Obras citadas


AN ANDean RESPONSE TO COLONIAL IDEOLOGY:  
GUAMAN POMA’S PORTRAYAL OF HUACAS

Steven Pent  
University of California, Santa Barbara

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

In the midst of a colonial regime that suppressed public veneration of mummified ancestors, Guaman Poma conflates Andean myth-history with biblical narrative, reconfiguring hero-ancestors from both traditions according to Christian salvation history and Andean timelines. For instance, Adam and Eve in one scene [fig. 1], together with imagined post-diluvian Andean descendants of Noah in another [fig. 2], are pictorially located in the Andes during the first age or primer generación de yndios. Engaged in soil preparation for planting, the pair is depicted making use of the native digging stick taki chaclla (Guaman Poma 40). As one historian suggests, the “story, like that of the biblical tribes, is intensely concerned with control over specific resources in a sacralized landscape” (Salomon, “Introductory Essay” 2). The presence of a tool, furthermore, implies a mediated external relationship with the environment (Echebarría 99) which, in Guaman Poma’s reconstruction, would have meant the domestication of an untamed
Andean topography, in effect, giving a hybrid version of the story of the post-diluvian Noah planting a vineyard. The inclusion of native language accompanying the image of the *taki chaella*, conversely implies a progressive internalization of the linguistic practices (Echebarria 99) within the Andean environment, in this case that of the Quechua language. Thus, by recruiting pre-Christian hero-ancestors, the chronicler connects biblical sacred genealogy with its Andean counterpart, immortalizing them together within a sacred landscape of mountain peaks, rocks, hills, springs, lakes, crags, caves, and other telluric features. The highlands, in this sense, would be characterized by permanent land features imbued with the presence of petrified supernatural beings, otherwise known by the Quechua term *huaca*, whose tradition Guaman Poma sought to rescue as a means of accessing specific physical and social resources.

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

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

Tom Dillehay points out that by constructing these monuments, *ayllus* may have created a “process of transition through which the living and the dead are disentangled and defined contextually, with the former residing outside of the tomb and the latter remaining inside” (8). Moreover, there existed a belief that a breach in a community’s relationship to its ancestors would bring about complaints and accusations from their enshrined kin, who might then respond with illness, injury, crop failures, earthquakes, floods, and so on. It is possible to conclude that each community received its life-energy and specific powers through ceremonial commemoration of its own local *huaca* (be it in the form of monolith, statue, or other sacred object), which at the same time provided both myth of origins (social memory) and primordial title to a location on the landscape (ethnic identity) (Salomon and Urioste 54fn86, 75fn287). As Frank Salomon suggests, “the rites [...] resulted in the creation of an everlasting person whose presence throughout the
annual round of celebrations would voice the claims of social structure” (“The Beautiful Grandparents” 336). For Guaman Poma, then, it was imperative to retain this link to both myth-history and sacred topography in order to preserve the seamless web between physical and social resources against a background of Spanish ransacking of sacred places and antagonistic policies begun at the First Council of Lima in 1551.

