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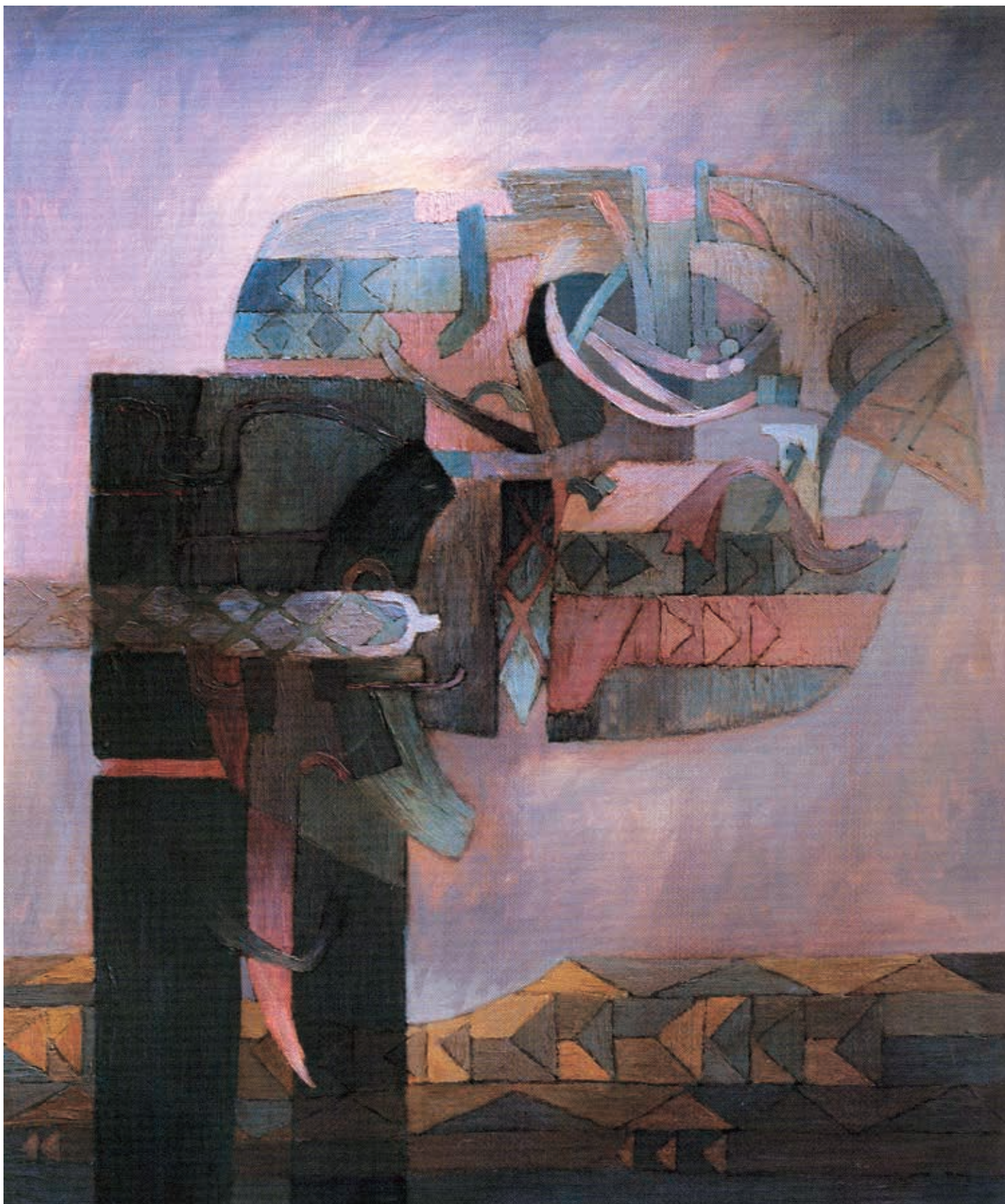


Photo: Fernando de Szyszlo. *Sol negro (Black Sun)*, 1992. Acrylic on canvas. 195 x 160 cm. Artist's private art collection.

JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS AND EMILIO ADOLFO WESTPHALEN IN
FAVOR OF A HOSPITABLE CULTURE / THE MAGICAL ASHANINKA
CUISINE / FERNANDO DE SZYSZLO: MEMORIES ON CANVAS

JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS AND EMILIO ADOLFO WESTPHALEN IN FAVOR OF A HOSPITABLE CULTURE

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José María Arguedas and Emilio Adolfo Westphalen were both born in 1911. The two intellectuals became close friends while studying at San Marcos University in 1932. The legacy that each has passed down to us can be measured individually and also in terms of the frequent exchanges between the two. Positions, experiences and actions emerged from these exchanges, which have had a strong impact on Peruvian artistic and cultural circles.

