cruel girl refuses her mother's embrace, the determined woman still offers her daughter the bundle of goodies she has prepared. Unlike those offered by her brothers and father, this time Isicha accepts the package ("*Chaytas chaskirqun Isicha Puytuqa*"), filling both the audience and the mother with a sense of hope; perhaps the girl will finally come to realize her callousness? (ibid.). Yet the next line eliminates any chance that Isicha might change her ways, as she insults her mother's food with even more malicious energy than ever before: "*—Ama sapankaykichis, khayñañiraq millay mikuyta apamuwaspaykichis riqsipakuwaychischu. Riqsirqaykichischu jasna warmi!—nispa nin. Umanmantas mamanta hich'aykun chay apasqanwan*" ('Saying, "You all keep bringing me this disgusting food, you all wait for me to recognize you. I never knew any of you, putrid woman!"). Then she dumped what had been brought for her on her mother's head') (ibid. 76-77).²²

This exchange resembles previous the encounters between Isicha and her family members; this time, however, instead of simply declaring that she is not the type to consume such foods, she explicitly refers to her mother's carefully prepared bundle as "*millay mikuyta*" ('disgusting food'). Isicha's rejection of such runa staples such as ch'uño, cañihua and *mote* (boiled corn) is emblematic of her rejection of their entire way of life, a connection not lost on the girl's now infuriated mother. The older woman first incredulously and then angrily demands, "*Manachu yuyanki. Mamaykitaq kashani? ;Chiqachu taytaykitapis hich'ayamurqanki mikhunawan. Turaykitapis*

kaqllatataq ruwamusqanki. Haku ripusun!” (‘You really don’t remember that I am your mother? And is it really true that you dumped food on your father, and that you did the very same thing to your brother? Come on, we’re going!’)(ibid. 77). The mother’s emotions transition from disbelief to fury as she verbalizes the nature and depth of her daughter’s rejection. With this new and painful realization, Isicha’s mother begins to cry as she cleans up the food that her daughter has refused to accept. The woman then tells Isicha that she will no longer consider her as a daughter and that from this day forward, she can never reclaim her parents’ as her own.

When Isicha responds to this declaration with the ultimate insult: “*Pitaa nisunkiman qantari ‘Mamaymi’*” (‘And who could ever call you “my mother”?’), her mother for once responds without hesitation: “*‘Kayllawan wiñay kawsayniykita tarinki’— nispas ñuñunta ch’awarparikusqa mamanqa panpaman*” (‘Saying, “With this alone you will find your everlasting life”-- and she began once again, to milk her breast towards the ground’) (ibid. 78). The original Quechua version of this important phrase is laden with grammatical subtleties and a cultural context lacking in the English translation. The mother’s verbal declaration and physical gesturing combine to form a meaning that an audience/reader familiar with the Quechua culture will understand as nothing less than Isicha’s certain doom.

The Quechua narrator describes the nature of the mother’s gesturing by using the precisely inflected verb *ch’awarparikusqa*. ‘*Ch’away*’ is the infinitive form of the verb ‘to milk’, to which the narrator has added the infixes: –pa- (indicating the repetition of an action with the intent of correcting something that has already occurred), -ri- (marking the initiation of the action indicated by the verb) and –ku- (the

reflexive marker) (Aráoz and Salas 110, 148, 58). Taken together, these infixes inflect the normally transitive verb ‘*ch’away*’ with a very particular meaning whose concomitant brevity and power are impossible to express with English grammatical forms. Within the context of this story, the implied intention associated with the repetition of a particular action (signaled by the infix –pa-) is clear to the listener/reader of the Quechua original; unable to nourish and protect her estranged adult daughter, Isicha’s mother gestures that she is milking herself. The mother thus repeats a past action which once sustained her young child, but that is now undertaken in vain. The uselessness of her gesture is threefold: she is obviously unable to draw sustenance from her breasts, she directs the imagined stream of milk towards the ground and her daughter refuses to accept any proffered nourishment. As the statement ‘With this alone you will find your everlasting life’ prefaces this gesture, the words become a curse cast upon the girl by her wounded mother. Understood in this manner, these words and gestures come to signify both the mother’s realization that she has nurtured her daughter in vain *and* her simultaneous warning to Isicha that she will have to pay for forgetting the importance of her kin (without whom she would never have survived infancy) by forever relinquishing the chance to encounter ‘everlasting life’. In rejecting the gift of her mother’s food Isicha essentially guarantees her own doom.

Sure enough, that same night the ungrateful girl dies in her sleep; as a *condenado* she realizes the cause of her unhappy fate and explains the reason to her compadre, “*Turayman mikhuy wikch’uykusqaypas, pisi hucharaqmi. Taytayman, mamayman mikhunawan wikch’uykusqaymi hucha. Hatun hucha chay—*” (“Having rejected the food offered to me by my brother, this is a small offense. But the offense of

having rejected the food offered by my father, my mother-- this is a grave offense”) (Lira *Cuentos* 80, my translation). Realizing the gravity of her offense, however, is not enough to save her from the fate that her mother cast upon her. Wandering the earth along with the curaca she is pursued by vicious dogs, a sure sign of her status as a *condenada*.

A Pair of Unsettling Willakuy: “Yana Kuru” and “Qholla wawata condenadotaq”

On a warm, November afternoon Grimaldo Quillahuamán Cusihuamán, a *yuyaq tayta*, monolingual Quechua speaker, farmer and retired traveling merchant from the community of Ch’akalqocha, narrated a story called “*Yana Kuru*” (‘Black Worm’). After having spent several hours planting papas in some of Mr. Quillahuamán’s nearby fields, group of about ten male and female relatives and neighbors sat on blankets in one of the fields while enjoying a batch of his wife’s locally renowned *frutillada* (strawberry infused chicha). Grimaldo Quillahuamán’s brother expressed his hope that the *frutillada* would cure his stomach pain and in response to this, a neighbor man joked that this pain would likely continue as long as his wife continued to serve him ‘unhealthy’ (“*mana allinta*”) foods. Grimaldo responded to this allusion to domestic witchcraft by reminding the group about the story of a local *layqa* whose identity was finally revealed after she attempted to trick others into eating dangerous foods.

In “*Yana Kuru*”, the *layqa*-witch’s intended victim is her own husband whom she attempts to feed *ch’uño phuspi* (steamed *ch’uño*) which has become infested with black worms.²³ In the Chincheros region and in many rural Quechua communities throughout the Southern Andes, black is considered a dangerous color and is often

associated with witchcraft and death. An adolescent who chooses to wear all black clothing outside of mourning will likely be accused of wishing for his own mother's death (personal communication, Alejandra Mango). Likewise, layqas who plan to carry out malevolent spells often use black string to tie around the photograph of an intended victim, or to bind together agricultural products which they bury at night in the corner of an enemy's field—an action which is believed to cause the crop to wither and die before harvest (ibid.; Hernán Quillahuamán Quispe).

In this story, the narrator's friend is not pleased when he recognizes his wife unexpectedly approaching him during a business journey and he refuses to accept the meal that she offers him. The woman's surprise arrival comes just as the business partners are deciding whether or not to attempt a potentially risky nocturnal crossing of the mountain crevices that lie ahead. The wife's appearance precisely at the moment when the men arrive at a particularly dangerous portion of their journey seems to foreshadow the problems that will ensue. The narrator indicates, "*warminwan mana allintachu kawsaran*" ("my friend lived unhappily with his wife") and when the woman offers her husband the boiled ch'uno that she has brought for him he defiantly responds, "*Ama mihuymanchu, qan mihuy*" ("I will not eat this, you eat it"). Upon hearing this rejection of the proffered food, the woman becomes irate and slaps her husband. In return, she receives both a slap and a kick from her husband, which causes the baby sleeping on his mother's back to begin to scream and cry. The persistent wife responds to all of this by demanding, "*Ch'akchishan manachu kay llaqikunki. Kay wawa waqashan, yaw! Apamushayki mihuy!*" ("Doesn't hitting us in this way also cause you pain? The child is crying, listen! I have brought you food, now eat!"). To this

question and demand, the woman's equally obstinate husband simply replies, "*Mana mihuymanchu, carajo!*" ("I will not eat, damn you!"). The narrator ends his tale by explaining why the actions of this seemingly ungrateful and abusive can be justified:

Hinasqa mana ch'unu phasi kasqachu, chay kuru, kuru huti huti kuru, yana kuru karan kaynankuna . . . ñawpaq percakunapi pachanpi karan anchi kasqa. Manan ch'uño phasichu karan. (transcription, Wency Condori Callapiña and Alison Krogel)

It turned out that it wasn't boiled ch'uño at all, but a *huti huti* worm, a black worm about yea long <<four inch length indicated with hands>>. In the old days, inside old walls and in the earth these worms lived. So it wasn't boiled ch'uño at all. (my translation)

In the community of Ch'akalqocha, grandparents tell their grandchildren and retell their own children a variety of stories involving rundown, abandoned adobe houses located in the hills surrounding the community. Travelers and stranded shepherds occasionally stop at these houses for the night and inevitably, these unsuspecting wanderers are offered an evening meal of *hank'a* (toasted corn and/or lima beans) or *ch'uño phasi*. In these stories, the former usually turns out to be human teeth, while the latter is generally revealed to be disguised rocks. The prevalence of these stories reflects the commonly held belief that abandoned or dilapidated houses (especially those in the high *puna* tablelands) provide refuge for *condenados* and *layqas* who frequently try to bewitch unsuspecting visitors through the ingestion of adulterated foods.²⁴ It also reinforces the advice which many parents offer their children from a young age: "*Aswan sumaqpuni, chay mihunaq q'onchaykimanta*" ('Food from one's own stove is always tastier'). In conversations with Rosa Quispe—a *yuyaq mama*, monolingual Quechua speaker, farmer, accomplished weaver, sheep herder and mother of twelve children—I was repeated reminded about the dangers

associated with wandering around the Chincheros region at night. A life-long resident of the Chincheros community of Ch'akalqocha, Rosa asserts that the high concentration of *condenados* in the region should not be taken lightly; a point which she often reinforces through the narration of frightful occurrences which have befallen herself or her acquaintances. In a *willakuy* which I will refer to as “*Qholla wawata condenadotaq*” (‘The Newborn Baby and the Condemned Soul’), an unlucky nocturnal encounter with a *condenado* almost results in the loss of a couple’s newborn child. Although the *condenado* initially claims that he is lost and only wishes to continue onward (“*Chinkallakamun, riyta munashani*”), the mother soon realizes that what the malevolent soul really desires is to make a meal of her defenseless baby. The narrator confirms the woman’s fears in the closing line of the brief *willakuy*: “*qholla wawata munashan chay condenado, mihurumanmi si destinasqa chaypaq kashan chay condenado, mihupunña tutapi, tutapi mihupunña*” (‘That condemned soul wanted the couple’s newborn baby and if this is the baby’s destiny the *condenado* eats, just eaten in the night, in the night he eats it’). As in “*Yana kuru*” discussed above, the narrator of this *willakuy* utilizes the narrative device of repetition in order to emphasize the sinister nature of a particular event. In this case, the fact that the baby may be eaten at night is repeated in the closing line of the tale; the first time with an infrequently used sentence structure in Quechua (in that the verb appears before the noun) and finally, with typical verb-final Quechua syntax, “*tutapi mihupunña.*”

The presence of snakes, owls, black *taparaku* moths, toads, the owl-like *q’esqe* bird, large dogs, or particularly sneaky cats often signals impending doom in stories of the Quechua oral tradition. In the farming communities near the town of Chincheros in

Southern Perú, the appearance of a toad (*hamp'atu*) near one's house or lurking around one's papa, barley, lima bean, or oat fields is a sure sign of bad luck. Twenty years ago, the disquieting number of toads near the communities of Yanacona and Ch'akalqocha led to the farmers' decision to drain a small, nearby lagoon which they partially blamed for the disturbing infestation. According to many area residents, the decreased number of toads coincided with a decline in the number of unfortunate incidents related to *layqas* in the region. Most residents accept this conclusion since it is well-known that many malevolent spells call for a toad as the primary ingredient.²⁵

“Layqa wayk'uy”

Nevertheless, older residents still clearly recall a time when *layqa*, *ñak'aq* and *condenados* ruled the Chincheros' night and when their region was notorious as a breeding ground for such malevolent souls. One particularly fearsome *layqa* is locally referred to as *“Layqa wayk'uy”* ('The Witch Cook') and in a *willakuy* known by the same name, Rosa Quispe relates the tale of this infamous cook who died when the narrator was still a young girl. The following is a transcription and English translation of a version of the narrative, which Rosa related to a group of four female neighbors (and myself) one October afternoon while pasturing sheep in a field near their homes. The paragraph and sentence separations correspond to moments in which the narrator paused during the tale, or when <a listener interjected a question or exclamatory remark>. In both the Quechua transcription (completed by myself and Wency Condori Callapiña) and my English translation of the *willakuy*, comma placement corresponds (approximately) to the narrator's breaths instead of according to language-specific

grammatical rules. In the following transcription, character dialogue has also been separated from descriptive or narrative passages. It should be noted that certain aural and visual signals given by the narrator are impossible to translate onto the written page. For instance, Rosa often changes the inflection of her voice and always leans forward towards her audience, hunching her shoulders and lowering her eyebrows when a character speaks. Quechua narrators use different signals (usually shifts in voice inflection or body position) to indicate the beginning of a character's dialogue or a change of speaker and these variations are also difficult to indicate in a written version of a *willakuy*.