Furthermore, it seems possible that he purposely masked contemporary ancestral shrines by alleging their pre-Hispanic destruction under the eleventh Inca, Guayna Capac Ynga, as stated in his text: “Y [los huacas] no quisieron hablar ni responder en cosa alguna. Y mandó [Guayna Capac Ynga] matar y consumir a todas las huacas menores [divinidades de nivel local]; saluaronse los mayores” (Guaman Poma 236). This could in fact refer retrospectively to the Inca custom of desecration of local tombs, as a means of occupation and establishment of imperial identity and mytho-historical placement in local affairs (Dillehay 8). On the other hand, the surviving shrines—los mayores—which Guaman Poma discloses strategically for Spanish extirpation were only those “idols” championed by the Inca empire, such as Guanacaure and Pacaritambo [fig. 3], from which had emerged their most prominent ancestors. While he is emphatic, for the sake of his Spanish readers, that huacas are a thing of the Inca past, Guaman Poma’s imagery and text contain secret codes for accessing huaca traditions. For instance, the first ancestors, the Tari Viracocha Ruma [fig.4], are described as having lived in caves and rocky crevices (cavernas y peñascos) which appear to be a means for referencing a long-standing tradition of committing the mummified remains of hero-ancestors (mallquis) to these lithic abodes (machatres). A second generation of primordial Andeans, the Tari Ruma [fig.5], are both described and illustrated as having erected stone dwellings in the shape of ovens, known in Quechua as pucullo, “burial house” (Guaman Poma 45). The designation Pucullo appears more prominently on Inca ancestral sarcophaguses [fig.5] (Guaman Poma 231), as mark of the introduction of Inca ritual idolatry. Guaman Poma’s insistence on idolatry as a by-product of the Inca age appears to have served as a political weapon for reviving the virtue and legitimacy of pre-Inca rulers from whom he claims ascendency (1130fn56). Nevertheless, in the image and accompanying text of figures 2 and 4, Guaman Poma attempts to distract Spanish attention from the widespread oral tradition of mallqui genealogies. Years later, Spanish extirpators left records of one that was uncovered in the community of Ocros in 1621. That particular myth begins with a supernatural huaca founder, then traces the course of its four sons as junior huacas and concludes with a transition to a human genealogy made up of three generations prior to the advent of the Incas (Salomon, “Beautiful Grandparents” 339). At this point in time, however, Guaman Poma seeks to establish before the Spanish monarch the innocence of his noble ancestors who had
come prior to the introduction of state-sponsored idolatry in the Andes. And so he
claims, “no tenían guacas ýdolos ni adorauan a las piedras ni al sol y a la luna ni a
las estrellas ni tenían templo cubiertó” (58). The encoded meanings, consequently,
remain hidden from colonial censure.

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

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

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

Deviation from this grid can be observed in the disorientation of the Vari Runa
ancestor who looks up and leftward to address the deity—instead of rightward, as
he should have [fig.4]. It could be argued that his misguided ness is to be attributed
to a line of vision directed away from the landscape. As Salomon reiterates, “the
horizon, not the cosmos—geography, not metaphysics—poses the questions to
which its most vibrant deities give answers. Andean *numina* lodge in places or placed objects" (Salomon, "Introductory Essay" 16). Conversely, religious images from the Inca age show correct diagonal alignment because of a focus and directional deference to a sacred landscape, immortalized by *huaca* shrines in the *hanan* position [fig.7] So, while Guaman Poma deflects potential charges of idolatry onto the Inca in his Castilian text, the coded images suggest that the Inca had a "right" relationship to their deities, which from an Andean perspective, might be taken as an example to be imitated.

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

One of the foundational myths that was co-opted by the Incas was that of the Aymara hero-ancestor Tunupa, situated around Lake Titicaca. Southern Titicaca had been an important pilgrimage center during the pre-Inca eras. But under Inca colonization, the myth became part of the state-sponsored Viracocha Ayar twins cycle of mythical journey along an imperial landscape. The purpose had been to assert dynastic themes of "territoriality, militarism, politico-religious organization and hierarchy," while subordinating universal themes of civility and industriousness that had characterized previous mythology (Sallnow 34). Thus, for the Incas, Lake Titicaca represented "a global space that stretched across the central Andes" (Sallnow 33). Guaman Poma rescues the pre-Inca myth by appropriating a Christian hero to fill the shoes of Tunupa as a means for masking the continuance of shrines in the area. According to Guaman Poma's hybrid mythical narrative, the pre-Inca era comes to an end with the murder of his maternal ancestor *Tocay Capac* by the usurper *Cinche Roca Ynga* and the implantation of *huaca* worship (70). Not long afterward, Saint Bartholomew arrives to preach in the Titicacan Callao province. Initially, he is forced to seek shelter in a cave in order to get out of the cold. Once inside, however, he finds an oracular *huaca* stone guarded by a local sorcerer or *hechicero*. The *huaca* is not able to speak in the presence of the Christian saint, but once left alone with the sorcerer, it declares the saint to be more powerful than itself, which wins over the *hechicero* in the process [fig.8] (Guaman Poma 72). According to a late colonial account in Arequipa, a group of worshippers, upon
arrival at the mouth the cave of their mallquis, “whistled to ask for entry. Inside the
cave they greeted the ancestors, who sat or stood among their offerings in a lifelike
tableau” (Salomon, “Beautiful Grandparents” 324). Guaman Poma suggests in his
reconstruction that the more powerful Spanish huaca had come to replace the local
one, while taking on the miraculous Cruz de Carabuco as its avatar and ancestral
marker on the Titicacan landscape, thus laying claim to irrigation water, the
greatest sign of agrarian wealth in the central Andes (Salomon, “Introductory
Essay” 9).