Emilio Adolfo Westphalen and José María Arguedas first met in the halls of San Marcos University in 1932. Emilio Adolfo was completing his liberal arts studies, while José María was still in the early stages, having entered the university only the previous year. A shared love of literature and poetry, acquired in such different ways—the beauty of Quechua songs heard and learned in childhood, in one case, and the literary readings and professors of Lima's German School, in the other—was responsible for bringing the two men together that year.

From that moment on they were bound by close ties of friendship, intellectual complicity, and artistic understanding that endured until December 2nd, 1969. Friends and scholars have testified to this, as has the correspondence between the two, together with the voluntarily written words of praise of each other to be found in their published works. Arguedas, before dying, dedicated his final, unfinished novel, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971), to Emilio Adolfo, in these words: «I tremulously dedicate this crippled and inconsistent tale to Emilio Adolfo Westphalen and to violinist Máximo Damián Huamaní of San Diego de Ishua.» Years later, Westphalen was to write a short book of poems, *El niño y el río*, for José María, with this significant dedication: «For José María Arguedas, a poor tribute to a poet and friend.» Curiously enough, as these dedications show, the two men shared the same feelings of inadequacy—«poor tribute», «crippled tale»,—that reveal, in the first place, the value they attributed to their friendship. But at the same time, these words also reflect, above all, the lofty position in which they both placed literature and art within society, considering them to be «not a distraction from life, but a contribution to a fuller life, not frippery for concealing man, but a new instrument to make men more complete human beings», as Westphalen stated, and both practiced. They fully shared this conviction and these

feelings of inadequacy, far removed from self-satisfaction and vanity, which each expressed in his own way: Westphalen's modesty and extreme discretion about his own work (he never published or even mentioned or commented upon his writings in the magazines he edited) is significant in that regard, as is Arguedas' permanent, —even unhealthy—, self-criticism of his activities as a writer, strongly influenced in many aspects by his fear of not fulfilling the mission he had assigned himself: of keeping the bond between art and life alive, of transmitting «the earth's essence.»

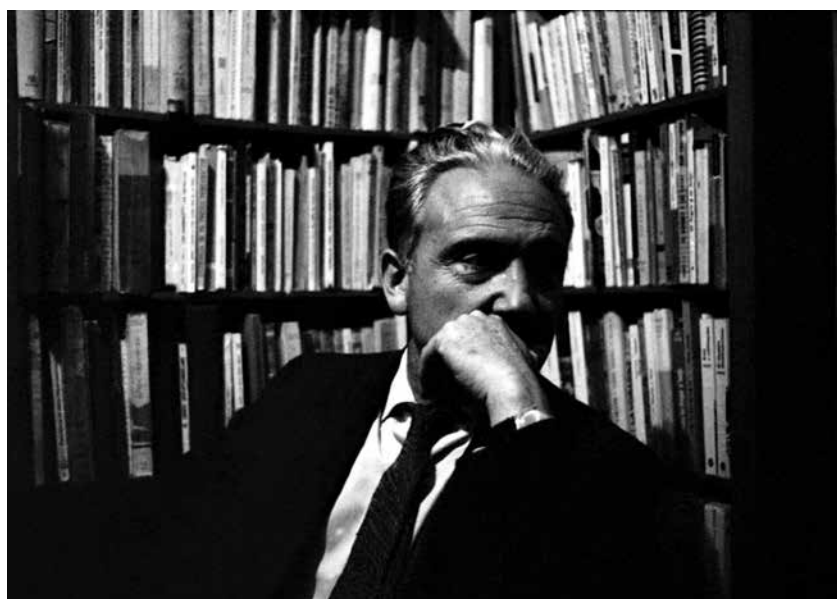
These feelings of insufficiency are, in fact, inversely proportional to what Arguedas and Westphalen actually contributed through their works and their cultural activities. There is nothing less poor or less crippled than the writings they have passed down to us. In his work, *Las islas extrañas* and *Abolición de la muerte*, Westphalen undertook an exploration that enabled Peruvian poetry, and all poetry written in the Spanish language in general, to conquer new territories in a unique appropriation of surrealistic weapons through words firmly rooted in an all-powerful imagination. Arguedas' novel, *Los ríos profundos*, and his short story, «La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti», to cite only a couple of examples, are expressions of a profoundly renewed narrative language that marks his definitive emergence

from traditional indigenism and proposes new forms of expression of that «historic mission» of Latin American literature of explaining to the «other», to the non-European.

These feelings of insufficiency with regard to the lofty function of art in society took on special importance and meaning in the Peru of the period, a country where culture was considered superfluous, decorative, an amusement and where, above all, art and literature were a «task of minorities performed for minorities before a backdrop of a large community of the uneducated» (Salazar Bondy 1963: 26). The two men undertook this task from the standpoint of that awareness, intensified and heightened by the fact that Westphalen and Arguedas shared an inability to be satisfied with being writers only; in fact, both were extremely active cultural agents who, therefore, confronted the structural shortcomings and circumstances of Peruvian society more straightforwardly and violently.

