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Road to Machu Picchu. Photograph: Heinz Plenge.

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LANGUAGES IN PERU

REREADING BABEL

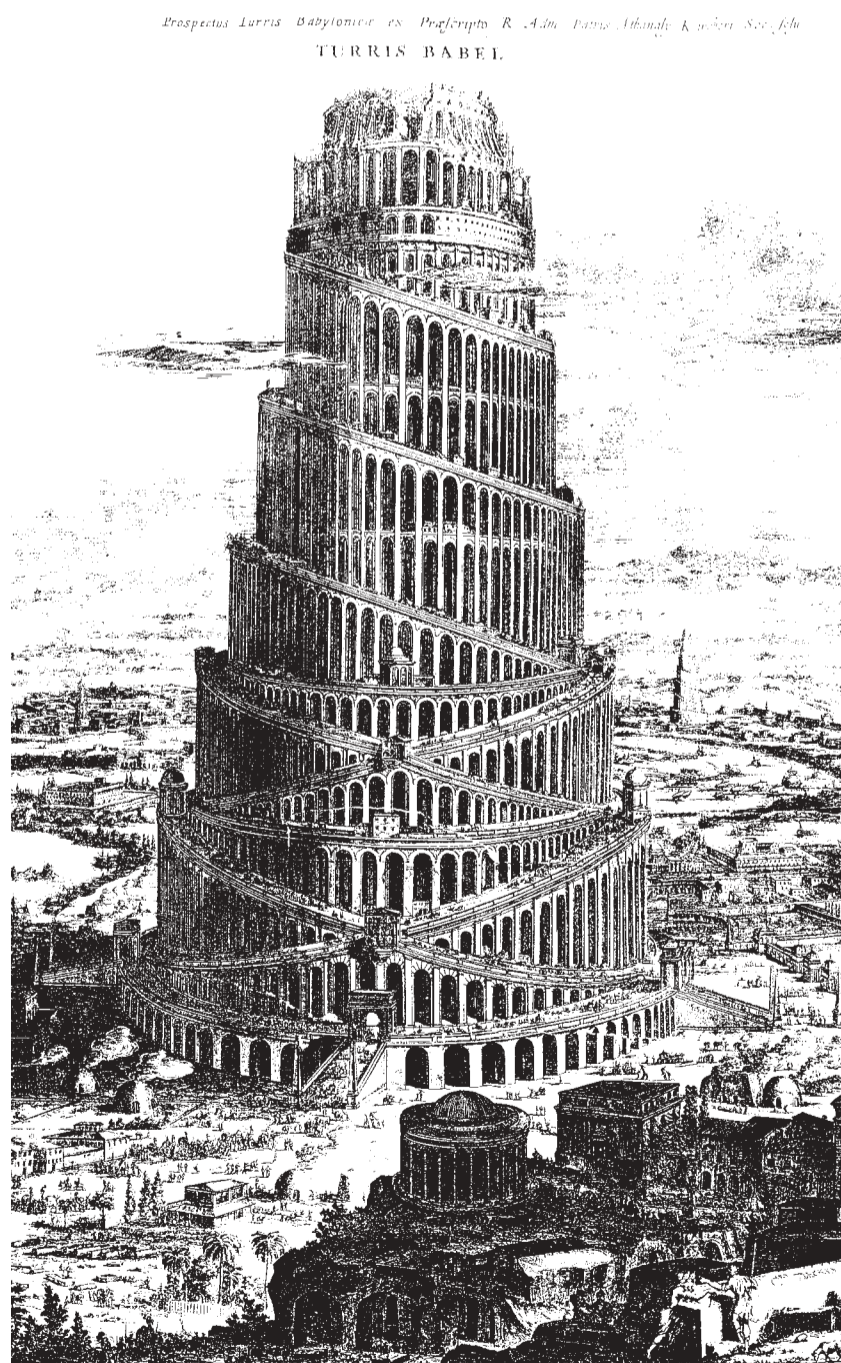
— *Roberto Zariquiey** —

We are told in Genesis that in ancient times, «the whole world had one language and a common speech» (Genesis 11, 1). This made men strong and united, to the extent that they decided to build themselves a city with a tower reaching to the heavens. Realizing their intention, Jehovah punished them by making them speak differently. According to Jewish and Christian traditions, that was the origin of the world's linguistic diversity. Nowadays, many sectors of society still look upon the linguistic and cultural diversity as a problem. They view others as savages and still believe that the homogenisation of individuals is the solution. Can Peru progress by turning its back on the linguistic and cultural diversity that characterizes the country? Below are a few facts and thoughts to help readers understand how different we are and how much needs to be done so that we can learn to know and value ourselves.

HOW MANY LANGUAGES DO PERUVIANS SPEAK?

There is no easy answer to this question, since determining whether a particular tongue is in fact a language rather than a dialect is no simple task. Despite these difficulties, experts speak of the existence of 39 or 40 languages in the Amazon region, grouped in 16 linguistic families.¹ That is to say, in addition to the native languages that we are well aware of, such as *Shipibo*, *Aguaruna*, *Machiguenga* and *Ashaninka* (the latter two are related and belong to the *Arahuaca* family), there is a great diversity of languages that the rest of the Peruvian population know very little about. Nor do we know much about the people who speak them. Every one of these languages forms part of a cultural framework that is both different and unique. The jungle is not a homogeneous territory, neither are the natives who inhabit it all alike. Every ethnic group has its own beliefs and practices, its own particular history and each has its own way of relating to the national culture. We are not very familiar with all this; it is probably our lack of knowledge that is at the root of our indifference.

Now let us review the Andean region. Whenever we think about the Andes, the only languages that spring to mind are *Quechua* and *Aymara*. In linguistic terms, however, the Andean region is almost as complex as the Amazon region. To begin with, it is difficult to consider *Quechua* and *Aymara* as «languages», since there are almost as many idiomatic differences between them as there are between



Athanasius Kircher, The tower of Babel, Rome, 1639

French and Spanish. In addition, both *Quechua* and *Aymara* are spoken by people who do not necessarily share the same traditions, but who, quite the contrary, have very different customs and idiosyncrasies. For example, not only do *Quechua* speakers from Cuzco speak quite differently from *Quechua* speakers in Ancash, they also have very different cultural traditions and festivals.

The same occurs with *Aymara*, which is commonly thought of as the language of the highland plains, when in fact it is also spoken in Tacna and in the highlands of Lima (where it is referred to as *jaqaru*, the *Aymara* term for «man's language»). Again, the variations and cultural applications between an *Aymara* speaker from Puno and one from the highlands of Lima (specifically the town of Tupe) are surprisingly different.

In view of the above, current scholars tend to look upon *Quechua* and *Aymara* as linguistic families comprised of groups that not only speak differently but also belong to different nations. We tend to relate *Quechua* with the Andean region and are usually unaware of the fact that many varieties of *Quechua* are employed as a means of communication by people in lower jungle areas who live on the banks of the rivers Napo, Pastaza and Tigre. As a matter of fact, men and women who originally belonged to the *Omaguas*, *Quipos*, *Canelos* or *Cocamas* (all Amazon ethnic groups) now call themselves *kichwas*, without realizing that their language stems from *Quechua*. They are also unaware of the fact that they did not learn *kichwa* from the Incas (who were never able

to conquer them), but from the Jesuits who arrived in these territories during the XVII century to evangelise them, communicating with them in Quechua.