Ñawpaqraqcha karan huk señora, huk layqa, hinaspas, hamp'atu iskayta uywasqa mosoq mankachapi-- chay hamp'atu iskayta karan. Huk q'omer watuchawan karan, huk puka watuchawan karan. Chaysi chay hamp'atukuna tusuchisqa mankakunapi. Chaysi watuchamanta hap'ispa tusullachisqa tusuyta. [1]

“Pita, mayta, riyta munanki wayqecha”, nispa [2]

Chaysi, “wawaykita munani, wawaykita munashani”, nispa neqtin. [3]

<Cheqaqchu?! Akakallaw!!> [4]

Chay mamitaqa wawanta llank'aq risqa, chaysi kutimunapaq, mihunata wayk'usqa allin meriendayta: qowita kankan, tortillata ruwan, lisa uchutawan ruwan. Chayniyoqta, sumaq wayk'uta suyachin mihuchiman karan, chay layqata. Chaysi, chayman, chay layqata mihunaman thoqaruchisqa, kinsa kama. Chay layqata thoqaruchisqa, chaymi, chay jarrapi mihuchinanpaq. [5]

Enamorado kasqa, chaymi, chay enamoradan Marcapataman pakasqa chay joven-- chaysi Marcapatapi tiyasqa. Tardepi samaspa haykumusqa, ima chay enamoradan Marcapatamanta uyllarisqa rimasqanta chay jovenman willaramusqa. Chaymanta nisharanku, [6]

“Haywarusunchis chay layqata.” [7]

Chayta yacharuqtiña chay chaymi mihuna wayk'usqata platupi sumaqta suyachin, [8]

“Manan mihuymanchu mantay. Mihuy qan primeruta, mihuy mantayta.” [9]

<Ay! Chhaynaqachu?> [10]

Mihurachipusqa mantan, nispa ñataq mamallatantaq. Chay layqata mihurachipusqa chaysi huk ratuman imatachá ruwaranqa. Hinaspas, ñamanta lloqsirusqa kanchapi ukhuta haykurusqa chay kancha, hisp'asqanta astallamanta mihuchisqa chay layqa mamaku chaywan kutichikun chaywan mihusqa --- chaynan chay layqa – . [11]

Haqay hatun ayllupi anchaypi tiyaran, antesmantaraq, paymi willawan ñawpa timpupi karan-. [12]

Long ago there was a woman, a witch, actually, she had raised two toads inside a new cooking pot-- there were two of those toads. There was a short green woven cord, and there was a short red woven cord. They say that with these cords the woman made those toads dance in the cooking pots. Holding onto these little cords she made the toad only dance and dance. [1]

“To whom, where, do you want to go brother?”, saying. [2]

Then, “It is your child that I want, your child I am wanting”, saying, he said (the frog). [3]

<Really?! How awful!> [4]

As the woman’s son had gone to work, to hasten his return, she prepared all the best foods for his afternoon meal: she roasted cuy, she made tortillas, she made olluco with uchu peppers. Then, this layqa, set aside all of these deliciously cooked dishes. And so they say, then, this witch quickly spit in the food, three times. This witch spit, right there, there in the dish where the food was made. [5]

But the son had a lover, and by then, this lover had been hidden in the village of Marcapata by the young man -- and so they say that this lover lived in Marcapata. In the afternoon a breath blew past, and all the way in Marcapata this woman heard what had been said and told her young lover everything. And so they decided, [6]

“let’s go catch up with this witch.” [7]

So by then the young man already knew that a deliciously cooked meal awaited him, [8]

“I will not eat, my mother. You eat first, eat mother.” [9]

<Ay! And then what?!> [10]

And so he made his own mother eat on and on, they say only his mother ate. That witch had been forced to eat all of the food which shortly before what evils hadn’t she done to it? Then, already having arrived inside the corral and having entered the corral, having urinated little by little while making the food, in this way that old witch transformed the food—that’s how it was with that witch—. [11]

In that big ayllu over there she lived, long ago, she told me this story in the times of long ago. [12]

As discussed above in the analysis of passages from *Comentarios Reales*, Quechua narrators take special care to let their audiences know just how they originally learned about a certain story. In this case, Rosa claims that long ago she heard the above cited *willakuy* from the *layqa wayk'uq* herself and indeed, the last line of the story reiterates this assertion and reinforces Rosa's status as a reliable narrator:

“Haqay hatun ayllupi anchaypi tiyaran, antesmantaraq paymi willawan antesta timpupi karan” (line 12). The fact that Rosa spoke with a dangerous *layqa* when she was still a young girl and later survived an encounter with a *ñak'aq* (something which all local *runa* know), have contributed to her status among neighbors as the most knowledgeable source of information regarding *ñak'aq*, *layqa* and *condenados*.

Rosa begins to perform all of her stories with a soft and mysterious voice aimed at drawing the audience nearer to her and capturing the attention of those who may be only casually listening to her narration. In the opening moments of this story Rosa uses both parallel structure (italicized below) and repetition (underlined) to establish the rhythm of her *willakuy* and to foreshadow impending doom.

Ñawpaqraqcha karan huk señora layqa hinaspas, hamp'atu iskayta uywasqa mosoq mankachapi-- chay hamp'atu iskayta karan. *Huk q'omer watuchawan karan, huk puka watuchawan karan*. Chaysi, chay hamp'atukuna tusuchisqa mankakunapi. Chaysi watuchamanta hap'ispa tusullachisqa tusuyta (section 1).

The fact that this “señora layqa” raises two frogs and is powerful enough that she can incite them to ‘dance and dance’ (emphasized by the repetition of this verb “tusullachisqa tusuyta”) immediately signals impending danger to a listener from Chincheros, as it is well-known in the region that the only people who can motivate a toad to dance are powerful *hampiq* or *layqa*. Quechua narrators often use repetition as a

narrative device which allows them to emphasizing events, characters, or details of story which play an important role in subsequent events or outcomes in the tale.

The cadence and tension of a Quechua tale is often maintained through a careful balance of the narrator's pauses and the stress which she places on particular syllables. In section two of this story the *layqa* first speaks to her toads; the importance of the moment in which the *layqa* witch expresses her willingness to listen to the toad's demands is emphasized by the narrator's lowered voice and the gradual hunching of her shoulders. Rosa moves slightly closer to her audience and pauses briefly between the first three words of the line while *stressing* the first syllable of the first three words of the phrase (all of which are set off by the accusative suffix [-ta]) "*Pita, mayta, rita munanki wayqecha.*" In section three, one of the toads emphatically announces his desire to possess the *layqa*'s son ("... wawaykita munani, wawaykita munashani? ..."²⁶). The intensity of the toad's wish is signaled through the repetition of the verb 'munay' ('to want'), which in this case, can be interpreted as the toad's desire to possess the son's soul (personal communication, Rosa Quispe). After hearing the toad's wish the witch wastes no time in hastening the young man's return.

An audience familiar with the Quechua oral tradition would have realized the evil nature of a dancing toad from the very onset, so that the toad's desire to possess the woman's son (section 3) is immediately perceived as dangerous. Audience members signal to the narrator that they understand the impending danger with the interjection "Cheqaqchu?! Akakallaw!!" (section 4). Those who listen to a Quechua tale are expected to participate in the performance and oftentimes their exclamations, questions, or urgings lead the narrator to explain a certain event in greater detail, repeat the

description of a certain character, or to continue the narration within even more energy and attention. These interjections are an important feature of any Quechua tale and although the English language lacks equivalents for many of them, in the above narration <triangular brackets> have been used to indicate audience commentary (when more than one listener interjects the same remark, the expression has been underlined).

In many rural Andean villages *runa* believe that they can share food with absent family members through either a symbolic ‘communion of stomachs’, or by blowing the essence of the prepared food in the direction of the distant loved one. In Chincheros, many mothers believe that by preparing the favorite foods of their sons or daughters they can entice their wayward children to come home for a visit (personal communication, Rosa Quispe). The story “*Layqa wayk’uq*” reflects this belief, as the *layqa* sets about preparing local delicacies in order to lure her son home to the toads: “*Chay mamitaqa wawanta llank’aq risqa, chaysi kutimunananpaq mihunata wayk’usqa allin meriendayta: qowita kankan, tortillata ruwan, lisa uchutawan ruwan*” (section 5).

The truly evil nature of this *layqa* mother becomes evident when she adulterates her own child’s food by spitting in it three times. By twice declaring the mother’s wicked deed, Rosa emphasizes the sinister nature of such an act: “*Chaysi, chayman chay layqata mihunaman thoqaruchisqa kinsa kama. Chay layqata thoqaruchisqa, chaymi chay jarrapi mihuchinanpaq*”(section 5). Moreover, the fact that the mother spits *three* times in her son’s food reflects both her desire to cast a particularly powerful spell and the difficulty of the toad’s request (to turn the young man’s soul over to the toads). For both of these reasons the *layqa* cook must call on the combined

powers of the *three* worlds (hanaq, kay and hurin pacha) in order to achieve her desired outcome (personal communication, Rosa Quispe).

Luckily, a sneaky breath of wind reveals the details of the *layqa wayk'uy*'s evil machinations to the young man's girlfriend and by the time he returns home, he is aware of his mother's sinister intentions. The son refuses to eat his mother's food, yet in contrast to the violent reaction of the scheming wife-cook in "*Yana kuru*", the *layqa wayk'uy* obeys her son's demand that she eat first. Once the *layqa* mother has begun to eat the adulterated meal the narrator reveals a more detailed account of the nature of the *layqa*'s culinary spell:

*Chay layqata mihurachipusqa chaysi huk ratuman, imatachá ruwaranqa.
Hinaspas ñamanta lloqsirusqa kanchapi ukhuta haykurusqa chay kancha,
hisp'asqanta astallamanta mihuchisqa chay layqa mamaku chaywan kutichikun
chaywan mihusqa --- chaynan chay layqa – (section 11).*

In this penultimate section of the *willakuy*, the narrator reveals that the *layqa* not only spit on her son's food, but also urinated while cooking. This detail would not be lost on a Quechua audience; in the Chincheros region it is common knowledge that like the power attributed to toads, urine is also frequently used as an ingredient by both *hampiq* and *layqa*—the former use urine for cures and the latter for curses.

While offering a complete transcription of a *willakuy* performance --including audience interjections and carefully placed commas and paragraph separations-- can help to provide a more dynamic written version of an oral text, the print version of an oral text will always lack certain elements of the original performance.²⁷ Voice inflection, sound effects, hand motions and corporal movements cannot be effectively reproduced on the written page. In this tale for instance, Rosa flicks her wrists up and down when narrating the first section of this tale in order to visually explain how the

malevolent *layqa* has trained her toads to dance (by hopping up to grab the end of her colored cords). Instead of explicitly distinguishing the dialogue of different characters in a ‘he said’, ‘she said’ format, Rosa lowers the register of her voice when the toad speaks, assumes a singsong tone when the female *layqa* talks and maintains an vocal intermediate register when the *layqa*’s son addresses his mother in the story. With a whistle and a whoosing sound, Rosa imitates the sound of the wind which blows out from the *layqa*’s house and warns the son’s lover of impending doom. In the last line of the story when Rosa mentions that the *layqa wayk’uq* previously lived in the ‘*hatun ayllu*’, she motions with her hand to indicate the section of the nearby hills where the witch’s house used to stand. All of these extra-verbal narrative devices contribute to the richness of Quechua tales and complicate the task of the translator/transcriber who wishes to transfer an oral tale to a print format. Indeed, many of the stories told in Quechua communities throughout the Andes narrate occurrences which unfolded in the surrounding mountains and valleys-- landscapes with which the listeners are familiar. The audience’s acquaintance with the settings of many Quechua tales they hear assists the narrator in infusing a story with a real sense of doom. The reader of a transcribed and translated Quechua tale must keep all of these aspects in mind when reading a story which has traveled so very far from its original genre and context.