The significance of Arguedas' and Westphalen's legacy is gauged not only individually, but also on the basis of their continual exchanges. As a result of these, positions were adopted, experiences achieved and actions taken that had a strong impact on the artistic and intellectual environment, enriching and opening up the national imagination, according to Alberto Escobar

(Escobar 1989). Luis Rebaza Soralez (Rebaza Soralez 2000), who added to and enriched Escobar's reflections, studied the important roles played by Arguedas and Westphalen in creating a thinking and artistic sector that strived to overcome the fragmentation of Peruvian society, in order to embrace a liberating modernity. The two men forged a powerful link with the immediately following generation of artists, writers and intellectuals (Javier Sologuren, Jorge Eduardo Eielson, Sebastián y Augusto Salazar Bondy, Fernando de Szyszlo, José Matos Mar, Blanca Varela...), who were to be the protagonists of an effervescent and important intellectual and creative production in twentieth century Peru. Westphalen and Arguedas, as a result of their dialogue and of their complementary positions, became a reference model and even the determining element for these people as the starting point for conjuring up the figure of today's Peruvian artist. The model for cultural coordination consisting of Arguedas and Westphalen that was built up over decades of exchanges between the two was initially grounded in the identification and the erosion of Lima's most distinctive *Criollo*/Hispanic paradigm. *Criollo*, Hispanic Lima was situated between the West toward which Arguedas moved and the Andean culture discovered by Westphalen. The activities and works of these men were aimed at setting the national imagination free and cast deep doubts on the authority of its parameters. Westphalen did this by complaining about what he himself called «that, I don't know whether virtue or disease, which José Carlos Mariátegui, in his literary jargon, termed 'cosmopolitanism.» For the author of *Abolición de la muerte*, it meant above all the «recognition of openings and possibilities —of the freedom to disagree— of a distrust of superstition and fanaticism (those preludes to barbarity, as Diderot termed them)» (Westphalen 1984: 63). It was from the vantage point of a subversive and questioning vanguard that he sought to make Peru shake off its lethargy, its conservative localism and its servile



José María Arguedas (Andahuaylas, 1911 - Lima, 1969).

imitation, by fighting –as he called it– «the corrosive gastric effect of the city of birth.» He did this through his poetry, of course, but also aggressively and almost as a militant activist, together with César Moro, in surrealistic manifestations in the capital. These included Latin America's first surrealistic exhibition of 1935 and the publication of the acrid «poetry and controversial sheet,» the sole issue of *El Uso de la Palabra*, which came out in 1939, followed later by the much more mature direction of *Las Moradas* and *Amaru*. These magazines gave young Peruvian creators and intellectuals the essential intellectual and artistic vehicle offered by the few good magazines that were published during those times of cultural uncertainty and also allowed them to enjoy another view of the country's and of the world's cultural landscape. This was an iconoclastic view that was able to put into question the dictates of colonially-rooted *Criollo* Lima, broadened the fields of interest and instilled an attitude that was at one and the same time demanding, rigorous and of opening. In the words of Luis Loayza, «*Las Moradas* and *Amaru*, far from proposing to their readers the performance of an intellectual exercise construed as a game or evasion, brought them face-to-face with their responsibility, enriched them and continue to enrich.» (Loayza 1974: 215).

Arguedas eroded and attacked the foundations of *Criollo* society from the other side by identifying «social contempt, political domination and economic exploitation» as being responsible for the denial of the true conditions of oppression of the large masses (Arguedas 1983: 13). But above all, he made a slow, patient and profound effort to disseminate Andean cultures and to give them their true value by striving to break through the barriers and open the door between the coastal *Criollo* and the highland worlds, thereby playing down the validity of existing canons. His performance as a cultural agent was the product of his entire life: as a teacher in Sicuani, as an official in the Ministry of Education responsible for national folklore, as the Peruvian Cultural Museum's director of ethnological research, as director of the House of Culture, as a professor at San Marcos National University, at the Teachers' College, and at the National Agrarian University. Nor should we forget his role as facilitator, together with the Bustamante sisters, of the Pancho Fierro *peña*, the gathering place where intellectuals and artists engaged in literary discussions and enjoyed popular music and art, and which was also frequented by well-known visitors from around the world. Arguedas was, in short, because of his presence



Emilio Adolfo Westphalen (Lima, 1911-2001).

in and influence on the cultivated sectors of the 1940's, one of the leading protagonists of this growing wave of Peruvian awareness of the country's problem –in other words, of the «isolating and oppressive walls» that separated the coastal *Criollo* world from the rest of the country, the ignored large majority populations of the highlands and also of the jungle area.