REREADING BABEL

Everything stated thus far will help to understand an essential fact: to say that Peru is a multicultural or multilingual country should not be a merely rhetorical argument. The fact is that our country is much more diverse than we imagine. If we accept that Quechua and Aymara are linguistic families and acknowledge that very different people speak those languages, it all becomes even more complex. Furthermore, Spanish is spoken to a greater or lesser extent throughout the country, coming into contact with all this linguistic diversity and creating situations in which the Spanish language is more valued and respected than its native counterparts. We cannot deny that, in certain sectors of our country, original native tongues are strongly frowned upon and are never used by the State system, not even for administrative or legal purposes.

This diversity is a reality that we have no right to evade. Turning our backs on the authenticity of these people is an attitude that has become characteristic of our country. As if they did not exist or as if their existence was uncomfortable or problematic, we have preferred to silence and conceal the natives' circumstances, needs and problems. This is doubly unfair, considering that many of their problems



James Orton, *The Andes and the Amazon*, N. York, 1876.

have been caused precisely by the compulsion with which other forces have dedicated themselves to tapping their natural resources, destroying the ecosystems, exploiting native people, scaring away animals and practicing deforestation in entire hectares of forestland.

It is as though many sectors of society were driven by a *Babel way of thinking*, which is also extremely comfortable, because in some ways it justifies our indifference. Why worry about something that is a sign of backwardness and an obstacle for development?

We continue to believe that the diversity is an impediment for building that tower that will make us grow as a

country. To this day, we still believe that the homogenisation of individuals is the solution. The truth is, however, that the impediment has not been the existing diversity, but simply the way we have dealt with it. We have been unable to build the tower because we decided to silence and violate others of a different culture or language. After more than five centuries, we have been incapable of learning to live alongside them peacefully, respecting and valuing the differences rather than thinking about how we can become rich at their expense. That is what the Babel myth tells us: the problem is not the diversity itself, but the way men have dealt with it. ●

EXTINCT LANGUAGES IN PERU

The Spaniards themselves confirmed the multilingualism that characterises our country during the first years of the Colony. They could not conceal their amazement at the tremendous variety of languages they were discovering. For example, in 1588, Jesuit Acosta mentioned the existence of «a real jungle of languages»; Inca Garcilazo himself explained in 1609 that «every province, every nation and in many places every town has a language of its own that differs from that of its neighbours».

Many of the languages referred to by European chroniclers or travellers who rediscovered our country during the XIX century, are now extinct. For example, the only evidence of the vast number of languages that the Spaniards came across in the north of Peru can only be found in the toponymy and in the records that certain chroniclers, colonial priests or travellers left as a legacy. We have all heard about the Mochica language, but are unaware of the fact that there were also many others, such as the one referred to as *pescadora* (which was spoken in areas close to Lima) and the languages of Olmos, Sechura and Catacaos-Paita. It is difficult to determine the linguistic status of these, but they do appear in certain documents, such as those of Jaime Baltazar Martínez Compañón, the bishop of Trujillo who towards 1785 obtained a lexical list of some of the languages spoken in his jurisdiction.

Martínez Compañón himself also picked up some words of an important language called *culle*. *Culle* was a language of the northern highlands that has now died out, although several words are still used in Cajamarca to this day. An in-depth study of *culle* remains a pending task.

Some of the languages of the highland plains are no longer spoken, the two most prominent being *puqina*, which the Spaniards considered a general language, and *ch'imu*, the ancient tongue of the Uros. Although Peruvian Uros have lost their language, they still preserve their own identity, which differs from that of the Aymaras, even though they speak the same language as the latter.

Finally, as far as the Amazon region is concerned, the extinction of languages is far more complex. At the present time, the majority of the ethnic groups are clearly switching to Spanish and, therefore, losing their native tongues. Many of these languages have already become extinct. Probably the saddest case is that of *cocama cocamilla*, a language that was spoken throughout the Amazon region before the arrival of the Spaniards and was considered important in both social and political terms. The breakdown of these idiomatic traditions is both clear and imminent. If we want to preserve them, a genuine linguistic recovery policy is required in order to revive and maintain all these traditions that are being silenced on a daily basis.

1 Language, dialect and linguistic family may seem rather vague concepts. We shall try to clarify them by resorting to our own Spanish language: It could be considered, for instance, that people in Buenos Aires, Lima and Madrid speak Spanish dialects, which in turn comprise a language alongside other related languages like Portuguese, French or Italian, for example. After all, these languages all form part of the same romantic family that bands together all Latin-based languages.

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* Professor of the Pontificate Catholic University, devoted to native languages.



THREE POETS OF THE FIFTIES

Three of the most prominent poets of the so-called «fifties generation» have died within the last three months. They were a distinguished promotion of intellectual creators whose spontaneity was evident in every field of Peru's contemporary culture. The poetic works of Javier Sologuren, Washington Delgado and Francisco Bendezu stand out among the increasingly more valued Peruvian poetry of the XX century.



J. Zapata, Caréttas

JAVIER SOLOGUREN

Cemetery of Gentiles

Here is the existing
human flesh
imprinted in fabric
(shameful stains
latest incarnations)
and dust

what does the dust bring
from the wiped out area

he was dead still
yet nevertheless
we heard him breathe
dragging himself
illuminated
by the pure starlight

stardust
dusty earth
flower of light
and gloom
our irrevocable fare
awaits us

which part of us
would like to surrender
now
to the dark labyrinth
and lie down
in silence
to sleep
amongst the throng
of the dead

Poetry

Poetry, do not deny me your gifts
any longer. I am all ears,
my eyes are wide open, as is my heart.

Poetry, what do you resemble,
which is your twin, what is your secret?
If it is in solitude that your voices can be heard,
I've waited for you only with my fire.
If it a dream, I have done nothing else
but wander between the signs of night
the flame in which I alienate myself

No. You do not resemble love
are its claws not gripping me forever?
I would even say no to sorrow or neglect
if they were not our daily bread.
But how close you are to my blood
and I only believe in the pain of having
seen you.

Javier Sologuren (Lima, 1921-2004) In addition to being a poet, he was an essay writer and translator. He put his works of poetry together under the title *Continuous life*, which was re-edited successively, and his prose in the volume *Gravitations and tangents* (1988). Sologuren received the National Poetry Award in 1960 and 1985 and directed *La Rama Florida* (The Flowery Branch) under an artisan seal, including several poems.

FRANCISCO BENDEZÚ

Ode to the afternoon

You scream, Oh afternoon! The girls
huddled together on the balcony, dumbstruck,
notice you, and the automatons in a feverish state
groaning on the blue flooded roofs
You sing a solitary song and bleed to death!

I have seen you clamouring with no arms
getting tangled in the barbed wire
of deserted public walkways.
I have seen you struggle naked
your ampits sweating glitter.

I have watched you dancing in the mirrors,
and running through crimson-coloured squares
telling the time without a watch
to the caste shivering couples
harassed by fervent lengthy telegrams.

I have seen you flee and bash your head
against the treacherous marble of the shady corner
and, hurt, embracing the posts
and, sitting sweetly, filling
the ponds with threads and ashes.

I have scratched your dramatic cheek
with diamond nails or obsidian needles
and bitten your thin sword-like lips;
I have kissed your bust and bathed
in your halo of worn-out butterflies

Towards which ancient copper waterfront
do you ride, like a ring, the raging
and hasty moon of terror? Women
bid you farewell with open thighs and bare feet
Whilst swallows and gramophones escort you.

Which impossibly dazzling waistline
do you pursue in the remote and crazy light?
Which bonfire, green idol do you hurl yourself on?
You sing and you sob. There is no-one left!
In the distance the wind sways the rusty swings.