In the tales analyzed in both this chapter and in chapter three, cooks appear as motivated community leaders (*Los ríos profundos*), empathetic matronly figures (“*Isicha Puytu*”), confident, resourceful businesswomen (market women in chapter one) and even cold, calculating malevolent spirits (“*Layqa wayk’uq*”, “*Yana kuru*”). The representation of Quechua cooks in such a wide variety of aesthetic assemblages

reveals the importance of this figure in *runa* communities. As we have seen above, more often than not the ‘outside cook’ is represented as a commanding figure within her community and her profession often provides her with the opportunity to attain a certain amount of economic freedom and social status. On the other hand, in the *willakuy* explored above, only supernatural, ‘inside cooks’ are represented. These cooks misuse the trust of their families and acquaintances and manage to control the lives of their families and communities by adulterating the food which they prepare and serve to others. Whether they expertly market and sell their food to clients, or artfully conceal supernatural ingredients in the meals served to family members, the creative and innovative skills, talents and tactics of both ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ cooks allow for them to utilize the ‘everyday practice’ of cooking as a tool for achieving a degree of independence within their family, community and workplace.

¹ In Father Molina's version of this same tale—which he also identifies as being based on the narrations of elderly Incan sources and which is of the same extension as Garcilaso's version—only half as many 'Dicen que' are used, indicating that, unlike Garcilaso, the Spanish priest did not consider this phrase as a necessary convention when citing an Incan source (Molina *Fabulas y mitos* 33).

² An example of this sort of 'creative modification' appears in *Los ríos profundos* (see pages 153-154 above) when the chichera vocalist alters the lyrics of a well-known Quechua song to correspond to the current political and social upheaval in Abancay.

³ Of course the 'cryptic or opaque-ness' of a group's text depends to a large extent on the context of its creation and the cultural and educational background of its audience. The societal critique or political message of some Quechua texts are anything but 'opaque', see for example the popular tale, "Pongo mosqoynin" ('El sueño del pongo') transcribed by Arguedas (1965).

⁴ I agree with Arguedas that both the tone and the intensity of Quechua oral narratives are compromised when transferred to the written page. In order to partially compensate for this loss, in this chapter I have provided the transcription of one of the Quechua narratives that I recorded in October, 2006 so that readers can pronounce the story out loud. A better solution to this dilemma would be to include an audio CD of the Quechua narrator's oral version along with the written transcription and translation of the tales.

⁵ This volume's carefully transcribed stories and interviews, along with the inclusion of the interviewees' commentary and analyses of their own tales, helped to focus my attention on potential themes and questions before 'going in to the field'.

⁶ Guamán Poma would certainly describe a cook's life as characterized by 'unfreedom' and 'acquiescence'. The Quechua chronicler repeatedly denounces the cruel excesses of ecclesiastical and colonial government authorities with regards to their treatment of Quechua cooks. In addition to making the women cook with ingredients from their own family's reserves, Guamán Poma insists that the cooks are given nothing but abuse in return for their services: "Cómo los dichos padres y curas de este rreyno tienen en sus cocinas quatro solteras mitayas, cocineras, y con la cocinera mayor que guiza de comer . . . todo a costa de los yndios . . . gastan cada día de todas las comidas una hanega y no se le paga" (2: 534). Like Garcilaso's chronicle which takes great care in describing the wealth of foodstuffs grown and prepared in the Andes prior to the arrival of the Spaniards (see chapter two), Guaman Poma also meticulously lists the wide variety of Andean products stolen by the Spaniards:

Cómo los dichos padres de las dotrinas comen cin costa y no le paga de trigo y de maýs y de papas y de carnero, gallinas, pollos, güebos, tocino, manteca, candela de sebo, agí, sal, *tamos* [conserva de papas], *caui* [conserva de *oca*], *chochoca* [maíz seco (medio hervido y secado al sol, Lira)], chuno [conserva de papas], *quinua* [semilla de altura], *porotos* [frijol], pallares, garuansos, hauas, pescado, camarón, lechugas, coles, ajo, sebolla, culantro, pergil, yerbabuena y otras menudencias y comidas y frutas, leña, yerua. De todo no se lo paga . . . Y no ay rremedio ni ay fabor en los pobres yndios deste rreyno. (2: 536; the denunciation of such abuses are repeated in many of the chapters titled "*Padres*")

⁷ Of course colonial ecclesiastical authorities also accused men of performing witchcraft and worshipping the devil. When the 'visitador general ordinario y de las ydolatrias' Juan Sarmiento de Vivero visited the community of Sayán (located in the corregimiento de Chancay, north of Lima) in June of 1662, he not only indicted several women for their work as 'hechiceras', 'curanderas con superstición' and 'adivinas' (who locate lost property through witchcraft), but also charged Domingo Huaman of using herbs and potions to cure his neighbors. When the visitador asks Huaman what substances he uses to cure his patients, the man answers that in addition to the application of coca to the wounds of the injured, he also frequently alleviates fevers with "mais Negro . . . moliendolo y dandolo a beuer con agua" and with "una ierba que se cria en las aseQUIAS de una flora blanca y que no sabe su nombre" (Sánchez 9, 17).

⁸ For a detailed analysis of this process see chapters IX and X of Silverblatt's *Moon, Sun, and Witches*.

⁹ In *Timaeus*, Plato asserts that the designers of human anatomy foresaw the danger of the seductions of cooks and therefore deemed it necessary to wind the bowels “round in coils, thus preventing the quick passage of food, which would otherwise compel the body to want more and make its appetite insatiable, so rendering our species incapable through gluttony of philosophy and culture, and unwilling to listen to the divinest element in us” (qtd. in Symons 38).

¹⁰ The majority of these descriptions are contained in Guaman Poma’s “Capítulo de los Común Hichezeros”-- a chapter written at the beginning of the ‘extirpación de idolatrias’ campaign when the (aptly named) archbishop Lobo Guerrero arrived in the Andes-- (3: 1136).

¹¹ See also the confessions of Padre Pérez Bocanegra for further examples of the use of maize in witchcraft.

¹² Although Lara asserts, “el demonio y la hechicera . . . siempre quedan derrotados por el poder divino” the *willakuy* presented below demonstrate that this is not always true and that in some cases, evil forces succeed in carrying out their evil plots and remain unpunished (*Mitos* 24).

¹³ Although she does not explicitly mention her sources, Gareis affirms that in the early colonial era ‘layqa’ was used to describe, “sacerdotes indígenas con la variedad de tareas característica, en la actualidad este término adopta el sentido de ‘brujo maléfico’ ” (604). I was unable, however, to encounter the word ‘layqa’ in the dictionaries of Santo Tomás or González Holguín.

¹⁴ The belief in a similar version of the ‘condenado’ remained widespread among rural Spanish villagers until well into the twentieth century, so that it is not surprising that this supernatural figure would have been carried to the New World along with Spanish conquistadors, merchants and travelers (Fourtané 162).

¹⁵ On the other hand, ‘almas en pena’ generally roam about lonely stretches of countryside at night. They do not seek to harm the living or create violent disturbances like the more malevolent *condenado* and the purpose of their return to earth is usually to warn of an imminent death (Arguedas “Cuentos” 163).

¹⁶ See Weismantel (*Cholas and Pishtacos*) as well as Mannheim and van Vleet for studies of this unique character in the Quechua oral tradition.

¹⁷ A similar version of this *willakuy* called “*Saqrawan parlaq warmimanta*” and narrated by Agustín Thupa Pacco appears in Itier’s collection of Quechua narratives (126-129). Arguedas has translated the *willakuy* as “El alcalde y el demonio”, emphasizing the first half of the narrative and the ultimate cause of all of the main character’s suffering (*Cantos y Cuentos Quechuas* 53-67).

¹⁸ For a discussion of the complex meanings (both positive and negative) associated with the word *supay* in both early colonial and contemporary times, see Harrison *Signs, Songs, and Memories* 47-49, 135-141 and Silverblatt “El arma de la hechicería” 138.

¹⁹ In Tahuantinsuyu, *curacas* (a Quechua word which likely stems from *kuraq*—the oldest child or member of a group, deserving of respect) served as Incan envoys and were sent to rural districts to oversee the governmental and agricultural administration in each ayllu. After the conquest, *curacas* began to serve as intermediaries between the Spanish administration and the local indigenous populations, often taking advantage of their *runa* ‘subjects’ by requiring onerous tribute in the form of labor (*mita*) or agricultural goods. The Spanish often referred to these *curacas* as ‘caciques’—the word used by the Taínos to identify a similar position of ‘local powerholder’ in the Caribbean (*Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*). Today, both words are used by Quechua speakers to refer to a sort of greedy ‘local boss’ (either *runa* or mestizos) who tries to take advantage of vulnerable *runa* neighbors through shady business dealings or unfair work contracts. ‘local boss’.

²⁰ When the copulative verb ‘kay’ is preceded by the connector ‘chhayna’, ‘kay’ usually means ‘to act’ or ‘to do’ in a certain (often times undesirable) way.

²¹ When Isicha shouts riqsipakuwaychu at her father, the Quechua infix -paku- intensifies the nature of this insult with a subtle power that English grammatical structures simply cannot match. When attached to the stem of the active verb ‘riqsiy’ (to know, to recognize), -paku- indicates that the verb’s action is being realized for the benefit of another party who is waiting to receive retribution (Aráoz and Salas 112). In this case then, one could perhaps translate riqsipakuwaychu less literally as, ‘I do not know you!’. Given the nature of the intense verbal exchange between father and daughter, however, it seems important to emphasize the cruelty of Isicha’s words with the less succinct “Don’t wait for me to recognize you!”, an approximation that nonetheless lacks the painful eloquence of the Quechua original.

²² Here I have chosen to translate “Riqsirqaykichischu” as “I never knew any of you”, a declaration that is suggested by the past tense marker –rqa-. Also, the insult ‘asna warmi’ could alternately be rendered as ‘stinking woman’ or ‘smelling woman’, although the intensity of this situation seems to call for the most insulting of all English olfactory adjectives.

²³ The well-known story “Saqa paya (transcribed and translated by scholars such as Lara [1973] and Payne [1999] and frequently narrated in the communities of the provinces of Chincheros and Ocongate, department of Cuzco) presents a similar theme in which a malevolent cook seeks to lure hungry, innocent travelers to their doom through her use of poisoned victuals.

²⁴ Gregorio Condori Mamani narrates a similar story in his *Autobiografía* (59-61).

²⁵ Although both aquatic (*k'ayra*) and land dwelling (*ch'eqlla*) frogs are frequently boiled and eaten in broths said to treat the symptoms of menopause, rheumatism and high cholesterol, eating a toad would violate perhaps the most widespread food related taboo in the Southern Andes. Indeed, ‘*hamp'atu michiq'* (toad shepherd) is not an uncommon insult heard in the rural communities of the department of Cuzco²⁵.

²⁶ In the analysis of this *willakuy*, all interpretations cited as (personal communication) should be attributed to the narrator Rosa Quispe. When I asked Rosa to explain various aspects of her narrative she offered detailed observations and explanations—many of which are cited in the present text.

²⁷ While Quechua scholars such as Lara, Arguedas, Payne and Taylor have published bilingual anthologies containing contemporary examples of texts pertaining to the Quechua oral tradition, both the transcribed and translated versions of these texts almost always appear in a carefully edited format which eliminates audience interjections, repetitive verbal structures and indications of narrator reliability (which may occur multiple times in one sentence). Except in the case of Payne (*Cuentos Cuzqueños*) these anthologies lack any indication of the context in which the stories were narrated, or the characteristics of the audience listening to the performance. See Harrison (*Signs, Songs, and Memories*), Arnold and de Dios Yapita, Mannheim (“Hacia una mitografía”) and Mannheim and Van Vleet for examples of studies of Quechua and Aymara texts which include more dynamic analyses, transcriptions and translations of Andean oral traditions.

Conclusion:

Globalization and the Quechua Food-universe

The previous chapters of this dissertation have explored culinary representations as they appear in a variety of Quechua cultural texts. Representations of food and cooking in these aesthetic assemblages often serve as strategies for achieving a degree of adaptive resistance against the oppression of hegemonic societal sectors. Thus, these Quechua texts become vehicles for creative cultural expressions that confront the concerns, desires, resentments, plans, histories and fantasies of their creators and audiences. Indeed, nearly all of the selected texts were created in contexts of conflict, so that even though culinary representations in these texts often serve as oppositional tactics, one should also recall the oppressive powers that creators and their audiences must struggle to evade in the material world which surrounds them. Geertz warns about the danger of analyses which, “. . . in search of all-too-deep-lying turtles, will lose touch with the hard surfaces of life—with the political, economic, stratificatory realities within which men [and women] are everywhere contained . . . (16). The goal of this conclusion is to integrate aesthetic, literary analyses of culinary representations in Quechua cultural texts with a presentation of some of the ‘real world’ struggles related to food supply in contemporary Perú.