Their complementary activities and the dialogue they sustained throughout their lives, and particularly during their educational period spanning the 1930's and early 1940's, worked to erode the foundations of Lima's Hispanic-*Criollo* paradigm. These were times of combative and virulent definition and affirmation for both men, years, above all, in which they assumed common ethics, shaped in opposition and as a reaction to that paradigm and that were legitimated socio-culturally as such from their positions of social exclusion and ontologically through their poetry and language.

As Escobar had already noted, Arguedas and Westphalen met and recognized each other as both living lives of social exclusion. In referring in his essay on «Poetas en la Lima de los años treinta» (Poets in the Lima of the thirties) to his relationship with Lima, the author of *Las islas extrañas* clearly stated:

«My social situation truly placed me on the sidelines of the Lima where the economic and political power were concentrated. As a recent descendent of immigrant families (only one of my four grandparents was born in Peru), I felt as if I were in permanent quarantine, like a criminal because I was not integrated and did not share the traditions or –better stated– the prejudices and interests of the dominant classes. The hostility to which I was apparently subjected could be compared to that which

José María Arguedas complained about in a context of heated rivalry between highlanders and coastal dwellers.» (Westphalen 1980: 103).

Westphalen encountered and identified with Arguedas in sharing strong feelings of exclusion («in quarantine», «criminal») from the social strata and circles that set the norms, those of Lima's *Criollo* bourgeoisie and oligarchy. This «marginalized» position determined by his foreign parentage and middle class membership –in other words, without any economic weight or power of influence or decision– enabled him to understand the problem of the non-integration of and hostility toward and negation of those who were not *Criollo* Limenians by those who were. Not only did Arguedas, as a novelist (and scholar) and, therefore, a witness and observer, reveal the hostility toward and rejection of highlanders, who were made to feel useless by coastal Limenians. His very position as a provincial, rural, highland intellectual and writer was affected by these attitudes. Up until his death, he was beset by feelings of being relegated to the sidelines of the urban world of the capital and its codes; these feelings were perceptible even in his relations with his circle of closest collaborators and friends, like Szyszlo or even Westphalen himself. They can be discerned in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*¹, as well as in the correspondence between the two men, in which the Limenian intellectual or artist was identified and perceived as being in a position of superiority because of his birth in the capital city, his mastery and possession of a superior

1. And this is what can be sensed from these words that evoke his particularly affectionate treatment by writer Guimarães Rosa: «I have never been treated by any city friend as such a close equal as I was at that time by this Guimarães and by that I mean by writers and artists; not by Gody Szyszlo, nor E. A. Westphalen, nor Javier Sologuren, and even less so by notable foreigners.». From «Primer diario», 13 May 1968 (Arguedas 1983: 23).

Photo: Herman Schwarz.

culture, his being a «natural» part of it and his membership in the «learned» community. Although this created problems for the horizontality of the relations between Westphalen and Arguedas, revealing that inevitably «their cultural exchanges took place within a scenario of domination,» (Rowe 1979: 101) this did not, however, keep the feeling of class distinctions experienced by them both from being converted, by means of their dialogue of the 1930's and 1940's, into a systematic tool for bringing the dominant *doxa* into question and for proposing and defending alternative values. Throughout their period of education and affirmation, consisting of those two decades, the friends identified, denounced and attacked Lima's (critical, literary and cultural) establishment and its dictates. The way in which the two proceeded to systematically destroy the official word, rejecting and invalidating the legitimacy of the instituted currents, like indigenism and vanguardism, and furiously casting doubt on the legitimacy of the authoritative literary critics can be seen in their writings and also in the correspondence they shared, particularly when Arguedas was teaching in Sicuani. It is flagrantly displayed in the various acrid and extreme opinions and comments they exchanged in their correspondence regarding Lima's current literary and cultural situation and the virulent attack made by Westphalen on the official literary environment in the sole issue of *El Uso de la Palabra*. This is particularly evident in the article entitled «De la poesía y los críticos» (Of poetry and critics), in which he discredited one of the most important literary critics, Luis Alberto Sánchez, for the publication of his *Índice de la poesía peruana contemporánea*, and goes on to attack the very activity of literary critique, which he defined as a «practice of bad omen,» «a use lacking in fertile resonances of any kind,» and «a shameless swindle,» and, above all, identifies it as an instrument of social regulation and preservation of the prevailing values.