I adored your tremulous profile and your sullied eyes
of a badly wounded lioness whilst the shady tinder angel
reservedly stood guard behind your shoulders.
I execrated your ring which dazzled beggars
And typists hit on the back the neck by a pendulum.

I took you to cinemas and terraces and avenues
like a girlfriend. I waited for you on the edge
of undulating plains embellished with statues
and along sorrowful incomplete avenues
I dragged you by the hair through snow platforms

Afternoon of bleeding photographs and sandals
Hail! Applause as you pass by! Hosanna! Hosanna!
Carnations on your body lying on the berth!
Sulphur minarets for your brazen horizon!
Cheers! Hooray! Bravo! Alleluia!



Victor Ch. Vargas, Caréttas

Francisco Bendezu (Lima, 1928-2004) was awarded the National Poetry Award in 1957 and 1966. He published *Arte menor* (Minor Art) (1960), *Los años* (The years) (1961) and *Cantos* (Songs) (1971), to which this Ode belongs.

Oda a la tarde

Gritas, ¡oh tarde! Las muchachas
acodadas al balcón, enmudecidas,
te perciben, y los autómatas que arden
y gimen en azules azoteas anegadas.
¡Cantas solitaria y te desangras!

Yo te he visto clamar sin brazos,
y enredarte en los alambres de púas
de los desiertos paseos públicos.
Yo te he visto forcejear desnuda
con un sudor de escarcha en las axilas.

Yo te he visto bailar en los espejos,
y correr por plazas de amaranto,
y dar una hora sin relojes
para las castas parejas que temblaban
acosadas por un largo fulgor de telegramas.

Yo te he visto huir y destrozarte
la frente contra el mármol aleve de la umbría,
y abrazarte, herida, de los postes,
y llenar, sentada dulcemente,
de hilos y cenizas los estanques.

Yo he rayado tu dramática mejilla
con uñas de diamante o agujas de obsidiana,
y mordido tus labios delgados como espadas;
yo he besado tu busto y me he bañado
en tu halo de deshechas mariposas.

¿Hacia qué antiguo malecón de cobre
conduces, como un aro, la furente
y desalada luna del terror? Las mujeres
te despiden con los muslos entreabiertos y descalzas,
y te escoltan golondrinas y gramófonos.

¿Qué imposible cintura alucinante
persigues en la luz remota y loca?
¿A qué hoguera, ídolo verde, te abalanzas?
Cantas y sollozas. ¡Ya no hay nadie!
A lo lejos mece el viento columpios oxidados.

Yo adoré tu trémulo perfil y tus violados ojos
de leona malherida y el turbio ángel de yesca
que detrás de tus hombros taciturno velaba.
Yo execré tu sortija que encandilaba mendigos
y mecanógrafas lisiadas de péndulo en la nuca.

Yo te llevé por cines y terrazas y alamedas
como a una enamorada. Te esperé a la orilla
de undantes planicies exornadas con estatuas,
y a lo largo de enlutadas avenidas inconclusas
te arrastré de los cabellos por los atrios de la nieve.

Tarde de fotografías sangrantes y sandalias,
¡salve! ¡Palmas a tu paso! ¡Hosanna! ¡Hosanna!
¡Claveles a tu cuerpo yacente en la litera!
¡Alminares de azufre para tu horizonte desollado!
¡Vitor! ¡Evohe! ¡Eya velar! ¡Aleluia!

WASHINGTON DELGADO



A horse in the house

I keep a horse in the house.
During the day he kicks the floor
next to the kitchen.
At night he sleeps at the foot of my bed.
His dung and his neighing
make life uncomfortable
in a small house.
But what else can I do
as I amble towards death
in a world on the verge of doom?
What else but to keep this horse
as a pale shadow of the open fields
under the fresh air?
In the dead and anonymous city,
among the nameless dead, I walk along
like one more corpse.
People stare at me or ignore me,
or swear, not knowing
that I keep a horse in my house.
At night, I stroke his mane
and give him a lump of sugar
like they do in films.
He looks at me meekly, his round eyes
seem ready to shed some tears.
Perhaps it is the smoke from the kitchen
or he feels desperate living in a
twenty square meter yard
or sleeping in a bedroom
with a wooden floor.
Sometimes I think
I should let him go free
in search of his own death.
And the distant fields
without which I could not live?
I keep a horse in my house
desperately chained
to my dream of freedom.

Un caballo en la casa

Guardo un caballo en mi casa.
De día patea el suelo
junto a la cocina.
De noche duerme al pie de mi cama.
Con su boñiga y sus relinchos
hace incómoda la vida
en una casa pequeña.
¿Pero qué otra cosa puedo hacer
mientras camino hacia la muerte
en un mundo al borde del abismo?
¿Qué otra cosa sino guardar este caballo
como pálida sombra de los prados abiertos
bajo el aire libre?
En la ciudad muerta y anónima,
entre los muertos sin nombre, yo camino
como un muerto más.
Las gentes me miran o no me miran,
o maldicen y no saben
que guardo un caballo en mi casa.
En la noche, acaricio sus crines
y le doy un trozo de azúcar,
como en las películas.
El me mira blandamente, unas lágrimas
parecen a punto de caer de sus ojos redondos.
Es el humo de la cocina o tal vez
le desespera vivir en un patio
de veinte metros cuadrados
o dormir en una alcoba
con piso de madera.
A veces pienso
que debería dejarlo irse libremente
en busca de su propia muerte.
¿Y los prados lejanos
sin los cuales yo no podría vivir?
Guardo un caballo en mi casa
desesperadamente encadenado
a mi sueño de libertad.

Washington Delgado (Cusco, 1927 - Lima, 2003) was a poet and a professor in San Marcos University. He was awarded the National Poetry Award in 1952. He collected his works in *Reunión elegida* (1987) (*Chosen Meeting*). This poem forms part of his latest book *Historia de Artidoro* (Story of Artidoro) (1994).

READINGS

FROM PAGANISM TO SANCTITY

Historian **Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs** (Lima, 1964) has published a stimulating book on the native struggle to achieve integration into the cultural universe of Catholicism during the colonial period. Below are fragments of the introduction written by the author:

« The years of violence were an experience that made me aware of the grave responsibility of the historian. It is the current urgency that revealed the serious social and political consequences of his reasoning power. Using that power to invent identities or nations (at least one was to be based on the Andean Utopia) in order to blame present problems on the past (instead of using it to understand them) is inadmissible. It is also unacceptable to defend transcendental essentialisms that serve to advocate exclusion or discrimination (even though their definition may be opposed to the whole), as is becoming the trend again today. Furthermore, it is dangerous to judge the supreme judge and to seek not only collective but hereditary guilt. Likewise, when defending the victim, one must be careful not to reduce the latter to that role, nor deny him the right to be or to want something else (...).

Not much has been produced regarding the history of the colonial – native religious experience. Besides the stories, evangelising institutions and the Church, which are only useful when they have a sound empirical foundation, another trend consists of an abundant production devoted to the religious movements of the XVI century (which was cut short after the critical evaluation of the *Taki onqo* sources made by Ramos in 1933), as well as the idolatries and their extermination throughout the next century. In the latter field, it was Duviols (1971) who led the way and is still consulted for reference purposes (...).

Having refused to publish some final conclusions that would give the impression of a finishing point being imposed in order to guide readers into extensive

chapters that may cause them to forget the global architecture, I should like to provide some clues. The global issue is the incorporation of Peruvian Indians into the Catholic religion and the Catholic Church (I hope theologians will allow me to make that distinction). I intend to read the history of the native population's struggle to gain recognition as Christians (which means being able to participate fully in the symbolic and institutional production of Catholicism). Consequently, I shall also deal with the barriers that prevented this integration and eventual autonomy.