The manner in which a conflict-laden issue is presented in a text depends on whether the audience encounters an ethnographic narrative, a lyrical poem/hymn, a novel, a testimonio, a historical chronicle, or a *willakuy* performance. This conclusion discusses the newest and perhaps most unrelenting antagonist of the Quechua food-

universe at present-- globalization. In this conclusion, the abrupt and shocking contrasts --between the local and the global, the rural and the urban, the very rich and the very poor—which a globalized world economy leaves in its wake will be addressed and invoked through the juxtaposition of data laden prose with lyrical texts. As a final study in the ways in which widely divergent genres transmit related arguments in very different ways, the following pages address Perú's current food-security crisis by bringing the messages contained within statistics, song and poetry into conversation.

The twenty-first century Peruvian economic and cultural landscape is increasingly characterized by a disintegration of the division between the 'local' and the 'global'. Thus, global petroleum prices affect the prices of vegetables at Cuzco's *Mercado Central*, while weather patterns near Southeast Asian rice fields can determine the food security of millions of *runa* living in both coastal cities and highland villages. Yet within this new global order, *runa* agropastoralists still remain the most vulnerable group of Peruvians. As García Canclini has pointed out time and again, life in this postmodern era means an existence characterized by *bricolage*, in which diverse epochs and cultures converge in previously unimaginable spaces and ways (132). In this new millennium, the daughters of Quechua chicheras invite their aging mothers to live with them in Flushing, New York where they open up Peruvian restaurants as family ventures; Quechua llama and sheep herders travel to Idaho ranches to care for North American ruminants and the economic survival of entire Quechua communities depends on the international market for cuys which are exported to expatriate Andeans in Spain, France and the U.S. This new global order increasingly relies on a deregulated international market, free trade, uncontrolled investment flows,

close ties to global financial markets, access to (and knowledge of) advanced information processing, technology and communication systems and an adherence to the demands and decisions of the IMF and the World Bank (Eide 30, Romero “Tratado de libre comercio”). Of course globalization is not a new concept in Latin America, since 1492 native peoples of the Americas have been forced to learn the painful lessons that accompany a civilization’s violent incorporation in the world-economy (Boron 165). Unfortunately, this ‘incorporation’ into a global economy does not solve the socio-cultural, political and economic traumas that result from centuries of servitude and impoverishment suffered by the majority of the population

In the *willakuy* explored in the previous chapter, representations of food and cooking develop within a context of subtly suggested gender, ethnic and familial tensions. In *Ukuku kimsa wawayuqmanta* (“La osa que tuvo tres hijos”) a Quechua woman must use her cooking skills to elude the clutches of her mestizo employer, while in the *willakuy* *Isicha Puytu, Yana kuru* (“Black Worm”) and *Layqa wayk’uq* (“The Witch Cook”), the representation of food—and in particular, the rejection of dishes prepared by a family member-- plays an important role in revealing the central conflict of each text and in the unraveling of their denouements. Just as food is often associated with conflict in the realm of these Quechua narratives, ‘real world’ issues related to food cultivation, acquisition, distribution, preparation and consumption in the Andes are also embroiled in a wide range of tensions and discord. Dilemmas related to food supply politics, the exportation of Andean products and changes in the preparation and consumption habits in Quechua family homes affect the everyday lives of *runa*. Although these tensions are often reflected in contemporary Quechua oral tradition (in

genres such as the testimonio, song and willakuy), politicians, economists and non-governmental organizations are often slow to realize the vital importance of food-related conflicts, pressures and shortages.

Food Supply Dilemmas in Perú: Past and Present:

In order to more completely understand Perú's present-day food supply struggles, it seems prudent to briefly recall relevant food policies and crises that have occurred during the past hundred and fifty years. By the mid 1860s for instance, most haciendas on Perú's coast ceased to produce foodstuffs and began to plant cotton, as the U.S. Civil War led to a rise in global demand for this product (Peloso 104). Other far-flung events occurring in 1899—the failure of the Indian rice crop, rising prices of lard in the U.S., an increased Ecuadorian demand for Peruvian foodstuffs—led to soaring food prices in Perú at the turn of the century (ibid. 105). In addition to these international events, increased migration of highland peasants to coastal cities left agricultural land in the hands of fewer and increasingly powerful owners who tended to plant crops for exportation, thus adding to the severity of the food supply crisis (ibid.). These food shortages led to the government's prohibition of vegetable exports in 1917 and its complete control of beef sales and exports in 1918.

In the following decades the flow of urban migrants continued to increase while the country's arable land became increasingly consolidated under the ownership of fewer and fewer families. The agricultural census of 1961 reported that 1.3 percent of the nation's 845,000 farms covered a full eighty-four per cent of agricultural land (Alberts and Genberg 362). The poverty, oppression and widespread discontent that

resulted from such inadequate distribution of arable land led to the agrarian reforms under Belaúnde in 1964 and Velasco in 1968. Although the Agrarian Reform Law of 1964 did divide large hacienda holdings into smaller units for peasant families (resulting in the redistribution of 300,000 hectares in the Andes), it did not affect coastal farmlands at all and contained various loopholes that highland landowners could manipulate for their benefit (Alberts and Genberg 363).

After ousting Belaúnde in a 1968 military coup, Velasco proceeded to abolish latifundios and to expropriate large coastal estates with the intention of turning them into collective farms-- an idea supported by both Church and Leftists. Although ten million hectares were involved in this redistribution project, it remained largely unsuccessful; Andean peasants demanded the return of their lands from the hacendados (and not an invitation to work on a 'collective farm') and coastal 'collective farms' failed as a result of scarce investment capital, infrastructure and technology (ibid. 365). Belaúnde's plan did, however, succeed in limiting land ownership to one hundred and fifty hectares. Nevertheless, in the years following Velasco's reforms, highland peasants organized massive invasions of 'cooperative lands' and with reelection of Belaúnde in 1980, many of these cooperatives were indeed broken down into smaller family farms (ibid.).

With the election of Alan García in 1985, his populist government instituted small wage increases, import restrictions and an emphasis on the revitalization of small-scale technology in the Andes. García encouraged peasant farmers to produce basic foodstuffs like maize, papas and wheat and also called for an increase in the production of Andean crops such as quinoa, cañihua and kiwicha-- crops which, as

demonstrated in the willakuy “Isicha Puytu”-- had lost both prestige and importance during the previous decades of food importation (ibid. 366-367). Under Fujimori (1990-2000) assistance for the family farmer disappeared and in many regions throughout the Andes agricultural production dropped drastically, leading rural populations to become increasingly dependent on the State’s delivery of staples (ibid. 368). Fujimori’s elimination of development projects meant that credit for the agricultural sector was largely eliminated and that farmers interested in improving their crops or modernizing the production mechanisms of their farms were left without any State support (“WTO Agreement”). Furthermore, small-scale farmers were also affected by the government’s exchange-rate policy; as their products could not compete with cheap imports they were effectively priced out of the local market (ibid.).¹

Unfortunately, as this brief review of governmental food supply and agricultural policies reveals, for most of the twentieth century the choices made by Lima politicians seem to echo John Super’s description of sixteenth century philosophies of food supply policies in the Viceroyalty of Perú:

Food as nutrients necessary for life and health, was often less important than food as income and power. The interplay between producers, distributors, consumers, and political officials, each struggling to further their own interests, gave life to the politics of food. (40)

Until Peruvian politicians, business owners and large landholders desist from viewing food as a source of potential financial gain and power, it will remain impossible to solve the present problems of malnutrition and the unequal distribution of nutritional resources throughout the country.

An estimated 1.3 million hectares of Peruvian land is used for farming (amounting to only one percent of total land area), and although the agricultural sector

accounts for over 30 percent of total employment in Perú, it contributes only 12.5 percent of the nation's GDP (Quiroz "Agriculture, Trade"). Agriculture in the Andes largely consists of subsistence farming, thus the majority of the nation's agricultural production comes from coastal plantations and crops raised in river valleys. For most of the twentieth century Perú imported large quantities of food products and it continues to import wheat, soy, maize, dairy products, vegetable oils and other basic foodstuffs, leading to its classification by the WTO as a "net food-importing developing country (NFIDC)" (ibid.). In 1985-87, Peru's agricultural imports averaged an annual US\$528 million and its exports US\$325 million, resulting in a deficit of US\$203 million (ibid.; Romero "Tratado de libre comercio"). In 2002 Perú achieved its first trade surplus with the US in terms of agricultural products, even though coffee prices remained low during this year (coffee generally constitutes fifty percent of all Peruvian food exports) (Romero "Tratado de libre comercio").

Who Benefits from the Export of Andean Foodstuffs?

Perú's main export products include cotton, sugar, coffee, fishmeal, fish oil and while the export of fruits and vegetables has been growing rapidly in recent years, only three percent of all agricultural workers in Perú are employed in the export sector (Romero "Tratado de libre comercio").² The export of products such as paprika, mango, artichoke, asparagus, papaya and olives has become increasingly profitable in recent years for export companies like T-Interamerican Perú and Perú Agro Partners. Companies such as Bedicomsa, Interamsa and Leoni also export dried legumes and corn marketed as: 'giant lima beans', 'black eyed peas', 'Maíz gigante del Cusco' and

'purple corn' from "the Sacred Valley of the Inca." In recent years a few companies (Interamsa, Okendo's Peru Craft, Peruvian Nature, Macandean) have also begun to export Andean products such as maca, yacón, uchu (ají) pastes, quinua and kiwicha. These products are marketed as 'organic', 'herbal remedies', or 'super foods' to North American, European and Japanese populations who purchase such goods as part of their quest to attain a more 'balanced', 'natural' and 'stress-free' lifestyle. Peruvian economists, politicians and intellectuals who have argued in favor of an increased investment in this 'organic' industry point to Perú's unique biodiversity as a perfect fit for "las crecientes exigencias sobre el consumo de productos orgánicos, con características exóticas" (Amat "El mundo y lo local" 79; Romero "Tratado de libre comercio"). As Javier Llacsá of the 'Instituto Nacional de Investigación Agraria' (INIA) points out, Andean farmers (and their advocates) should focus their energies on locating these small, highly specialized markets which do not demand uniformity, or consistent, high yields of the same crops year after year (requirements which the non-industrialized, organic methods of Andean farms are unlikely to provide) (personal communication).

The large Peruvian company Interamsa pays special attention to their online marketing of quinua and kiwicha, providing potential clients with detailed recipes, historical and biological background and nutritional charts which describe these Andean grains. As U.S. studies have pointed out, however, although quinua has been available in U.S. health food stores and supermarkets since 1984, the current market for quinua in North America remains quite limited since consumers are not familiar with the product (Oelke et. al "Quinua"). Still, it appears as if quinua's high nutritional

quality, pleasant flavor and perceived ‘healthfulness’ may contribute to the crop’s growth potential in the U.S. and Europe, particularly as an ingredient for processed baked goods and energy bars (ibid.).³ Nevertheless, an increased consumption of quinoa in North America and Europe does not necessarily mean increased profits for Andean farmers, since U.S. agricultural research laboratories are continually developing new ‘low altitude’ and ‘high-yield’ strains of the plant for future cultivation in the U.S (ibid.). In recent years, the news that two researchers from Colorado State University succeeded in acquiring a patent for a variety of wild Bolivian quinoa (called *Apelawa*, from which they created a hybrid version) has angered Bolivian and Peruvian farmers and agricultural exporters (“Patentada la Quinoa”). According to a report in the Peruvian journal *Wayra*, the patent does not only apply to the hybrid created by these researchers, but to a wide variety of related quinoa species (ibid.). According to U.S. patent law, the cultivation, sale and export of any quinoa product grown from these species would be illegal (ibid.). The threat of industrialized countries’ patent laws effecting the viability of Andean agricultural exports has still not been resolved and remains a worry for producers of Andean grains (particularly corn and quinoa) and tubers who hope to increase their profits through the exportation of their crops (Romero “Tratado de libre comercio”).⁴

In any case, as many economists have pointed out, in the emerging global food order, access to export markets for such ‘organic’, ‘artesanal’, or ‘natural’ products is largely controlled by a limited number of large transnational companies, while the role of the Peruvian farmer is usually limited to that of a closely supervised contract grower (Jonsson 55-69). In Perú, as in many developing nations, institutional support (such as

assistance in searching for new market niches, acquiring updated agricultural technologies and lobbying for beneficial import/export legislation) for small-scale farmers is either lacking or non-existent, so that large export companies enjoy the majority of the benefits resulting from an increased commercialization of Peruvian products. Meanwhile, Quechua farmers are often left at the mercy of Lima-based or transnational companies who possess the technology and knowledge of global markets necessary to successfully export, process and market Peruvian products. As Jonsson points out, “transnational companies per se do not constitute a foe to small peasants. However, in the absence of strong institutional support of small farmers, they tend to reinforce the position of the already strong parties in the local society” (65).