The feelings of class distinction converted into a tool for systematic questioning in which a single enemy is acknowledged (the dominant *Criollo*-Hispanic *doxa*) is also what permits the proposal and defense of alternative values and icons. Marginalization changes from negative to positive and is transformed and recovered as a value. Arguedas y Westphalen were to give this marginal position meaning and it is not by chance that they spoke from the preferential vantage point of poetry. This is the most marginal or extreme of the arts (in the Western world)

...

and, for that reason, a preserved and quintessential space, if we consider that the function and status of poetry were altered in its course from German Romanticism, Baudelaire and the accursed poets to the vanguards. It became increasingly associated with a divergence from the traditional, the instituted, the official. With it and from it, alternative values and icons are proposed and defended, the words of another tradition are pronounced, passing from one tradition to the other. This was particularly true in the case of José María Eguren. The author of *Simbólicas* constituted a point of reference for the two men. In addition to appearing as the «guardian angel,» according to Westphalen, for having been «the first to write poetry in Peru, and from which we all sprang, from Vallejo to the following poets», Eguren was defended because he presented himself as an author who was not understood by the establishment and who had even been consigned to oblivion. The failure of Luis Alberto Sánchez to acknowledge Eguren's importance as a poet and Estuardo Núñez's poor interpretation of the author's work were telling examples in that regard.

The value assumed by Eguren as a counter-figure can be understood and is completed when contrasted with the place assigned to José Santos Chocano, the official model, the «bard» crowned in November 1922 as the poet of America, strident modernist, highly popular and enamored of the great historical and geographic themes of the hemisphere and of the country and whose life combined poetic writings with a political, diplomatic and adventurous career. Eguren rose in opposition to the official bard and cantor. That is what we can deduce from these words written by César Moro:

«In Peru at that time, the poet was the official cantor at patriotic anniversary celebrations or the bohemian who prostituted his inspiration, –if we can call it that–, which was absolutely commonplace and simplistic, in the confines of the pub, in one of the many and sordid back rooms of the corner store. Eguren was the Poet, in the sense of being lost in the clouds, of having nothing to say or do or see outside his Poetry. Something highly unusual then and still unusual today: he was never involved in politics.» (Moro 1957: 110).

Like Moro and together with Moro, Westphalen and Arguedas saw themselves in this figure of positive marginality. «His

"...it is not by chance that they spoke from the preferential vantage point of poetry. This is the most marginal or extreme of the arts (in the Western world) and, for that reason, a preserved and quintessential space..."

extraordinary poetic and vital incorruptibility» made him a model, offering another possible and necessary figure of the poet who, by separating his poetry from his social function, incarnates an art that does not allow for concessions or compromises, an art that is more than anything else a universal and absolute value, above and beyond social or cultural or political distinctions and considerations and that is governed by ethics. Poetry, in offering and affirming the need for a link between ethics and writing, constitutes territory that is marginal in the eyes of society, but ontologically fundamental for man, in that it contains, keeps alive and most deeply renews the core of cultures: language or languages. Alberto Escobar very aptly identified just how much and how well Arguedas and Westphalen understood that «all languages have a place within the universal concept of poetry» (Escobar 1989: 19) and that it is from the vantage point of language, in language, that boundaries can and should be changed and moved, categorizations removed, erosion practiced and the superiority of one culture over another placed in doubt. In-depth work with language was both a conviction and an obsession: suffice it to note the intensity and anguish with which Arguedas, in the light of his teaching experience, questioned himself over the future of Quechua and the need to enforce use of the Spanish language. Also his tenacious effort to make literature the (privileged) vehicle for «exposing the problems of the native language» (Escobar 1989: 122). This can be seen not only in the battle he felt he was constantly waging with the Spanish language, but also, and above all, in his attempt to reflect the emotions of migration in the spoken language in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* and the extreme importance he attributed to the translation of Quechua poetry, songs and myths into Spanish. This work of opening, of deterritorialization can also be found on the part of Westphalen, though perhaps it is less obvious in his case. Although he was not

bilingual like Arguedas, during his infancy and schooling, he heard and was taught in other languages, in addition to Spanish (German, Italian, French and English) –as he himself narrated in his article «Las lenguas y la poesía» (Languages and poetry). This gave him an awareness of his native language and of the need to get away from it. He started his writings (those he considered to be valid) with an initial deportation consisting of the poem «Magic World», written in English in 1930, and so it was that he began to give shape to his poetic language, that of *Las islas extrañas* and *Abolición de la muerte*, by delving deeply into the very core of the Spanish language, distorting our notions and opening up our imaginations, while looking into and taking advantage of «a wealth of expressive possibilities offered by other languages –with which he was familiar– that could be adopted on occasion» (Westphalen 1995: 15).

It is known that on numerous occasions and on different fronts, Westphalen exalted Andean culture, but, above all and thanks to Arguedas, he was able to visualize the powers, the scope of the Quechua language in man's relationship to the world –in other words, the feeling that «the world is part of oneself and not something objective,», «[that] form of universal communion, of political immersion in which both subject and object are annulled [and] whose summit, for many of us, while sensed, dreamed of or merely desired, is still inaccessible.» (Westphalen 1969: 3). In identifying Quechua as the poetry of language and the language of poetry, Westphalen, the poet nourished in the European tradition, adopted this new source in which the orphaned Western modern age («the summit, while sensed, dreamed of or merely desired, is still inaccessible») is regenerated, for it is capable of instilling a closeness with matter and nature and of grasping the immediacy of the sensitive human being that Western languages have lost. The author of *Las islas extrañas* was able to arrive at this valuation of

the Quechua language as eroding and revealing the shortcomings of the dominant culture not only because of his initiation by his friend José María and the very works of Arguedas, the Quechua-speaking poet, but also, and above all, of the writer whose art turned Spanish into a hospitable language capable of kindly and tenderly welcoming that «(music) of wisdom, of love that is so intense and transparent and, at the same time, the so dreamily penetrating matter of which we are all fashioned and which, on entering into contact with this shadow, is completely filled with sharp delight.» (Arguedas 1982: 144-145).•