The book is written in chronological order, each period characterized by different aspects: the message of the doctrine and its words, gestures, rites and ceremonies, sermons, images, witchcraft, miracles and sanctity. The setting closes in gradually, until the story is focused on the city of Lima, but within a framework that is extended chronologically to a panoramic coverage of the whole time span in the final chapter. Some topics reappear throughout the book and I invite readers to try and follow them: the devil, life after death, the Incas, the transformations of history, various forms of translation or transcription (oral, written, artistic, musical) and the production and inventions of different traditions, their union and their separation.

Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs. *Del paganismo a la santidad*. (From Paganism to Sanctity) PUCP/IEP, Lima 2003, 586 pp. feditor@pucp.edu.pe www.ifeanet.org.pe postmaster@ifea.org.pe
On this subject, see also **Ramón Mujica Pinilla**. *Rosa limensis. Mística, política e iconografía en torno a la patrona de América* (Rose of Lima, mystical theology, politics and iconography regarding America's Patron Saint). IFEA/FCE/BCRP, Lima, 2001, 485 pp. www.fceperu.com.pe fonedit@bcprp.gob.pe

ARKINKA: ONE HUNDREDTH ISSUE

Since it appeared in 1995, the monthly magazine *Arkinka* has played a prominent role among local architecture and art publications. With indisputable quality, its director, architect Frederick Cooper Llosa, has continued the saga of magazines like *El Arquitecto Peruano* (Peruvian Architect) founded by the late Fernando Belaunde Terry,



former architect and President of Peru; *Plaza Mayo* directed by urban planner Luis Dorich; and *Medio de Construcción* (Means of Construction) directed by architect Adolfo Cordova for over 16 years.

Arkinka is a good combination of the works of world-famous architects – from Piano to Siza, Nouvel, Moneo or Rogers to Cinari or Gelvy – and the main local architects. It combines the work of celebrated and innovating artists. It covers the urban planning of different cities, archaeological findings or functional issues like museums, shopping centres, housing and interiors, in addition to heritage conservation, landscaping, architectural planning and a few bold proposals.

Its director is also its main reporter. An untiring traveller, Cooper Llosa has continued to travel around the world over the years, drawing himself and us closer to the main examples of contemporary architecture. *Arkinka* is not only a quality magazine, but a genuine promoter of culture. See www.arkinka.com.pe (*Luis Maldonado Valz*).

THE GREAT

An itinerant display reveals to the world the exceptional value of the Inca roads

Qhapaq Ñan was the Main Andean Road during the time of the Incas, who developed an Andean road network around it, taking advantage of the Andean Highlands, totalling some 40,000 k., 23,000 of which have been recorded by archaeologists. Concerted actions by Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, with the support of the Inter-American Development Bank, these countries have started designing the *Qhapaq Ñan* integrated project, aimed at preserving its exceptional value. The project is one of the world's largest heritage projects. The itinerant display organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the help of the National Museum in Lima, at the Book Fair in Bogotá and in Quito. It will continue to other cities in the region.



Peregrinación al Señor de Qoyllor R'iti. Foto: J. Silva.



Carnaval de la Isla de Taquile en el Titicaca. Foto: A. Balaguer.

Location and direction of the roads

The route of Inca roads, which covered long distances, was determined by a mixture of geographical and cultural factors. Deserts, rugged terrain, damp or marshy areas and exceptionally high regions were determining natural factors. The most important cultural influences were generally highly populated areas and/or areas where activities of specific interest to the Incas took place, simply defined here as religious, military, administrative and economic. Pre-Inca roads and centres also influenced the direction of the Inca road network, although this was the result of cultural and environmental factors as well. Such is the case of exclusively Inca roads.

The construction of Inca roads was not blindly bound by any straight line principle, as they often had to adapt to specific environmental obstacles. Apparently they only made substantial changes in the direction of an almost perfectly straight road when a sensible adjustment to flat terrain was necessary.

John Hyslop, *Qhapaq Ñan. El Sistema Vial Incaico* (The Inca Road System) Translation by Eduardo Arias. Andean Institute of Archaeological Studies and Petroperú. Lima, 1992.

See also **Víctor W. Von Hagen**. *Los caminos del sol*. (Roads of the sun) Buenos Aires, 1958; *The Royal road of the Inca*. London, 1976. **León Strube Erdmann**. *Vialidad imperial de los Incas (Imperial roads of the Incas)*. Córdoba, Argentina, 1963. **Ricardo Espinosa**. *Capac Ñan-La Gran Ruta Inca (Capac Ñan-The Great Inca Trail)*. Lima, Petroperú, 2001.

Camino a Machu Picchu. Foto: M. d'Auriol.



Puerto Inca frente al Pacífico. Foto: M. d'Auriol



Camino al reino de los Chachapoyas. Foto: J. Esquiroz.

INCA TRAIL

value of *qhapaq ñan*, the greatest Andean engineering works.

f the road networks built by previous or parallel cultures. Lengthwise, the Inca Trail covered five of the more than seven thousand kilometres a, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina and Colombia are aspiring to register the Inca Trail in UNESCO's World Heritage List. With the support of the optional cultural and natural values, supporting the populations whose ancestors made it possible and ensuring that hikers from other parts tional Institute of Culture and the Ricardo Palma University, under the sponsorship of other companies, has already been exhibited ill be visiting numerous cities in all five continents within the next few months.



Machu Picchu, maravilla del mundo. Foto: J. Esquiroz.

«...One of the things I most admired as I thought about and marvelled over this kingdom, was how they could have built such great and magnificent roads, what kind of work force they required to do so and what tools and instruments they used to flatten mountains and break through rocks in order to make them as grand and wide as they are. It seems to me that if the Emperor had wanted to have another royal trail built like the one that goes from Quito to Cuzco and then from Cuzco to Chile, I believe he would have had neither the strength nor the manpower do so in spite of all his supremacy, had it not been for such a great order given by the Yungas...»

Pedro de Cieza de León
Chronicle on Peru, Part Two. 1553.



E.G. Squier (1877)

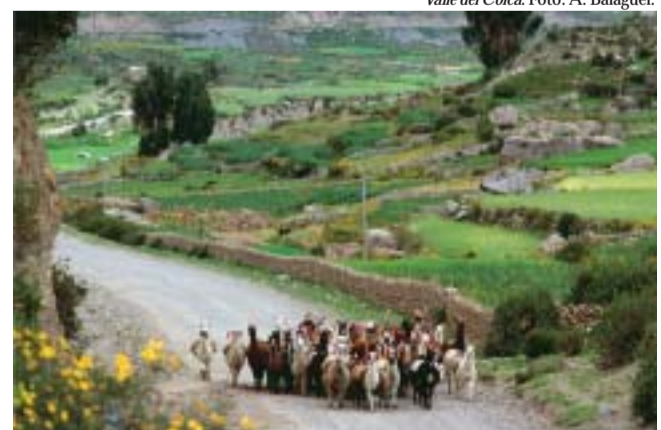


C.R. Markham (1856). Puente sobre el Apurímac.



Puente inca de Qeshwachaka. Foto: Max Milligan.

Válle del Colca. Foto: A. Balaguer.