Changes within the Quechua Kitchen: Intersections of the Global and the Local

¡Hatarichis!

Let us rise up!

*Ñawpa pachkunapi
kusilla kawsarqanchis
llaqtanchista khuyaspa
Chakranchista tarpuspa
Runa masinchista yanapaspa . . .
Papa mama, sara mama,
Kusilla llank'asqa
Pirwakunata hunt'aspa
wata watan churarayaq . . .*

In those long ago times
happily we lived
loving our land
planting our fields
helping our neighbors
papa animator, maize animator,
happily we worked
filling the stockpiles
year in year out stored away

(5)

*Ima muchuy kasqanta
Yarqhaypa nanayninya
Llullaypa chaninta
Manan yacharqanchischu
Tawantinsuyu pachapiqa*

What suffering has been endured!
to continue to feel hunger, becomes painful
to continue to feel consoled, by the truth
we were not accustomed to this
in the times of Tawantinsuyu

(10)

II.

<p><i>Jina manta, manapis wahayasqan</i> <i>Manapis munasqan</i> <i>Auqa runakuna chayamun</i> <i>Wiraqochan kani nispa.</i> <i>Mana rurasqanta, thuñichin</i> <i>Mana tarpusqanta, mikhun</i> <i>Uywanchista tukupun</i> <i>Khuyasqanchista cheqnin</i> <i>allp'anchista suwan</i> <i>Warminchista wachun . . .</i></p> <p>-----</p>	<p>And so it was, although no one called them (15) no one wanted them enemies arrive saying, "I am Wiraqocha" without building, he demolishes without sowing, he eats (20) our animals, he finishes off all that we love, he detests our land, he steals our women, he abuses . . .</p>
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<p><i>Tutallanñan p'unchwapas</i> <i>kawsaypas manañan kawasaychu</i> <i>Wañuyllan wañuy</i> <i>llakillan llaki</i> <i>waqallan waqay</i></p>	<p>Even the day darkens (25) this life is no longer life only death is death only sadness is sadness only weeping is weeping</p>
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III.

<p><i>Kunanqa ;Hatariychis,</i> <i>allp'aq wawankuna! . . .</i></p> <p>-----</p>	<p>And now let us rise up, (30) sons and daughters of the land!</p>
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<p><i>Musup p'unchwami illarishan</i> <i>Orqokunan kununushaqa</i> <i>wayrakunan qhapapashaqan</i> <i>Inti Killa ch'ipipishaqan</i> <i>Mayukunan machasqa takikushaqan</i></p> <p>-----</p>	<p>A new day is shining the mountains are murmuring the winds are whispering the Sun, the Moon glow brightly (35) the intoxicated rivers are singing . . .</p>
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<p><i>¡Jaylliy! ¡Jaylliy! indiokuna,</i> <i>Ama kunanmanta</i> <i>Qonqor chaki kawasasunchu</i></p>	<p>Rejoice! Rejoice! Indians, Never again will we live in this way, [subservient] kneeling</p>
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<p><i>Aswan qaparispan nisun:</i> <i>¡Wañuyumi aswan allin</i> <i>qonqor chaki kawsaytaqa!</i> <i>¡Jaylliy! ¡Jaylliy! indiokuna!</i></p>	<p>Yelling louder we will say: (40) Death is preferable to a life of [subservient] kneeling! Rejoice! Rejoice! Indians!</p>
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César Guardia Mayorga (*Kusi Páucar*) (My translation)

Although the facts, figures, statistics and citations presented above may provide an accurate account of the instability of food security in contemporary Perú, the dry

and distant tone of this data-packed narrative tends to lull all but the most numerically oriented readers into glazed-eye apathy. The succinct, measured directness of the language in Guardia Mayorga's poem, however, addresses similarly complex and dangerous food-security issues in a more striking and elegantly concise form. The poet uses parallel structure to emphasize the harmony and happiness felt in pre-conquest Quechua communities who rarely suffered want: "*llaqtanchista khuyaspa/ Chakranchista tarpuspa/ Runa masinchista yanapaspa*" ('loving our land/planting our fields/helping our neighbors') (3-5). The respectful invocation of "*papa mama*" and "*sara mama*" suggests the cooperative nature of Quechua agricultural rituals in which the animating essence (*mama*) of staple crops receives ritual offerings and in return, *runa* farmers ask to receive plentiful harvests. In contrast to this harmony, the next instance of parallel structure reveals the reason for present-day scarcity: "*Mana rurasqanta, thuñichin/ Mana tarpusqanta, mikhun*" ('Without building, he demolishes/ Without sowing, he eats') (19-20).

In chapter seven of *Los ríos profundos* Arguedas describes the mismanagement of the salt cache in the town of Abancay. The chicheras' impassioned uprising in response to this offense demonstrates the fact that in Quechua culture, disrupting the balance of food gifting and receiving is a serious transgression. The selfish and disrespectful treatment of *runa* farmers by Spaniards in post-conquest Perú (lines 19-24) foreshadowed the cruel mismanagement of food resources which continues to occur throughout Andean countries today. Guardia Mayorga published this poem in the *Revista de Cultura* published by the Universidad Mayor de San Simón in Cochabamba Bolivia (reprinted in Lara *La literatura de los Quechuas* 170).⁵ The optimistic tone of

the last stanza of this poem can be explained by the historical moment in which the author composed the piece. When *¡Hatarichis!* appeared in the 1957 edition of the *Revista de Cultura* the memory of attempted agricultural reforms, labor strikes and widespread inflation was still fresh in the minds of both the rural and urban Bolivian populace.

After returning from exile, Víctor Paz Estenssoro assumed the presidency of Bolivia in 1952 with a coup d'état organized by members of the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* (MNR) (Urioste Fernández de Córdova "Bolivia"). By 1953 indigenous groups had begun to increase their numbers and organizational strength leading to large-scale occupations of latifundio estates (ibid.). The government also began to institute economic and educational reforms, the universal vote, the nationalization of the mines and in 1953, it formally initiated an agricultural reform program (Wagner M.L. "The Bolivian National Revolution). While this agrarian reform led to the redistribution of some latifundio landholdings to subsistence farmers, the decreasing price of tin on the world market sparked startling rates of inflation (ibid.). The government's attempt to restrict the salaries of mine workers only increased the nation's instability, leading to nationwide protests organized by workers unions (ibid.). Guardia Mayorga is clearly aware of this socio-political and economic context when he encourages his Quechua readers to 'rise up'. Although the poet is aware of the centuries of painful suffering and exploitation which *runa* have endured throughout the Andes, Bolivian attempts at socio-economic reforms during the 1950s infuse this poem with a tone of hope (as well as anger). Although the final stanza asserts, 'A new day is

shining' and calls for *runa* to 'Rejoice! Rejoice', the poet also recalls past grief with determined exclamations of 'Never again/will we live in this way' (lines 32, 43, 37-38).

In the year 2006, Perú is increasingly close to reaching a food-security crisis-- a situation that will not improve as long as the contents and quantities of foods available to the majority of Peruvian families continues to depend on unstable national and international food politics and supplies (Jonsson 55-69; Quiroz "Agriculture, Trade"; Romero "Tratado de libre comercio"; "Patentada la Quinoa"). Guardia Mayorga's poem denounces the abuse of *runa* and their land by lazy, greedy foreigners and recalls that under the rule of the Incas, no one suffered hunger. As mentioned in chapter two, numerous colonial chroniclers also affirmed that starvation appeared to be nonexistent amongst the well-organized, hardworking population of Tahuantinsuyu. The Incas believed that in assuring the adequate nourishment of their subjects, their empire would continue to flourish, a philosophy which post-conquest governments in Perú have not shared. As Mary Douglas eloquently points out:

Like all symbols, food can be manipulated. It can be exchanged, bartered, sold, or given away; it can serve as a medium of exploitation, used for or against people to bring them to a point of capitulation. It can be disguised as an inducement, as entreaty, or a trade-off. Food exists as an ingredient of imperialism, and it can be used profitably against a population as if it were a weapon—paradoxically, one as lethal as starvation. (*Food in the Social Order* 58)

As we have seen in the above chapters, throughout history and in many different contexts, food has played all of these roles in the Andes. In contemporary Perú, the policies of the national government rarely assist (and more often than not they harm) Quechua farmers.

Since the middle of the past century, the Peruvian government has subsidized certain foodstuffs with the intention of making staple foods more accessible to the poorest families. Yet as many have pointed out, “el subsidio, distribuido a través de toda la población consumidora, no resuelve efectivamente las necesidades críticas de los grupos malnutridos” (Amat and Curonisy 223). Thus the prices of imported products such as wheat and cooking oil and coastal products such as sugar and rice are often far lower than Andean products such as quinoa, kiwicha and tarwi, leading to a decrease in the consumption of these products (Orlove 497).⁶ Foodstuffs donated from international organizations or the national government also tend to consist of these same imported or coastal products. Studies reveal that after a family has become accustomed to consuming certain donated products (vegetable oil, canned fish/meat, wheat bread) they often seek these products out at the local market, thus decreasing their consumption of higher protein, calorie and vitamin rich foods produced locally at cheaper prices (Prudencio and Velasco 90).⁷ Surveys carried out in 2001 by researchers from the NGO ‘Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala’ in the department of Cuzco report that while nationwide statistics show that twenty-five percent of all Peruvians suffer from chronic malnutrition, the rate almost doubles in Cuzco, reaching almost forty-three percent amongst the department’s population (Quiroz “Agriculture, Trade”; Laurent et al).⁸

Subsidy influenced shifts in consumption patterns not only affect the health of Quechua families, but also decrease the profits of local, small-scale farmers. Many economists, politicians and intellectuals have suggested that in order to address Perú’s food supply problems, the production of ‘traditional’, high-protein, vitamin rich staples

such as quinoa, kiwicha and tarwi should be supported by the government since, “it may be easier to improve a traditional staple than to control the consequences of introducing a new one” (Sandoval and Sandoval 12). Cuzco based companies such as ‘Molicuzco’ and ‘Perú Inca’ have recently begun to increase the regional and nationwide distribution and marketing of Andean products such as: quinoa/kiwicha breakfast cereals and energy bars, quinoa flakes (for pastries and mazamorrás), popped quinoa snacks, and maca/kiwicha/quinoa flours and instant breakfast mixes. Unfortunately, these nutritious and easy to prepare foods are still sold at prices which make the products inaccessible to the poor Peruvian families who need them most.

Yet despite all of the pressures of globalization, urbanization and negative social stigmatization attached to some Andean foods, Quechua culinary traditions continue to flourish in both rural communities and cities throughout the Andes. In regional, village, neighborhood and family festivals or rituals; cooking competitions and ‘Gastronomical Festivals’; as well as in the exclusive restaurants and tourist oriented cafés serving the ‘Cocina Novoandina’, the flavors, ingredients and techniques of generations of Quechua cooks continue to be prepared, served and enjoyed. The Quechua food-universe is cyclical in nature and in order to understand its rhythms and nuances, one must also be able to identify the meanings associated with annual festivities, as well as ‘everyday’, context specific dishes (Meneses 102, Ossio “Aspectos simbólicos” 569-597). In the Andes, this gastronomical cycle still functions with surprising regularity and the preparation, selling and consumption of certain foods signal an entire calendar of special occasions. Carnival season, Holy Week and Corpus Christi are all marked by the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ preparation and consumption of

festivity-specific foods, while November's *Día de todos los Santos* fills the Mercado Central with tables of sweet breads baked in the shape of dolls and horses (*t'anta wawa*) which will later undergo mock baptisms, solemnly performed by the girls and boys who receive them as gifts. June's tourist saturated *Inti raymi* festival also attracts scores of local families who bring their freshly harvested papas, ocas and habas to the outskirts of the Sacsayhuamán ruins in order to bake the tubers in underground *huatya* ovens for themselves. In addition to these annual festivities, regional and community-based gastronomical celebrations organize cooking competitions and restaurant fairs.⁹

Perú's New 'Alimentary Geography' and the 'Cocina Novoandina'

Since the 1980s when Bernardo Roca Rey, the president of the Peruvian Gastronomical Academy, launched the culinary movement called 'Cocina Novoandina', an interest in incorporating Andean ingredients into new recipes has also steadily grown in both exclusive restaurants and small, family owned eateries (Contreras Rázuri). The acceptance of 'New Andean' cuisine amongst different populations within Perú can be understood best perhaps by considering the notion of the shared meanings of food presented by Barthes in the essay, "Towards a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption." In this formulation, three thematic concepts contribute to the creation of a food's meaning: 'historical' (properties of a food that allow people to maintain daily contact with a perceived 'cultural' past), 'feelings of inferiority/superiority' (certain 'superior' foods are sought out, while 'inferior' foods are avoided since they harm the eater's social status) and 'health' (emphasis is placed on the 'traditional' healthfulness of certain foods) (ibid. 22-25). In the case of the

‘Cocina Novoandina’, the ‘historical’ and ‘health’ values of Andean products such as tarwi, ch’uño, quinua, kiwicha, moraya, cochayuyu, maca, coca, uchu, olluco and oca are marketed to both Peruvian and tourist consumers, while the meanings associated with ‘feelings of inferiority/superiority’ are the most difficult to overcome in convincing middle and lower class urban mestizos and *runas* (particularly adolescents) to consume ‘New’ Andean cuisine (Quispe Ricalde).