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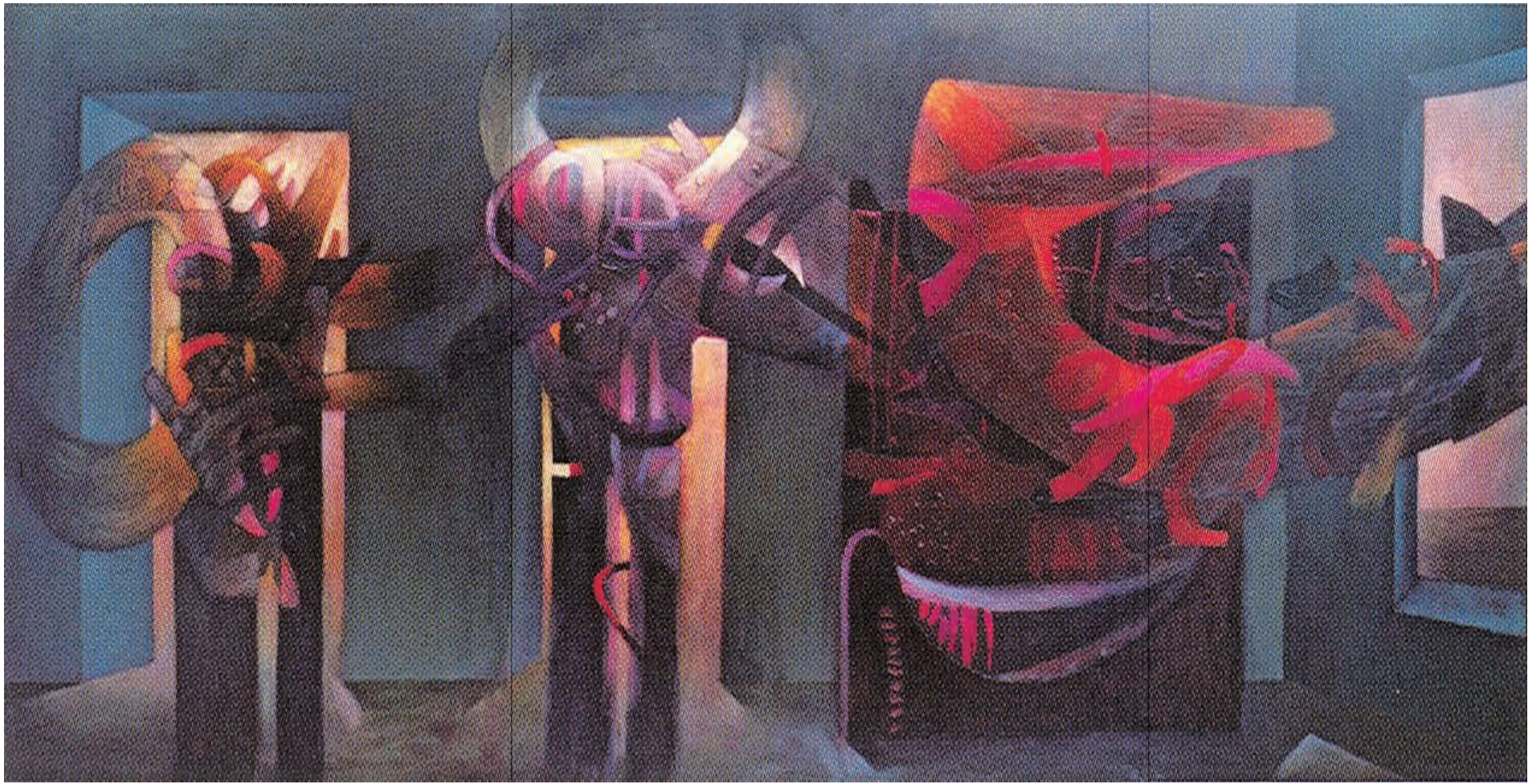
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Emilio Adolfo Westphalen
<p>Magic World</p> <p>I must give you black and definitive news All of you are dying Corpses, death with white eyes girls with red eyes Girls growing younger mothers all my little loves I was writing I said little loves I say I was writing a letter A letter a dreadful letter But I said little loves I am writing a letter Another one will be written tomorrow Tomorrow you will all be dead The untouched letter the dreadful letter is also dead I always write and I will not forget your red eyes Your immobile eyes your red eyes This is all I can promise When I went to see you I had a pencil and I wrote on your door This is the house of the dying women Women with immobile eyes girls with red eyes My pencil was a midget and it wrote whatever I wanted My midget pencil my dear pencil with white eyes But once I called it the worst pencil I never had It did not hear what I said it did not find out It only had white eyes Then I kissed its white eyes and he became a she And I married her because of her white eyes and we had many children My children or her children Each one has a newspaper to read The newspapers of death that are dead Except they do not know how to read They have no eyes not red nor immobile nor white I am always writing and I say all of you are dying For her it is restlessness and does not have red eyes Red eyes immobile eyes Bah I do not love her</p> <p>In <i>Belleza de una espada clavada en la lengua</i>. Poems 1930-1968, Lima: Rikchay, 1986</p> <p>Mundo mágico</p> <p>Tengo que darles una noticia negra y definitiva todos ustedes se están muriendo Los muertos la muerte de ojos blancos las muchachas de ojos rojos Volviéndose jóvenes las muchachas las madres todos mis amorcitos Yo escribía Dije amorcitos Digo que escribía una carta Una carta una carta infame Pero dije amorcitos Estoy escribiendo una carta Otra será escrita mañana Mañana estarán ustedes muertos La carta intacta la carta infame también está muerta Escribo siempre y no olvidaré tus ojos rojos Tus ojos inmóviles tus ojos rojos Es todo lo que puedo prometer Cuando fui a verte tenía un lápiz y escribí sobre tu puerta Esta es la casa de las mujeres que se están muriendo Las mujeres de ojos inmóviles las muchachas de ojos rojos Mi lápiz era enano y escribía lo que yo quería Mi lápiz enano mi querido lápiz de ojos blancos Pero una vez lo llamé el peor lápiz que nunca tuve No oyó lo que dije no se enteró Solo tenía ojos blancos Luego besé sus ojos blancos y él se convirtió en ella Y la desposé por sus ojos blancos y tuvimos muchos hijos Mis hijos o sus hijos Cada uno tiene un periódico para leer Los periódicos de la muerte que están muertos Solo que ellos no saben leer No tienen ojos ni rojos ni inmóviles ni blancos Siempre estoy escribiendo y digo que todos ustedes se están muriendo Pera ella es el desasosiego y no tiene ojos rojos Ojos rojos ojos inmóviles Bah no la quiero</p>