Tutorship: Cecilia Raffo, Alonso Ruiz Rosas, Marcelo Saco.
Introduction: Luis G. Lumbreras. **Photographs:** Alejandro Balaguer, Jim Bartle, André Bartschi, Mylene d'Auriol, Jorge Esquiroz, Roberto Fantozzi, Daniel Giannoni, Max Milligan, Heinz Plenge, James Posso, Javier Silva, Alejandro Tello, Renzo Uccelli, Manolo Urquiza, Felipe Varela, Walter H. Wust.
Acknowledgements: Jorge Flores Ochoa, Bienvenida - Turismo Cultural del Perú.

OUR DAILY SEA

Bibliographical fishing: An appetising volume on Peruvian «Cebiches» and the Golden Book of the National Fishery Association.

PRAISING AQUACULTURE Pedro Trillo

The fishing sector in Peru will only be able to grow within the next ten years if we establish a firm State policy favouring aquaculture. Our main fishing grounds for pelagic species like anchovies, sardines and mackerel have been fully exploited and the volumes of catch achieved in 2000 for the production of fish meal and fish oil were ten million tons (9,750,000 MT). This is the maximum limit, which is very much higher than the historic average for the last twenty-five years [...].

Our fishing grounds for demersal fish like hake are constantly off limits, having been affected by the El Niño phenomenon and, according to others, by constant over-fishing practices. The recovery of this biomass could take several years, therefore it can no longer be considered the driving force behind the fishing sector.

So far, it is evident that aquaculture has not achieved the progress and expansion that Peruvian society expected, given its enormous development potential. Aquaculture is the only fishing activity capable of generating high growth rates, wealth and employment, since there is a demand in the world market and, at the same time, it requires labour-intensive technological processes. Consequently, it is an ideal investment in a poor country with limited capital.

Aquaculture is an economic activity that can only exist over time if a firm and consistent protection of the dynamic balance between the ecosystems that nourish it is achieved. Those of us who practice aquaculture know that we have to adapt to climate, food and other changes consistent with a healthy ecosystem.

OCEANIC WEALTH

Christian Berque mentions that among the species that Peru can compete with are scallops (*argopecten*



Calamar y pulpo.

«It is general knowledge that the natives of that coast had one thing in common.... they adored the sea (...) they treasured it for the benefits obtained from the fish that gave them food to eat and manure for their land. In some parts of the coast, they used sardine heads as manure. They called the sea 'Mamacocha', which means Mother Sea, since it fulfilled a mother's duty of providing food».

Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Commentaries Royal* (1069)

purpuratos), prawns (*litopenaeus vannamei*) and tilapia (*oreochromis niloticus*), considered the fish of the nineties in the United States, which has currently given rise to an important project in the Poechos area in Piura. Corvina (*micropogonias sp.*), robalo (*centropomus nigrescens*) and chita (*anisotremus scapularis*) are warm water fish that can be cultivated between Tacna and Paita, whereas mero (red grouper) (*epinephelus sp.*), red pargo (*lutjanus guttatus*) and congrio (*genypterus maculatus*) are tropical water species that can be cultivated between Máncora and Puerto Pizarro. There is a foreign market for all these species, although there is still no basic science in this country for breeding them in captivity. Nevertheless, some foreign companies that own hatcheries are interested in joint ventures with local entrepreneurs.

«Lenguado» or sole (*paralichthys adpersus*) requires more attention, since the Morro Sama station (Tacna) of the Fishery Development Fund is about to implement a project for the economically feasible development of this species. Yellowfin tuna (*thunnus albacares*) and large eye tuna (*thunnus obesus*) are species that develop in water temperatures that exceed 20°C, which can be found on the Tumbes coast.

Salt water artemia (*artemia sp.*) can be cultivated in large coastal ponds and in the salt marshes on the Peruvian coast. Used in the hatcheries as feed during the first stages of development of fish and crustaceans because of its high energy conversion powers, the advantage of the artemia is that it can be placed in dry storage during its egg stage for long periods of time. ●

Extract from the «Editor's Words» in the «Golden Book on Peruvian Fishing, National Fishery Association, Lima 2003, 402 pages www.snp.org.pe snpnet@terra.com.pe

RECIPES

CEBICHE WITH BITTER ORANGES

800 grams of sword fish or «tollo de leche» (dogfish)
½ kilo of bitter oranges
½ tablespoon of crushed garlic
1 chilli pepper, seeded and thickly chopped
1 large red onion sliced thinly and washed
Salt
2 potatoes or maniocs
2 purple sweet potatoes, boiled
1 ear of corn, boiled
Lettuce leaves

Chop and wash the fish. Place in a bowl and season with the salt, crushed garlic and orange juice. Add the chilli and stir. Leave standing for 10 minutes and then add the onions. Serve accompanied with boiled potatoes or manioc, sweet potatoes and corn. Garnish with lettuce leaves.

TIRADITO AL FRESCO

600 grams of fish filets (corvina)
12 ounces of olive oil
6 ounces of white vinegar
1 teaspoon of crushed garlic
2 ounces of lemon juice
Salt
2 ears of corn

Slice the fish thinly and place in a bowl. Prepare a dressing with the vinegar, lemon, salt, garlic and olive oil. Serve the sliced fish covered with this dressing and accompanied by corn.

TIRADITO DE AJÍ AMARILLO

800 grams of sole filets
The juice of 12 lemons
1 kilo of chilli peppers
Milk
Salt, pepper and seasoning
Corn

Remove seeds from the chilli peppers and boil for 5 minutes, changing the water three times. Blend with a drop of oil to form a paste. Slice the fish into 1/2 centimetre wide strips. Add the salt and seasoning to taste. Stir in the lemon juice, chilli paste, parsley and milk until creamy. Serve with corn and garnish with slices of hot bell peppers and chopped parsley.

TIRADITO DE LENGUADO Y PULPO

300 grams of fresh sole cut in strips
300 grams of boiled cuttlefish rings
100 grams of chopped celery
8 sprigs of coriander, chopped
The juice of 10 or 12 green lemons
Half a «limo» chilli pepper, seeded and thinly sliced
1 cup of fish broth
¼ teaspoon of crushed garlic

CEBICHE: MONARCH OF RAW FOOD

Antonio Cisneros

French philosopher Henri Levi-Strauss, in his book *Raw and Cooked*, maintains that the step from barbarianism to civilization was taken when primitive man put his hand in the fire to cook his food. Gross mistake. Particularly coming from a Frenchman, since *maigret de canard* (slices of semi-raw duck) is one of the main dishes of French haute cuisine. In general, the majority of the most refined cuisine on the planet includes marvels that have not been punished by fire. Raw and Cooked, therefore, are not excluding terms. In its own way, Peru is also a kingdom of raw food.

Several thousand years before the splendour of the Lord of Sipan, the inhabitants of our coast lived almost exclusively off the abundant food provided by the Pacific Ocean. Magnificent fish like the mero or corvine, for example, did not need to be treated by fire to be enjoyed in all their freshness. Fish and seafood straight out of the water were often seasoned with chilli and other hot spices. Nevertheless, once their scales and bones were removed, they were often left soaking in bitter fruit juice which, in addition to adding a touch of flavour, served as a marinade.

When the Spaniards arrived in the XVI century, they brought key limes from North Africa, as well as onions and garlic – heritage of the people of the Mediterranean coast. This contribution complemented the ingredients that created the majestic «cebiche», supreme ruler of an entire dynasty of Peruvian raw dishes. Although the popular *cebiche*, or the different varieties of *cebiche* to be more precise, had decked dining tables throughout the Peruvian coast for centuries, it was Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, alias «El murciélago» (the bat) who first mentioned it in writing in his *Traveller's Guide to Lima*, published in 1866. In his learned Frenchified way, Manuel Atanasio Fuentes launched forth against the virtuous *cebiche*. «The eminently national dishes that commoners relish with so much pleasure are spicy hot, but the hottest of all spicy hot dishes which brings the most tears to your eyes (after jealousy) is the *seviche*». Nevertheless, despite his aversion and contempt, he left us a recipe of the dish: «It consists of small pieces of fish or shrimps on which the juice of bitter oranges is poured, with a lot of chilli; it is left standing for several hours until the fish is impregnated with the chilli and is practically cooked by the caustic action of the latter and the bitterness of the oranges».