As Douglas points out in her well-known essay, “Deciphering a Meal”, the various meanings expressed by foods are often both subtle and highly complex: “If food is treated as a code, the message it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries. Like sex, the taking of food has a social component, as well as a biological one” (61). Thus, upper and upper middle class consumers (particularly in an urban, coastal context) tend to view these same Andean products with a lens similar to that of a tourist diner—as ‘exotic’, ‘organic’ survivors from a long ago healthy and more tranquil era.¹⁰ Consequently, maca juices and liquors are marketed as the Peruvian ‘eau de vive’, full of potent, vital energy, while coca ice cream, candies and liquors are sold under labels that remind the consumer of the healing powers long associated with the leaf.¹¹ While a white, upper class Cuzco teen might find the idea of a coca flavoured ice cream cone intriguing, a rural migrant intent on learning Spanish and establishing a new, urban identity will tend to keep his distance from coca leaf products, or ch’uño soups.

Although the basis of the ‘Cocina Novandina’ centers on ingredients that have been cultivated, prepared and consumed by Quechua families for centuries, Novandina

cooks often integrate ‘exotic’ cooking techniques and ingredients in their creation of a fusion cuisine that they hope will be more palatable to demanding clients. In the kitchen of a novoandina chef, quinoa flour may be mixed with wheat flour to create hearty and nutritious pastries, while boiled sweet potato, quinoa flour, llicha greens and a beaten egg are combined to make ‘quinoa crêpes’. Cheese, cilantro, onion, garlic, oregano and cumin have long been adapted to the recipes of the Quechua kitchen and ‘Novoandina’ chefs also frequently incorporate these ingredients into their dishes. As Brillat Savarin would say, the ‘alimentary geography’ of Andean cuisine has been expanded, as new ingredients are combined with the old in an effort to create new flavors, textures and dishes.

Although Fernández-Armesto acknowledges the success of “fusion” and “international” cuisines in the past few decades, he still admits, “Food is not easily communicable between cultures” (137). This difficulty clearly concerns many Peruvian chefs and as the Limeño chef Claudio Meneses points out, even if we assume that Peruvian foods and flavors might be acceptable to an international palate, the products necessary for the production of the ‘Cocina Novandina’ are not easy to obtain overseas: “. . . si bien se puede reproducir en la agricultura del Perú cualquier cosa que crece en cualquier parte del mundo, al revés no ocurre lo mismo . . .” (81).¹² Another important point brought up by Meneses is the difficulty of exporting a cuisine that has not yet been accepted (or perfected) domestically (Meneses). In this context Meneses brings up the example of the cuy, “. . . ni siquiera ha logrado popularizarse fuera del Perú no andino; mucho menos internacionalizarse. Tenemos pues una cocina difícil de reproducir fuera del Perú” (ibid.). Indeed, the idea that cuy al horno or cuy chactado

might enjoy success internationally among non-Andean diners does seem highly unlikely, although one should not assume that widespread domestic success is a prerequisite for the exportation of ‘Novoandina’ cuisine. Dishes elaborated with ch’uño, cañihua, charqui, or mote do not carry a negative stigma when served abroad, even if domestically certain Peruvian diners might feel hesitant to consume these foods.¹³ Of course it is always possible that in the complex currents of international trade and trends, Andean products like quinua and maca which are beginning to find success abroad, might soon discover newfound acceptance at home.¹⁴

Urban Migration and Changing Alimentary Patterns

Imallachá...?

Imallachá warmi wawacha
Hayk’allachá warmi wawacha
warmi qhepanpi purinallanqa
Imallachá qhari wawacha
warmi qhepanpi purinallanqa

Chankaka hina qhawapayana
Azúcar hina qhawapayana

Imallachá warmi wawacha
Hayk’allachá warmi wawacha
warmi qhepanpi purinallanqa
Imallachá qhari wawacha
Wiksananaypaq santo remedio¹⁵

Imallachá warmi wawacha
Hayk’allachá warmi wawacha
warmi qhepanpi purinallanqa
Imallachá qhari wawacha
warmi qhepanpi purinallanqa

Azúcar hina qhawapayana
Chankaka hina qhawapayana

Imayachá noqapas kani
Imayachá noqapas kani
Imallachá qhari wawacha
warmi qhepanpi purinallanqa

What’ll Happen...?

What’ll happen to the little girl?
 How much’ll happen to the little girl
 who only walks behind a woman?
 What’ll happen to the little boy
 who only walks behind a woman? (5)

One must watch over her like chankaka
 One must watch over her like sugar

What’ll happen to the little girl?
 How much’ll happen to the little girl
 who only walks behind a woman? (10)
 What’ll happen to the little boy?
 For my stomach a sacred remedy

What’ll happen to the little girl?
 How much’ll happen to the little girl
 who only walks behind a woman? (15)
 What’ll happen to the little boy
 who only walks behind a woman?

One must watch over her like sugar
 One must watch over her like chankaka

And what’ll happen to me? (20)
 And what’ll happen to me?
 What’ll happen to the little boy
 who only walks behind a woman

Chaynallataq noqapas kani
Chaynallataq noqapas kani

(Dominga Quispe)

For I too live like this
For I too live this this

(my translation)

(25)

While watching over her herd of more than fifty alpacas, ten-year-old Dominga Quispe intoned the slow, plaintive strains of this disquieting song which I recorded in July, 2002 and have transcribed and translated above. Having been asked to perform her favorite song (*taki*), Dominga did not hesitate to share the sad verses of *Imallachá*. The conversation immediately preceding her performance had dealt with the positive and negative aspects of her shepherding duties that involve long, windy days spent on a 14,500 foot mountain pass overlooking her family's home. Dominga admitted that while she loves her animals, she sometimes wishes that she could attend school with other children-- although she quickly noted the impossibility of such an idea, since her mother needed her help around the house and pastures. Dominga's preferred *taki* repeatedly asks (eight times in fact) 'what'll become' (*Imallachá*) of the girl or boy who must walk only behind a woman and refers to the strains placed on the family members left behind when a father, husband or brother must travel to the city in search of wage labor. Like the girl in the song, Dominga has also spent the past three years of her youth walking 'only behind a woman', as she lives with her younger siblings and mother while her father (like most of the other fathers in her community) and older brother spends many months each year looking for work in the urban center of Cuzco.

The multi-genre study of Quechua narrations presented in the previous chapters reveals the alternate ways in which culinary representations condemn the excesses of

hegemonic forces while also depicting *runa* tactics for achieving socio-economic independence and influence. Quechua texts—like the song transcribed and translated above—may also reflect the pressure and challenges of a rapidly changing global economy in which the status of the Quechua food-universe still remains unclear. Even in rural Quechua communities which continue to practice many of the same agropastoral economic activities which have sustained them for centuries, signs of new hardships and challenges have begun to surface.

This song begins almost like a riddle by posing a series of questions which immediately engages the listener(s) by asking her to participate in the conversation-song. Like Incaic hymns and contemporary riddles, this song repeatedly poses difficult questions in the form of semantic couplets: -“*Imallachá warmi (qhari) wawacha/ Hayk'allachá warmi (qhari) wawacha.*” Although the singer never explicitly answers the uncertainty of what will become of the child who ‘only walks behind a woman’, she does follow up these questions with a warning: “*Chankaka hina qhawaypayana/ azúcar hina qhawaypayana*” (‘One must watch over her like chankaka/ One must watch over her like sugar’) (6-7, 18-19). This semantic couplet revolves around the verb ‘*qhaway*’ (‘to look/to watch’) inflected with the frequentative infix ‘*paya*’ which indicates continuity and repetition (Aráoz and Salas 120). This line then, suggests the need to ‘look at continually’, ‘guard’, or ‘watch over’ one’s children. Dominga herself clearly described the meaning of the simile in this line when she explained the difficulty in acquiring chankaka and *especially* sugar in her isolated puna home. This means, the singer explains, that mothers must watch over their children just as carefully as they

protect the family's precious stock of sugar from the hands of sweet-toothed ("hillusapa") boys and girls.

Chankaka is solid, unrefined cane sugar and is relatively cheaper than the fine-grain, industrially processed, white sugar. In *Los ríos profundos* Ernesto refers to a treat enjoyed by Abancay's children that calls for "la chancaca más barata que hacían en las haciendas del valle" mixed with "limón real", forming "el manjar más delicado y poderoso del mundo." (Arguedas 204). Children in Q'eros also savor the small pieces of chankaka which they sometimes receive as a gift when a family member or *comadrelpadre* returns from a trip to a town or city where the sweet can be acquired. Ironically, the highly valued sugar and chankaka mentioned in the song are precisely the kinds of foodstuffs that must be purchased with cash acquired by the wage labor of an absent father. By the end of the song, the performer's questions become less abstract and more personal as she reveals that her own biography parallels that of the 'little girl' mentioned throughout the song: "*Imayachá noqapas kani*" (And what'll happen to me?), "*Chaynallataq noqapas kani*" ('For I too live like this') (20-21, 24-25). In the final lines of the song, the performer answers the riddle of *who* the song refers to, but she does not offer any answer to her own difficult questions regarding the future of *runa* children who grow up in single parent households. As if to emphasize the gravity of this difficult question and painful recognition, the lines are repeated verbatim in immediate succession.

Although the Quechua texts discussed in this dissertation should be valued and analysed in terms of their aesthetic qualities, they also serve as important indicators of the needs, worries, struggles and triumphs of the texts' creators and audiences. In this

respect, the song *Imallachá...?* is no different; it provides us with important insight into the struggles of rural Quechua families who must send one or more of their family members off to the city in search of wage labor. In rural regions of Perú, women like Dominga's mother must assume all of the household and agricultural tasks during the extended absences of their partners. This increased workload leaves little time for the processing and preparation of time-consuming ingredients and dishes (tarwi and quinoa require fairly extensive processing, as does cañihua which must be toasted and ground into flour) (María Quispe, personal communication). Urban cooks, on the other hand, may have more access to economic resources than their rural counterparts, but they often complain that it is impossible to find high quality ingredients in the city and that their children are not interested in eating 'comida de campesinos' (Alejandra Mango, Julia Condori, personal communication).

The pressures of global economic forces combined with the social stigmas attached to certain products pertaining to the Quechua food-universe have led to changes in the Quechua kitchen during the past several decades. Rice has largely replaced quinoa as a staple grain for most Quechua families who do not produce quinoa, while the relatively high price of cuy and kiwicha purchased in the market means that cooks reserve the preparation of these high-protein products for special occasions. Valderrama and Escalante argue that changes in the contemporary Quechua food-universe extends into the countryside as well. The anthropologists assert:

Con las migraciones a las ciudades, con los cambios de cultivo que se introducen debido a una acelerada orientación hacia los mercados, y debido a ciertas tendencias individualistas que ingresan a las Comunidades, la comida en la sociedad andina va perdiendo su antiguo significado y las técnicas que se usaban en su preparación. ("La comida en los Andes" 4)¹⁶

The tendency for *runa* and mestizo families in the department of Cuzco to increase their consumption of processed carbohydrates (polished white rice, noodles and bread) as a replacement for Andean grains and to consume less calcium and iron rich Andean vegetables such as, llulluchu (algae), llicha (quinua leaves), *Llutush* (olluco leaves) and *kanchiyuyu* (tarwi leaves) continues, in spite of surveys which show that both urban residents (83.5%) and rural populations (72.6%) consider Andean products to be the healthiest of food choices for their families (Laurent, Romero “Tratado de libre comercio”). Indeed, Quechua cooks living both in the city of Cuzco and the surrounding countryside cite both economic pressures and the changing tastes of their children as the reasons behind their decisions to abandon or alter certain dishes prepared by their own mothers and grandmothers (ibid. personal communication).