José María Arguedas
<p>To Tremble</p> <p>They say the shadow of my town shakes; it is trembling because it has touched the sad shadow of women’s hearts. Do not tremble, pain, pain! The Shadow of Condors are getting closer! – What is the shadow coming for? Is it coming in the name of the sacred mountains or on behalf of the blood of Jesus? – Do not tremble; do not be trembling; it is not blood; they are not mountains; it is the Sun’s radiance coming from the condors’ feathers. – I am scared, my father. The Sun is burning; it burns the cattle; it burns the sowing fields. They say that in faraway hills that in endless forests, a hungry snake, a goddess, child of the Sun, golden, serpent is looking for men. –It is not the Sun, it is the Sun’s heart, its radiance, its mighty, its blissful radiance, coming in the shadow of the condors eyes. It is not the Sun, it is a light. Rise and stand on your feet; welcome that endless eye! Tremble with its light; shake like the trees of the big forest do, start screaming. Create one single shadow, men, my country men; all together tremble with the arriving light. Drink the golden blood of the serpent god. Fervent blood gets to the eyes of condors fills the skies, makes them dance, unleash, and give birth, [pro]create. You, my father, give life; a man, like me, my love.</p> <p>In <i>Katatay y otros poemas / Huc Jayllicunapas</i>, Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1972.</p> <p>Temblar</p> <p>Dicen que tiembla la sombra de mi pueblo; está temblando porque ha tocado la triste sombra del corazón de las mujeres. ¡No tiembles, dolor, dolor! ¡La sombra de los cóndores se acerca! —¿A qué viene la sombra? ¿Viene en nombre de las montañas sagradas o a nombre de la sangre de Jesús? —No tiembles; no estés temblando; no es sangre; no son montañas; es el resplandor del Sol que llega en las plumas de los cóndores. —Tengo miedo, padre mío. El Sol quema; quema al ganado; quema las sementeras. Dicen que en los cerros lejanos que en los bosques sin fin, una hambrienta serpiente, serpiente diosa, hijo del Sol, dorada, está buscando hombres. —No es el Sol, es el corazón del Sol, su resplandor, su poderoso su alegre resplandor, que viene en la sombra de los ojos de los cóndores. No es el Sol, es una luz. ¡Levántate, ponte de pie; recibe ese ojo sin límites! Tiembla con su luz; sacúdete como los árboles de la gran selva, empieza a gritar. Formen una sola sombra, hombres, hombres de mi pueblo; todos juntos tiemblen con la luz que llega. Beban la sangre áurea de la serpiente dios. La sangre ardiente llega al ojo de los cóndores carga los cielos, los hace danzar, desatarse y parir, crear. Crea tú, padre mío, vida; hombre, semejante mío, querido.</p>