There is no doubt that various varieties of fish and other seafood

marinated in vinegar, mustard or lemon juice have formed part of the common gastronomy of the many people living on the shores of the huge Pacific ocean since ancient times. However, the quantity, quality and frenzy with which they have been incorporated into our gastronomy are difficult to compete with. Consequently, many of my fellow countrymen are convinced that God is Peruvian and that without a doubt, *cebiche* is a work of God.

The truth is that there are many ways of preparing *cebiche*. In other countries they tend to either parboil the fish or soak it in lemon juice until it is practically cooked. Long hours of soaking in lemon juice results in bland, insipid food. Different ingredients are also used. In some areas, magnificent black scallops are drenched in tomato sauce. In others, pieces of avocado, corn pancakes and tomatoes are added to the fish. However, I think the worst sacrilege of all is to submerge a puny sort of *cebiche* in thick, oily mayonnaise. The real reason for this and other unfortunate versions, is the fear of raw food. A delightful fish dulled by lemon juice and tomato sauce is virtually an embarrassment, an evil concealment of the animal's radiant nature.

That is why fish should be as fresh as fruit. In this case, letting it stand for a few minutes in the citrus juice is more than enough. There should be no great delay between slicing a good piece of sole, for example, and taking a bite of it. Even though *cebiche* is generally considered a national heritage, as far as I am concerned, it is on the northern coast of this country that it is prepared as it should be: a thin bed of lemon juice, a hint of garlic, salt, hot chilli peppers (with yellow, purple and red skin) and a few, just a few slices of onion. Sweet potatoes (or manioc) and corn can be used as garnish, but they are not essential.

There is also a different variety of *cebiche* among us, referred to as «tiradito». The name comes from the word «estiradito» (stretched), because the fish is actually stretched and sliced diagonally, Japanese style. In fact, this dish is also considered to have Japanese influence. In this famous dish, as soon as the fish is put into the lemon juice, it is slightly covered with a yellow chilli cream without any onions or any other garnish. Besides the classical fish, i.e. the thousand and one different kinds of fish, *cebiche* can also be made of shrimps, prawns, sea urchins, scallops, clams and razor clams. The greatness of Peru's raw dishes is largely due to the generosity of the Pacific, referred to in the old days as the South Sea.

The fact that the natives always considered food important is expressed in the saga of the legendary Naylamp, who arrived on the beaches of what is now Lambayeque with a fleet of balsas and an important entourage, including the Lord's cook and beverage maker. The appreciation of a cook's skills prompted the inhabitants of the Reque area in the north of the country halfway through the XVI century, to elect their head cook Edeco as their chief.

In Peru, every region has a mosaic of local dishes, each one better than the next. The correct preparation of a meal was a constant concern among native people. Consequently, they acquired the ability to dehydrate different kinds of meat – llamas, deer, vizcacha (South American rodent), pigeons and partridges – using complicated systems to obtain the product known as «charqui», which was easy to preserve in their «collcas» or storehouses. Likewise, fishermen salted and dried their fish in the sun, together with various species of shellfish and seaweed. Due to the wealth of the marine resources, enough fish were caught to cover the local demand, giving rise to barter trade between coastal and highland people.»

María Rostworoski. *El cebiche en la comida prehispánica*
(Cebiche in pre-Hispanic food).

3 teaspoons of seasoning
Salt and pepper

Place the celery, coriander, chilli, lemon juice, salt, pepper, garlic and seasoning in a deep bowl. Stir and let stand for 10 minutes. The juice should turn white. Add the fish broth and stir. Place the fish and cuttlefish on a platter. Stir and strain the mixture over the fish and cuttlefish.

TIGER'S MILK

100 grams of filets of sole
Juice of 10 lemons
1 sprig of celery
1 «limo» chilli pepper
1 clove of garlic
Salt, pepper and seasoning
Coriander
Fish broth

Blend the ingredients and add enough fish broth to reduce the acid taste of the lemon juice. Strain and serve in small cocktail glasses. Small pieces of fish, fried squid or corn can be added before serving.

PANTHER'S MILK

30 large black scallops
4 large green lemons
1 teaspoon of salt
1 teaspoon of crushed garlic
¼ teaspoon of ground black pepper
1 teaspoon of chilli paste
1 teaspoon of seasoning

Open the black scallops and reserve the pulp and juice. Chop the pulp finely, add lemon juice, salt, chilli and seasoning. Add the scallop juice and season to taste. Serve in small cocktail glasses.

Cebiches del Perú. Editor: Walter H. Wust. Texts by Antonio Cisneros, Alejandro Ferreyros, Luis Jochamovitz, María Rostorowski, Raúl Vargas and Walter H. Wust. Backus. Lima, 2004, 186 pp. www.backus.com.pe

See also the multimedia collection *Gastronomía/Sabores del Perú y del Mundo (Gastronomy/Peruvian and World Flavours)* Marking Perú/Diario *Correo*. Lima, 2004.



A STORY ABOUT HISTORY

A forthcoming publication in Spain of the fourth volume of *Spanish American History from the point of view of Children*, by the prominent Peruvian author Juan Acevedo.

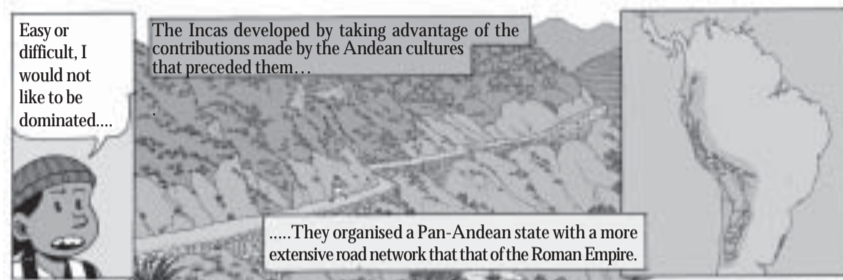
A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE AUTHOR Gustavo Gutiérrez

Juan Acevedo had already ventured into writing short stories about history. He now presents us with an ambitious attempt to give an account of Spanish American history not only for children, but – perhaps even more relevant and difficult – from their point of view, turning them into the discoverers of a new world.

Their experiences become our own, their ignorance that which we dare not confess; we experience their surprises as though we ourselves were the characters of this story, their joys relax us, their sense of humour keeps us alert and cheerful. Entertained, smiling, we walk backwards in time and forward in knowledge.

Let us not deceive ourselves, however. The ease with which we go back and forth alongside the author indicates his demanding and meticulous preparation of the subjects dealt with. An account can only be written with such clarity by someone who masters the subject. The timely reproduction of artistic expressions and documents of different kinds are further proof of this.

There is no doubt that Juan is a skilful communicator. He communicates directly and effectively, but he also leads us into communion – a term with the same root as communicate – with a very human and sensitive way of looking at and understanding life. ●



AUTHOR'S WORDS

The idea of writing this story came to mind in Florencio Varela, an area on the outskirts of Buenos Aires. It was April of 1990 and I was attending the II Latin American Encounter of Poor Children, as an observer. The majority of them were children who worked on the streets or at home; poor children from nearly twenty countries. They chatted, laughed, enquired about each other's lives, gave accounts of their own lives, played during the breaks, presented and backed up their situation during the assemblies. I watched them in amazement, marvelling at the different ways they integrated and kept their distance. I listened to their different Spanish accents and watched them overcome their language barriers, even with the Brazilian street children, recognizing themselves within a greater identity.