Food often serves as a marker of class, ethnicity, race and even gender—a characteristic that has unfortunately contributed to a devaluation of many Andean foodstuffs historically associated with ‘poor’, ‘ignorant’ and ‘backwards’ *runa* lifestyles. With Perú’s continuing food security crisis and staggering rates of chronic malnutrition and poverty, the need for programs focused on renewing the cultivation, processing, dissemination, preparation and consumption of nutritious Andean foods has become vitally urgent. An increased consumption of foods such as, protein-rich tarwi, quinua, cañihua and kiwicha; calcium-rich llullucha and cañihua; iron- rich llicha greens and *chulco* herb and the iodine-rich *qochayuyu* would provide a cost effective and relatively accessible relief to many of the country’s nutritional and food importation problems. Development workers and government strategists should consider the food security issues of the country (and especially the Andean region)

before turning to ‘export strategies’ as their primary anti-poverty weapon. By replacing imported, nutritionally inferior staples like white bread, noodles and rice with these and other Andean foods, the levels of malnutrition and vitamin and mineral deficiencies would decrease, while profits for local farmers would substantially increase.

Since the national government’s interest in promoting and supporting Andean agriculture remains dreadfully inadequate, departmental and regional governments must seek out creative financial and marketing strategies for Andean projects. Regional and community wide gastronomical festivals, cooking contests and recipe publications organized by municipal governments and NGOs have provided a positive point of departure. Likewise, in Cuzco and the nearby countryside, ‘culinary education’ programs disseminated in primary schools, community centers and on radio programs are making efforts to provide information about Andean products and to dispel negative myths and stereotypes associated with these foods. Well-meaning (and well-funded) international groups such as the United Nation’s ‘Grupo temático’ have expressed their opinion that increasing the production and consumption of Andean products could serve as an important poverty reduction measure, yet since the group’s formation in 1993, they have achieved little real-world impact.¹⁷

Perhaps one of the ‘creative financial strategies’ for supporting these projects and agricultural education campaigns might come from a more organized effort (on a department [province/state] wide level) to seek investment in processing plants for Andean products that could be distributed nationally and internationally as ‘organic’ or ‘natural’ foods. Organic energy bars and pastries made from cañihua, kiwicha, quinua and tarwi flours could be sweetened with the high quality chocolate and honey

produced in Quillabamba and could at the very least, be sold in the tourist saturated city of Cuzco and the towns of the ‘Sacred Valley’. Bolivian farmers’ advocacy groups such as ANAPQUI have managed to increase the export (and internal consumption) of quinoa and should serve as an example for Andean producers. The difficult task of combating the dire nutritional situation in the Peruvian Andes will require numerous creative plans and strategies in the coming years, yet the history of this region’s innovative and successful food production should give us every indication that such a goal is indeed attainable. Across genres and historical periods, culinary representations in Quechua texts have often served the purpose of critiquing oppressive, hegemonic groups, maintaining mutually beneficial relationships with the gods and for depicting the organizational and economic influence, guile, creativity and dignity of Quechua cooks. In the coming years, *runa* communities and individuals will need to use all of the skills and talents demonstrated by the cooks represented in these texts in order to advocate for the revaluation of the Quechua food-universe—a goal which would go a long way towards solving the food-security crises which currently plagues the Andean nations.

In many of the contemporary Quechua narrations discussed above—the novel *Los ríos profundos*, the testimonio *Autobiografía* and the *willakuy* performances presented in chapter four—food-related behaviors and events are nearly always linked to the issue of trust. The chicheras’ mistrust of town officials in *Los ríos profundos* sparks their uprising and march to the community salt cache. In *Autobiografía*, Asunta continually mentions examples of how food behaviors can make or break trust-based relationships among *runa*. Domestic partnerships are broken or sealed with specific

food-related gestures (rejecting a home cooked meal and extending an invitation to a lavish lunch, respectively); children are nurtured or turned away by their caretakers; and regular customers are secured or lost. The relative status of such interpersonal pacts can often be understood by means of the complex signals related to the preparation and serving of particular foods. In *Isicha Puytu, Yana kuru* (“Black Worm”) and *Layqa wayk’uq* (“The Witch Cook”), conflict-laden representations of food and cooks signal the presence of tensions and the changing nature of interpersonal relationships within *runa* communities. When husbands and sons reject the meals of their wives and mothers for fear of poisoning, when daughters refuse to accept the treats carefully prepared for them by their mothers and when cannibalistic *condenados* wander through the fields surrounding a village, something is definitely amiss. Throughout the Andes, food cultivation, preparation and consumption habits are changing; many adult men and their adolescent children are migrating to urban areas in search of wage labor, while news, trends and products from cities arrive to rural villages with increasing rapidity. Thus, for a culture in which meal sharing plays an important role in sealing familial or community alliances, ratifying business contracts and expressing affection and esteem, the frequency with which one hears tales of food-related mistrust signals the current tensions felt within many *runa* families and communities.

Although different genres may address similar themes and sentiments, each one is characterized by its own voice and form. A creator may, however, incorporate the voice (“spirit”) of one genre into the form of another (Guérard 31). Thus, while *Los ríos profundos* is a novel—an extended piece of prose fiction containing the elements of character, action, incident and plot—it also incorporates other genres (songs, poems,

oral narratives, myth) within its narrative structure. The genre of the novel provides Arguedas with an aesthetic space in which he can develop complex character interactions, lengthy descriptions of nature, perceptive observations of social practices, as well as tension filled scenes of action and conflict. By incorporating the genres of poetry and song into his novel, Arguedas focuses attention on particularly emotional scenes in which characters decide to use lyrical performances to express their feelings. As intense concentrations of verbal and rhythmic expression, poetry and songs present emotions, arguments and critiques in succinct and memorable ways. The use of figures of speech and metrical composition (instead of the ordered syntactical structures used in most prose texts) obliges the reader (or listener) of poetry, song and riddles to participate actively in interpreting the text's meaning(s) and to pay close attention to both the form and the content of the composition.

The Quechua riddle is another aesthetic category which demands an active audience and which depends on the skilful use of clever adjectives and tropes (particularly metaphor) to create succinct and memorable enunciations. Since Quechua riddles and *willakuy* are almost always transmitted orally, the beginning of these texts is signalled not by a book cover or the opening credits of a film, but by a 'trigger phrase'. While riddles begin with the phrase "*Imasmari, Imasmari . . .*" ('Guess what, guess what?'), *willakuy* often begin with the phrase "*Ñawpaqraqcha . . .*" ('Long ago . . .') and end with a variation of "*antesmantaraq, paymi willawan ñawpa timpupi karan*" ('she [or he] told me this story in the times of long ago . . .').¹⁸ These genre-specific codes signal to the reader that she should look for certain tropes, styles and characteristics and also focus her attention on key passages contained within the text.

Of course the creator/author is under no obligation to follow any genre-specific ‘rules’ thus, “The primary act of the generic critic is suppositional and metaphoric: let us explain this literary text by reading it in terms of that genre” (Rosamarin 40).

In Quechua genres which are primarily oral-- the *willakuy*, song/hymn, poem and testimonio—maintaining the chronological progression of events is not as important to the creator and audience as following these genre-specific codes. Although Asunta shares her life history in *Autobiografía*, she takes great liberty with the order in which she tells her story and often shifts the chronological direction of her narrative if a myth, anecdote or bit of advice occurs to her. Garcilaso also integrates many elements of the Quechua oral tradition into *Los comentarios reales*. This historical chronicle also adopts a loose chronological structure and although Garcilaso uses Renaissance rhetorical strategies in the construction of his narrative—he conscientiously cites both classic and contemporary sources, he invokes Cicero’s account of *De inventione* when describing the dawn of Incan civilization and he provides minute details of battles, customs and laws (*amplificatio*) (Abbott 88, 95)—he also incorporates Incan mythical figures, anecdotes and oral tales into his chronicle. In this way, Garcilaso eschews the chronological narration of events in favor of one of his foremost concerns, retaining the reader’s interest.

In this dissertation, texts of many different genres have addressed the increased struggles and stigmas associated with the Quechua food-universe. Some portents of the future are contained in the closing lines of *Autobiografía* when Asunta mentions that if she were younger, she would try to organize an entrepreneurial venture selling clothing since the increasing costs of staple, Andean foodstuffs continue to rise, thus reducing

the profits for market vendors, cooks and chicheras. In the *willakuy* “Isicha Puytu”, the title character refuses to accept her mother’s gift of foods made from quinua, mote, ch’uño and cañihua because she associates these foodstuffs with the poverty and social stigmas from which she is trying to distance herself. In the ever-evolving repertoire of Quechua cultural texts, however, aesthetic genres are always changing and emerging as new generations of *runa* artists seek to understand and interpret the world around them in meaningful ways. In the last several decades, a new musical genre called *chicha* has become extremely popular amongst the children of *runa* migrants who were born in urban areas and who may or may not have learned Quechua from their parents. This new musical genre fuses the instruments and rhythms of highland, Quechua *huayno* songs with tropical, coastal *cumbia* and favors socially engaged lyrics that often denounce the poverty, racism, violence, dangerous working conditions and loneliness which *runa* migrants must face in the cities. The overwhelming success of *chicha* music suggests that these lyrics strike a chord with listeners who are displeased with their current living conditions and who still turn to cultural texts as a way to understand and improve the world in which they live.

¹ Farmers' memories of these government policies are keen, which has led to passionate opposition to the US/Perú 'Tratado de Libre Comercio' currently under negotiation. Many small-scale farmers are worried that their products will not be able to compete with a flood of untaxed (and heavily subsidized) US agricultural imports and that only the huge coastal growers (of mangoes, asparagus, artichokes, sugar) will benefit from the trade policy ('Conferencia sobre el Tratado de Libre Comercio', Cuzco, Perú, 10/11/05).

² The FAO reports that in 1994 Perú was the largest producer of coca leaf in the world with an estimated output of between US\$500 million to US\$1 billion (Quiroz "Agriculture, Trade"). The production of the coca leaf fluctuates greatly depending on weather patterns and the current government's reaction towards international pressures to eliminate the crop.

³ The global market for kiwicha appears even more limited, although its consumption has risen in recent years in Andean cities such as Cuzco with the marketing of packaged energy bars and *api de kiwicha*—instant hot beverage mixes (Romero).

⁴ The president of the Bolivian "Asociación Nacional de Productores de Quinua" (ANAPQUI) travelled to New York in June, 1996 to appeal his group's case in front of a General Assembly of the United Nations. ANAPQUI farmers claimed that the U.S. quinoa patent endangered Bolivian food security, thus constituting a violation of human rights ("Agricultores bolivianos"). Indeed, since the 2002 FAO 'World Food Summit' in Rome the attainment of food security—defined as 'the existence of physical and economic access to enough safe and nutritious foods to satisfy the requirements of an entire healthy and active population'—has been increasingly referred to in terms of a human rights issue (Herrera Zegarra, Jonsson 55-65). As Koos Neefje of OKFAM UK sustains, "Nos adherimos a ANAPQUI en solicitar para que la patente sea suspendida. Es una clara amenaza a la seguridad alimentaria. Patentar cualquier cultivo de alimento es moralmente ofensivo, y no debe ser permitido por los gobiernos" (ibid.).

⁵ Although he was a Peruvian poet and Quechua linguist, Guardia Mayorga also spent time investigating Quechua manuscripts near Cochabamba Bolivia and was a colleague of the Bolivian Quechua scholar Jesús Lara (Itier "¿Visión de los vencidos" 105-106).

⁶ In studying the changes in alimentary patterns on the island of Amantaní in Lake Titicaca, Gascón points out, "No es gratuito el éxito del arroz, es uno de los productos cuya comercialización ha sido más apoyada por los diferentes gobiernos peruanos en las últimas décadas para cubrir especialmente la demanda de alimentos de las áreas urbanas, ya fuese subsidiando su precio, ya incentivando su producción mediante gigantescas obras de irrigación" (68).

⁷ In any case, studies have shown that government food aid programs do not reach a large number of hungry Peruvians. For instance, only twenty-two per cent of children (ages 6-14) living in highland villages and urban slums received aid from the "Programa de Alimentación Escolar (PAE)" in 1990 (Quiroz "Agriculture, Trade"). In the Q'eros region of Perú I have also observed the widespread sale and barter of government issued milk and nutritionally fortified crackers intended for school children in these highland villages.