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Spanish icon of the conquest, Santiago, is likewise conflated with telluric deities. In another episode of the conquest, Guaman Poma again locates the cristianos at Cuzco besieged by rebel armies. On this occasion, the apostle of Christ falls out of heaven in the form of lightning, striking with the force of thunder the Inca fortress of Sacsa Guaman, thus breaking up the Andean host and putting it to flight (377). The chronicler’s image reinforces the European notion of Santiago as the prototype of knighthood and patron of triumphant crusades [fig.
But his written narrative appears to associate Santiago with *illapa* (lightning), a major Inca *huaca*. In fact, when an Inca ruler died, he was said to become lightning (239, 351). For Santiago to be perceived by Guaman Poma as becoming lightning reflects upon his need to fill a power vacuum left over by the absence of major *huacas* in the highlands. Lightning was an important harbinger of rain, the life-giving substance of the Andean landscape, without which agrarian communities would cease to exist. In effect, Guaman Poma boldly fuses the official image of the saint with its Andean associations despite being familiar with the prohibition placed by the Third Council of Lima in 1583 on popular devotions of Santiago.

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

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

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

The chronicler's Andean landscape, however, has been generally altered by the colonial project. Sabine McCormack considers his images empty, devoid not only of native deities but of saints and shrines that normally would have cluttered European landscape images (McCormack, "Time" 329, 335). The colonial landscape seen in this light tends to be more subtle, unavailable for public consumption, but still alive for clandestine observation by native communities in their continuation of agrarian rites: "lo eiguin en el sembrar la comida, en qué mes y en qué día y en qué ora y en qué punto por donde raya el sol. Lo miran los altos serros y por la mañana de la claridad y rayo que apunta el sol a la uintana" (Guaman Poma 210). I believe that Guaman Poma held onto the same ideology as the ethnic Checa storytellers of the Huarochiri Manuscript, who considered the makeup of society and its genesis "to be written out in the landscape, even where
Spaniards had wrecked every visible monument or substituted crosses for *huacas*” (Salomon, “Introductory Essay” 24).

Guaman Poma’s project, furthermore, runs counter to prevailing colonial ideology—with writers such as Francisco de Avila, Cabello Valboa, or Antonio de Calancha—that denigrated Andean antiquity as being either diabolically-influenced or hopelessly confused (Salomon, “Introductory Essay” 3). Practical considerations also conspired against native myth-history, as Spanish clerics and laymen alike ransacked *huaca* shrines in search of treasure. Meanwhile, contemporary clergymen, such as Francisco de Avila, sought career promotions through extirpation campaigns. In short, practices of colonial inscription run the gamut from census visits, *relaciones*, and trial testimonies to reports of extirpation of idolotry and “writings directed to Spanish authorities by ‘transcultural’ frontier authors like Guaman Poma” (Abercrombie 417).

I argue, however, that the Andean nobleman attempts to give his own particular vision of Andean myth-history a “biblical architecture” as a means of recovering some degree of autonomy from colonial inscription. By developing his own inscribing practice,

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

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


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

Alison Krogel
University of Maryland, College Park

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

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

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

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