This is Latin America, I said to myself; I have to do something for these children, help their relationships. In my case, «doing something» nearly always means writing a story. I once heard a Mexican peasant say that «stories are gifts from God. They allow us to see ourselves». In view of this revelation, I decided to narrate the history of Latin America for boys and girls, mainly from their point of view. ●

Juan Acevedo. *The history of Spanish America from the point of view of children.* Organisation of American States / Spanish American Cooperation Secretariat, Volume I, Madrid, 2000. Volume II, Madrid 2001. Volume III, Madrid, 2002. Volume IV covers the Viceroy period to the present time.

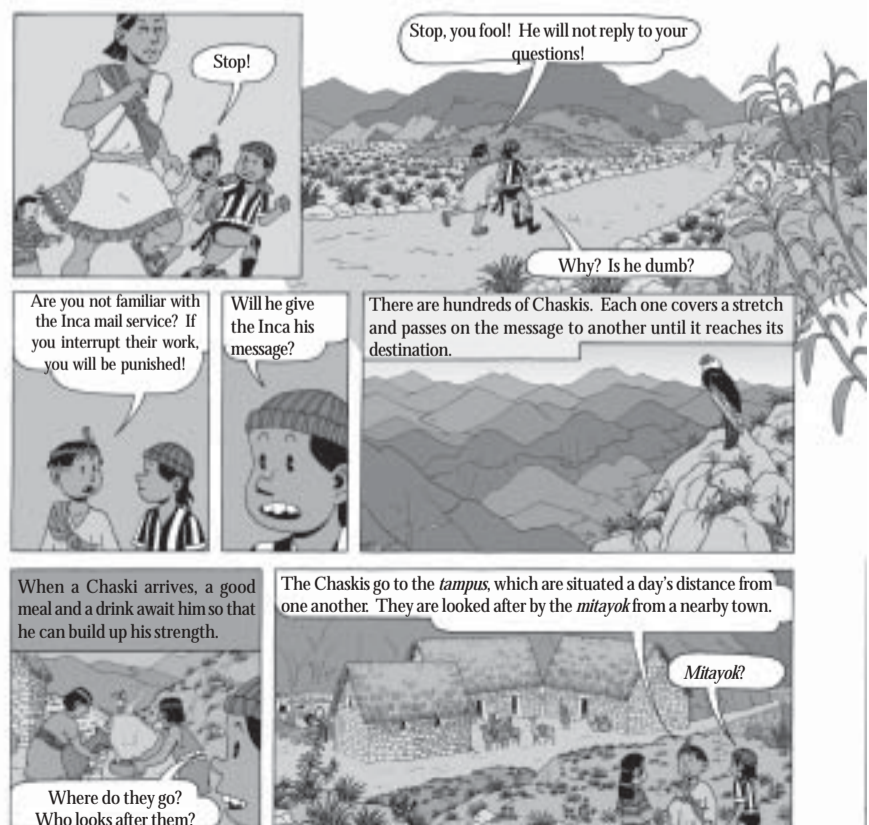
PERUVIAN COMIC STRIPS

Some people maintain that the history of Peruvian comic strips dates back to Guaman Poma de Ayala's *New Chronicle and Good Government* (1615). In fact, it dates back to the end of the XIX century. As an extension of caricatures associated to political and social satire, comic strips were incorporated into publications such as the celebrated *Monos y Monadas* early in the XX century. The first special comic strip, *Palomilla*, appeared in 1940, followed by *Climax* (1943). The prominent author during these first decades was Pedro Challe, creator of *Gordete y Calambrito*.

During the second decade, Peruvian comic strips brought to life *Juan Santos*, an Andean protagonist of endless adventures, as well as *Super Cholo*, a native version of Superman. The native *Manyute* and

the astronaut *Chépar* also made their appearance. *Canillita* (1950) was the longest lasting comic strip, even though it was not as successful as *Avanzada* (1953-1967).

Faced with the publicist official publications of the seventies, Juan Acevedo burst in with illustrative publications like *Monos y Monadas* (second stage), *Collera*, *El Idiota Ilustrado* and *No!*. Towards the end of the eighties, *etiqueta negra* and *Buum!* made a fleeting appearance, prior to a new impetus that resulted in seven issues (1993 – 2000) of the Junior Comic Strip Competition organized by the Calandria Association. Recent marginal publications like *Resina*, *¡Pánico!*, *Crash*, *Boom, Zap!*, *TuMay Komiks*, *Carboncito* and *Pandemonio* are still in circulation. (S. Carrasco). ●



SOUNDS OF PERU

VOZ PROPIA – LOS DÍAS Y LAS SOMBRAS (Independent new edition, Lima, 2003)

Voz Propia is one of the emblematic groups of the Peruvian rock scene in recent decades. Embracing the same ideas ridden with melancholy and hopelessness that characterize its main Anglosaxon ancestors (from *The Cure* to *Joy Division*), the post Punk group from Lima reached its peak in this album, originally published in 1997 and now in circulation again. Very few records of Peruvian rock bands can be labelled as essential, but this is one of them, as is the song that this album is named after.

JAVIER ECHECOPAR – THE GUITAR IN PERUVIAN BAROQUE MUSIC (Acem & Aica, 2004)

Javier Eche copar has devoted a large part of his musical career to bringing out the so-called «music cult» made in Peru. This recovery of some lost breakthroughs of the Peruvian baroque guitar not only required a meticulous study of manuscripts dating back to the XVIII century (*The book by Zif and the music for guitar book by Matias Maes-*

tro), but also a careful exercise of interpretation. So far this year, the guitarist has also published two volumes simultaneously, *Compositions Volume 1* and *The best of Javier Eche copar*. It is worth mentioning that these compositions are interpreted on a Joseph Benedit guitar that dates back to 1812.

ELSA PALAO – TE CANTO MI VIDA (Independent, 2004)

Having performed for over two decades, interpreter Elsa Palao has



Archivo Caréias.

taken advantage of the launching of her first record as a soloist to thoroughly review the foundations of what we could call her «artistic temperament». Here the singer with a clear, versatile voice, not only resorts to the essential composers in Peru's traditional song book, such as Chabuca Granda, Daniel «Kiri» Escobar and Alicia Maguñá. Instead, she decided to explore the ever sinuous and risky work of putting music to texts that were originally conceived as poems rather than songs. The Kenyara trio is responsible for the music, along with other prestigious Peruvian musicians like Agustín Rojas and Leonardo Parodi.

CHINO CHÁVEZ – FISURAS (L25, 2003)

For the past three decades, Alberto Chavez has done just about everything in the music world. He has performed in bands such as *Tiempo Nuevo* and *TV Color*, made a long pilgrimage through all local stages as a songwriter, been responsible for the incidental music of theatre productions and contemporary dance shows, is the founder of a trademark for recordings of popular rock bands (including *Leusemia* and

Masacre), has performed with the old theatre group *Cuatrotablas*, was the musical director for Tania Libertad and Susana Baca, has been a producer, and so on..... This CD compiles some of the most important work of Chavez in the artistic world, as well as his compositions for «Prometeo» and «Sueño de una noche de verano» (Midsummer Night's Dream), besides the contemporary dancing show «Enrevelo» interpreted by dancer Karin Aguirre in 2002. Assorted and full of atmosphere.