⁸ Statistics measuring rates of anemia in the Cuzco department report even more staggering results; forty percent of women (ages 15-59) suffer from anemia, while a full seventy percent of children under the age of fifteen suffer from this iron deficiency disease (Laurent et al). In his conference presentation discussing malnutrition in Perú and in particular, within the Department of Cuzco, he did not offer hypotheses as to why the level of malnutrition in Cuzco is nearly double that of other Departments.

⁹ Oropesa's "T'anta raymi" bread festival, Tipón's 'Festival del cuy', Raqchi, Santiago and Andahuaylillas' annual cooking contests, and the monthly 'Festival Gastronómico' held in the Cuzco neighborhoods of San Jerónimo and San Sebastián are a few examples of community-based events which contribute to the diffusion of Quechua ingredients, recipes and flavors.

¹⁰ It has also been suggested that in an era when Peruvians lack a dominant political, athletic, or musical personality whom they can admire, they tend to look towards Peruvian products for a sense of stability and pride, "Porque, a ver: ¿Cuándo le ha faltado su ají de gallina? ¿Cuándo su 'Sublime' [Peruvian brand of chocolate] se ha metido un autogol? ¿Acaso habrá un día en el que no dejemos de agradecer las maravillas eternizadas por los antiguos peruanos? . . ." (Comercio 10/9/05). The *¿Cómprale a Perú!* campaign attempts to capitalize on this sentiment and to appeal to nationalistic passions in its efforts to promote the increased consumption of Peruvian products.

¹¹ Of course the idea that certain foods contain curative powers is certainly not a new one: “En el Perú se comen platos que curan la resaca y platos que despiertan la libido y platos que comemos para curarnos todas las enfermedades. Estos platos tienen que añadirse a los platos puramente de carácter ritual. . .” (Meneses 99).

¹² Of course many other Limeño chefs (where the majority of Perú’s cooking academies, culinary publications and exclusive restaurants are located) do not even consider the idea of internationalizing a ‘New Andean Cuisine’, but instead concentrate on the exportation of more ‘coastal’ cooking styles. Chef Gastón Acurio for example, believes that in the next ten to fifteen years the internationalization of Peruvian cuisine will have occurred, “vamos a ver una maravillosa explosión por todo el mundo de restaurantes peruanos entendidos como concepto, cebicherías, pollerías ‘Peruvian style’, chifas . . .” (Contreras Rázuri).

¹³ While many Limeño chefs may be focused on ‘internationalizing’ Peruvian cuisine, the owner/chefs of various ‘Novoandina’ restaurants in Cuzco claim that they are finding success right at home. These chefs cite the recent popularity of ‘vegetarian lifestyles’ as having contributed to the success of their menu items (amongst primarily female, international clients), since Andean products include such a wide variety of nutritious vegetables, legumes and grains (González, Condori, Fernández personal communication).

¹⁴ Indeed, tequila consumption underwent a similar process of ‘re-appropriation’ by Mexican consumers in the last century. After suffering decades of decreased consumption at home, tequila was ‘rediscovered’ by Mexican consumers in the 1970s after having enjoyed widespread success in European and North American markets.

¹⁵ ‘Santo remedio’ is the general name for any number of herbal remedies used in Quechua households throughout the Andes and may include: infusions, plaster casts, or topical ointments made from herbal mixtures. When one asks the local *hampiq*—healer for a remedy s/he often replies: “Qoshaykita chaymi *santo remedio*, ratuchalla thaniychinki” (‘I am giving you this *santo remedio*, you’ll be cured shortly’) (Wensy Condori, personal communication).

¹⁶ Gascón presents a similar argument with regards to the Quechua kitchen in the department of Puno: “El campesino actual ya no come lo que comía su padre o su abuelo. Muchos productos y platos han desaparecido, o su consumo ha disminuido para dar paso a otros nuevos no autóctonos, generalmente procedentes del mercado capitalista (59). A 2001 study of food consumption in the department of Cuzco does indeed show a significant age-related difference in diet. Amongst cuzqueños age forty and older, Andean products comprised a full twenty-eight percent of the group’s diet, while the diets of young adults between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five consisted of only thirteen percent of Andean products (Laurent et al).

¹⁷ The group (financed by the EU, Inter-American Development Bank and various Swiss, German, U.S. and Dutch agencies among others) claims: “Aunque la ejecución de estos proyectos todavía no ha empezado debido a los cambios producidos en el clima político, el compromiso por ejecutar estrategias que promuevan los productos andinos sigue siendo fuerte entre los asociados para el desarrollo y el Gobierno” (Abbes “Promoción del cultivo”). This statement highlights the limited impact which these large, international (and highly bureaucratized) institutions can attain ‘on-the-ground’ and reinforces the need for locally developed educational and promotional campaigns carried out by community residents (but which benefit from the organizational and financial support of international or non-governmental institutions).

¹⁸ William Labov refers to these spontaneous, oral narratives as “natural narratives” and he argues that they are structured in six main moments: *abstract* (introduction, summary, reflection) *orientation* (places story in time, place, situation) *complicating action*, *evaluation* (indicates importance of the story’s main point), *resolution*, *coda* (signals the story’s definite close). In Labov’s formulation, the ‘trigger phrase’ would be referred to as ‘*abstract* (363-70).

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Quechua Cultural Texts

Brief Dissertation Abstract:

Throughout history and across continents food has always played important symbolic and pragmatic roles in the shaping of political, economic, social and cultural practices. This dissertation explores the representations of Andean foodstuffs and cooks within a variety of colonial and contemporary texts produced in Quechua-- the language of the Incas spoken today by more than ten million people. While the readings I offer locate texts within significant political, historical and economic contexts, I also focus on the construction of detailed semantic and syntactical analyses. In studying a diverse selection of texts—including oral narratives, songs, historical chronicles, Incaic hymns, poetry, novels and photographs--, this dissertation draws on scholarly works from a number of academic fields. It is my intention that the interdisciplinary nature of this multi-genre, multilingual study will contribute to fields such as Andean Studies, Latin American Studies, Comparative Literature, Anthropology, Native American Studies and Cultural Studies.

- University of Maryland at College Park [5/02]
Master of Arts in Comparative Literature
- Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas at Cuzco, Perú [8/01]
Certificate of Proficiency in Advanced Quechua Language Study
- University of Washington at Seattle [6/00]
Bachelor of Arts in Spanish and Portuguese Languages and Literatures
and Comparative Literature. Summa Cum Laude, 3.97.

AWARDS:

- University of Maryland Graduate School Dissertation Fellowship [12/05]
Chosen as first alternate for fellowship
- Center for Teaching Excellence Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award [5/05]
Chosen as the outstanding TA for the Comparative Literature Department
during the Fall 2004/ Spring 2005 academic year

- Comparative Literature Program, University of Maryland [11/03]
Awarded “ABD with distinction” during Doctoral Oral Examinations
- Cosmos Club Foundation Research Grant [1/02]
Funding for fieldwork in Perú related to my Master’s project entitled:
“The Wandering Song: Quechua Oral Traditions in Perú and Beyond”
- Goldhaber Travel Grant [3/01]
Grant for travel to Conference on Andean Ethnography and Oral Literatures in
Cuzco, Perú
- Latin American Studies Center Summer Research Grant [6/01]
Grant for Quechua language study and fieldwork/archival research on
Quechua Oral tradition in Cuzco, Perú
- University of Maryland Graduate School Fellowship [9/00-6/01 & 9/02-6/03]
Tuition remission and living stipend

PUBLICATIONS:

- “Constructing Cultures of *Chicha*: Fusing *Fronteras* in a Lima Sound-Scape”. in Lusophone and Hispanic History, Literature & Culture: Selected Proceedings from the 4th Annual Graduate Student Conference at UC Santa Barbara. 2003. 121-131.
- “El puente de los días: Explorando el espacio temporal en la poesía de Jorge Carrera Andrade.” in Re/incidencias. Quito, Ecuador: no. 1 (2002): 287-294.
- Gonzales, Odi. *Tunupa: el libro de las sirenas*. trans. Alison Krogel. Lima: Ediciones el Santo Oficio, 2002. (translation of Spanish/Quechua language poetry to the English)

PRESENTATIONS:

- Spanish and Portuguese Department, University of Maryland [4/06]
Spanish 798 Graduate Student Seminar: “From Garcilaso to Vargas Llosa”

Seminar Lecture: “Retórica renacentista y filología Quechua en *Comentarios Reales*”

- Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas: Cuzco, Perú. [7/30/02]
Conference on Andean Ethnography and Oral Literatures

Presentation: “La transcendencia del espacio y del tiempo: el objeto acústico entre las mujeres mapuches y quichuas”

- University of California at Santa Barbara: [4/18- 4/19/02]
Graduate Student Conference on Lusophone & Hispanic History, Literature and Culture

Presentation: “Constructing Cultures of Chicha: Fusing *Fronteras* in a Lima Soundscape”

- New York University: [3/12/01]
Globalization & its Demons Conference

Presentation: “(Re)Demonizing the Orixá: Globalism’s Entrance into the House of Candomblé”

FILM:

- *Imallachá*. [11/02]

This twelve minute documentary film (Spanish/Quechua language, subtitled in English) explores the effects of globalization and (im)migration pressures on Quechua women and their oral traditions. The film documents the songs, stories, struggles and strategies of Quechua women living in rural villages and urban cities of highland Perú and in neighborhoods of Queens, NY.

WORK EXPERIENCE:

- **University of Maryland** World Literature Instructor [9/03-5/05]

- Responsible for creating a syllabus and all accompanying activities, assignments and lectures for three courses per academic year (CMLT 270: World Literature and Social Change, CMLT 275: World Literature by Women, CMLT 277: Literature of the Americas, CMLT 277 Honors).

- Responsible for attending several Comparative Literature “Pedagogical Seminars” each semester. In these seminars I have participated in, organized and presented various workshops focused on: improving pedagogical

techniques for the literature and composition classroom, developing successful in-class activities, effectively designing assignments and assessment rubrics, implementing technology in the classroom and accommodating the needs of a diverse student body.

▪ **University of Maryland** Spanish Language Instructor [9/01- 5/03]

▪Responsible for creating the syllabus and all accompanying activities for three courses per academic year (SPAN 103: Intensive Beginning Spanish, SPAN 201: Intermediate Spanish Grammar, SPAN 211: Intermediate Spanish Conversation). I also collaborated with fellow instructors in the design of the 5-6 exams which were administered during each semester.

▪Responsible for completing one semester of “Instructor Training” focusing on: improving foreign language instructors’ pedagogical techniques, developing dynamic and successful in-class activities and effectively designing assignments and student assessments that reflect course objectives.

▪ **State of Maryland Department of Human Resources & Social Services Administration** Spanish Language Translator [9/04-12/05]

▪Responsible for proofreading English Language documents and then translating them into a neutral Latin American Spanish. Also responsible for formatting the graphic layout of various Social Services Administration documents.

▪ **National Foreign Language Center (NFLC):** College Park, MD
Spanish Language Interpreter & Translator [3/02-5/02]

▪Served as a Spanish language interpreter for NFLC researchers conducting interviews of parents/guardians’ opinions of the Maryland Juvenile Justice System.

▪Responsible for translating interview questionnaires, transcripts, waivers, permission forms into Spanish.

▪ **Video Editor/ Director of Photography:** independent project [5/02-11/02]

▪ Filmed documentary footage, conducted interviews and taped Quechua language songs in Queens, NY and Cuzco Perú; co-edited this footage during the production of a twelve minute documentary video entitled *Imallachá*.

SERVICE ACTIVITIES:

- **Nafiz:** Cuzco, Perú English Language Instructor [5/02-8/02; 5/01-8/01; 5/05-12/05]

- Volunteer responsible for creating lessons and assignments designed to teach elements of English composition, beginning and intermediate English grammar and syntax and intermediate English conversation to Spanish and Quechua-speaking entrepreneurs.

- **Fundación CIMAS del Ecuador:** Quito & Muisne, Ecuador
English Tutor/ Reforestation Volunteer [6/99- 9/99]

- Volunteer in the Foundation's reforestation project of Mangrove forests near coastal villages in the province of Esmeraldas.

- Volunteer English grammar and composition tutor for high school and university students in Quito, Ecuador.

- **American Red Cross:** Seattle, WA
International Social Service Volunteer [9/98- 5/99]

- Responsible for assisting International Social Service Caseworkers to create and update case files for individuals seeking to reestablish family ties after having been separated from their relatives by war, political conflicts or natural disasters.

- Responsible for organizing and facilitating "Community Outreach Events" designed to explain the various Red Cross family tracing services available to members of refugee communities in the Seattle area.

LANGUAGES:

- Native Language: English ▪ Near Native Fluency: Spanish, Portuguese
- Intermediate Fluency: Quechua ▪ Reading Fluency: French, Italian