TURBOPÓTAMOS (Mundano Records, 2004)

Peruvian rock has been claiming fresh new independent and innovating voices for a long time. This quartet from Lima has been filling a gap within the so-called «new rock». To the beat of a style they themselves named «skabilly», a combination of ska and rockabilly (the favourite subgenus of their leader, the charismatic Humberto Campodonico, one of the best young guitarists in Peru), the Turbo-pótamos are one of the current Peruvian bands whose music deserves to be divulged. They will be much talked about (*Raúl Cachay*). ●

AGENDA

GREAT EXHIBITIONS

This year, Peru also organised three great exhibitions. The first of these, *Perú: Tremila Anni de Capo Lavor* held in the *Palazzo Strozzi* in Florence until last February, exhibited a noteworthy collection of Pre-Colombian works of art. The curator was Antonio Aimi, assisted by the National Institute of Culture.

Another exhibition, *Perú indígena y virreinal*, was held in the Cataluña Museum of Art in Barcelona. It is a testimony of our syncretism, displaying 235 pieces, including paintings, sculptures, pottery, silverware, furniture and others. This exhibition was organised by Spain's State Association for Cultural Action Abroad and the National Institute of Culture. The curators were Juan Ossio, Jaime Mariaza, Juliana Ugarte Garay and Rafael López Guzmán. It will be open until August 15th and will then move to the National Library in Madrid.

Finally in September, the Metropolitan Museum of New York will welcome a notable exhibition of Peruvian Viceroy art, under the responsibility of Helena Phipps and Johanna Hecht.

III SCIENTIFIC ENCOUNTER

The *III International Scientific Winter Encounter – ECI* will be held from 30th July until 2nd August 2004. Like the *ECIV* held in the summer, the purpose of this event is to disseminate the scientific breakthroughs of national researchers, reveal the studies being undertaken at an international level and strengthen the collaboration between researchers in this country and their colleagues abroad. This *III Encounter* is organised by the National Telecommunications Research and Training Institute. Registration is open. For further information, see web page www.cienciaperu.org/eci2004i/

RED LIST

The recent publication of the *ICOM Red List of Endangered Latin American Cultural Assets* – presented in the National Museum of Anthropology in Lima last May 18th, will help police agents to promptly identify cultural objects reported missing. The *Red List* is also an appeal to museums, auction houses, merchants and collectors to stop buying such objects. In addition, it fills a gap by warning about the irreparable effects of

the loss of archaeological assets on the research of ancestral uses and customs. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that the UNESCO approved the *International Deontology Code for Cultural Asset Negotiators*, which can be found in www.unesco.org/culture/legalprotection

IMPORTANT DONATION FOR PERUVIAN LIBRARIES ABROAD

Within the framework of the recent *Co-operation Agreement for the Promotion of Peruvian Cultural Securities Abroad* signed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the San Martín de Porres University, the latter donated sixty lots of thirty books each from its Publishing Fund, to be distributed among our embassies. This is a valuable contribution that enhances the Peruvian cultural libraries promoted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its missions abroad, which can be consulted by fellow countrymen and the public in general. Among the titles included in the donation is an important series on Peruvian gastronomy. For further information on the Publishing Fund of the San Martín de Porres University, see www.usmp.edu.pe ●

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MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Sub-secretariat of Foreign Cultural Policies
Jr. Ucayali 363 - Lima, Perú.
Telephone: (511) 311-2400 Fax: (511) 311-2406
E-mail: postmaster@rree.gob.pe
Web: www.rree.gob.pe

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Doreen Fisher

Printing:
Tarea Asociación Gráfica Educativa
Telephone: 424-8104

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THE AFRO PERUVIAN CAJÓN

Rafael Santa Cruz, heir to a great tradition of Afro-Peruvian culture, has published the most complete study paying tribute to this instrument, which has become the musical icon of our country. Below is a chapter of his recent book.

ANCIENT STYLES

*Beat that cajón
Finish breaking it
For in the master's house
There will never be a shortage
of cajones
Folklore*

Experts Fernando Ortiz, Fernando Romero and Nicomedes Santa Cruz coincide in pointing out that the *cajón* is no more than a hundred years old and that it reached its apogee early in the XX century or no earlier than the end of the XIX century.

It was probably only then that *cajones* began being made strictly for musical purposes. Until that time, the *cajón* was no more than an «ordinary box» used as a musical accompaniment for certain Afro Peruvian and Creole songs and dances. They did not have the finish of current *cajones* and some of those old instruments even sounded as though they were cracked.

Early in 1900, *cajón* players did not sit on their instrument. Many of them sat on a chair or a stool and held the box slightly tilted backward between their legs, leaning against the stool or their thighs, whilst they tapped on the front of the box with their hands.

The percussion box as we know it now, shaped like a «column» (because it is taller than it is wide), is the one referred to as the *Peruvian Cajón*. For a long time, however, the *cajón* was not as deep and was laid on its side, therefore it looked wider than it was tall. In order to distinguish one model from the other in this book, we shall use the term *column box*.

The Creole *cajón* gave way as Afro Peruvian music became popular, although it is still being used. Some *cajón*-makers made a Creole version with strings placed in the lower part of the box, leaning on the cover to imitate the sound and system of the rolling drum or *tarola*. This version also later gave way to the column box. Some *cajones* are not parallelepiped, as different geometric shapes and various measurements have been tried.

The Creole *cajón* is always played by the drummer sitting on the instrument, with one leg in the middle,



Jarana limeña con cajón, cajita y quijada de burro. Fotos: Anibal Solimano / PROMPERU

dividing the front of the box in two, so that half the box is on either side of the leg. Sometimes the right side of the instrument was used for «duller» beats.

This effect can also be obtained with the column box, although the player, once seated on the instrument, usually spreads his legs, leaving the front of

the box uncovered.

When a trio or a group play *cajones*, all three boxes tend to have similar measurements and they also sound alike. In Cuba, however, *cajón* orchestras are formed with instruments of different sizes and sounds; the largest box sounds heavier and is called *tumba*, and the one that makes sharper sounds is called *quinto*. When a *cajones* group or orchestra is formed in Peru, the one that strikes the basic rhythm is referred to as *cajón llamador* and the one that peals or brandishes the tune or plays solos is called *repicador*. This depends on the role of the player rather than on the size or sound of the instrument. These names stem from the functions of membrane drums. The drummers usually carry out these functions by turns. In the old days, the most experienced drummer was the one who played the «*repique*».

Nicomedes Santa Cruz Gamarra, who has been writing newspaper articles on this instrument since the sixties, entitled «His majesty the *cajón*», tells us that «as far as the non-industrial manufacture of the current *cajón* is concerned, there is a large variety of styles and sizes: flat ones with a handle, rather like a James Bond briefcase; large and clumsy ones like a coffin; some small; others varnished, polished, painted white, green, black, or red and white like the Peruvian flag; with the monogram of the musical centre or the initials of its owner; adorned with gilt tacks, and so on. No two *cajones* are alike, although none of the new batch of drummers play them any differently». The last line sounds rather like a complaint about the appearance of these new percussionists and the lack of their own style or personality when sitting on their instrument.

Typical Lima party with a peruvian *cajón*, a peruvian *cajita* and a donkey's jaw. Photographs: Anibal Solimano •

Rafael Santa Cruz. *El cajón afroperuano (Afro-Peruvian Cajón)*. Cocodrilo Verde Publishers, Lima 2004, 177 pages. The book includes a multimedia CD with audio and image explanations.