SZYSZLO: MEMOIR

On the occasion of the retrospective exhibition held in 2011, the Lima Museum of Art and the Banco de Crédito del Perú presented a presentation by Mario Vargas Llosa and an anthology of texts written by Octavio Paz, Sebastián Salazar Bondy and



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CAPTIONS:

1. *Los visitantes de la noche* ("Night callers") (triptych). 1988. Acrylic on canvas. 570 × 140 cm. the Museum of the Americas, Washington D. C.
2. *Casa de Venus* ("Venus's house"). 1975. Acrylic on canvas. 180 × 120 cm. Paul Grinsten art collection, Lima.
3. *Camino a Mendieta XXVI* ("On the way to Mendieta"). 1977. Acrylic on canvas. 121,5 × 121 cm. Banco de Crédito del Perú art collection, Lima.
4. *Sol negro II / Homenaje a Lorenzo* ("Black sun II / Tribute to Lorenzo"). 1999. Acrylic on canvas. 200 × 139,5 cm. Artist's private art collection, Lima.
5. *Puka Wamani*. 1967. Acrylic on wood. 153 × 122 cm. Private art collection.
6. *Waman Wasi XLIII*. 1975. Acrylic on canvas. 188 × 13,5 cm. Vicente de Szyszlo art collection, Lima.

An America called Szyszlo

Marta Traba, 1964

Szyslo worked on an anonymous poem about the death of Atahualpa written, according to its translator José María Arguedas, shortly after the passing of the Inca, and underpinned, in his own words, by the «resounding and gloomy beauty» of the elegy. This takes us to his anti-formality of his abstract painting, which is not only concerned about its contents but it is in itself content. Contents become exalted, and in that pure exaltation find a shape. Yet, shape is so straightforward, so sensorial, so eager to possess and verify, without any cooling whatsoever, the power of contents, which develops such overwhelming, true, brutal, and romantic violence never found in European paintings which needs to make spiritual and rationalize the contents or in American painting, which conveys collective ideas driven by the distress of awakening the interest of markets.

Szyslo's work exposes an «attitude» of understanding a genuinely American painting, which becomes apparent and visible in the countries with Pre-Colombian tradition, not in the «alluvial plains» of Argentina or Venezuela. The attitude is one of representing emotions, not trying to rationalize them like the Europeans who attempt to give them a more rational context. The Latin American attitude gives way to a more powerful and ferocious breath, a secret epic to his work –the epics of Obregon, Lam, and certain painting by Matta, Cuevas, Martínez–. Epic is synonymous to: anarchy, lack of moderation, chaos, baroque, and its emotional analogies: pain, anguish, confusion, and yearning. Szyszlo's paintings are made from these longings.

The paintings included in the series about Atahualpa's death depict, gradually, big funeral corteges. Brushstrokes slide on surfaces with the indefinite movement of waters; yet, it is not river water. It is dark, deaf abyssal water. Movements reflects such rituals or spells of sorts that references to life or synonyms of life –struggle and fight– have vanished. However, amidst the matter, in the most unfathomable spot, emerges a struggling glowing light which silently crevasses the somber colored oppressive shroud.

One of Fernando de Szyszlo's most renowned critics, writer Emilio Adolfo Westphalen asserts that in Atahualpa's funeral poem no suffering is capable of breaking the breath of life.

This idea of the life and death fully coexisting is portrayed in the paintings. I think that for Szyszlo the concepts of 'life' and 'death' are no longer opposite and manage to mingle without a fight. All of Szyszlo's previous paintings showed battle fields, with strong cores in which rough shapes poorly disguised his aggressiveness in the smooth general ambiance of the color. Instead, in this painting, struggles surrender and greater certitude –perhaps hopeless certitude– beats overbearingly. Between life and death, the greater shades of emotion crop up, intermittently, in the paintings.

Death lays down its negative weight. Not even «the black rainbow that rises» fulminates hope. Yet, this magnificent handling of the major theme is not without punishment, without deaths. Frequently, those small casualties, which irrigate all of his painting, oppress the work and certain overwhelmed stupor alters the elegiac grave hymn.

Source: *El Tiempo*, Bogotá, 31 May 1964, p. 9.

Journey of an accomplished artist

Luis Eduardo Wuffarden

Anyone reviewing the story of Fernando de Szyszlo, profoundly entrenched in the last 75 years of Peruvian history, will clearly unveil the image of an accomplished artist. Although he deserves to be recognized above all as a painter, Szyszlo's dexterousness on diverse visual disciplines, as well as his remarkable theoretical endowments, transcends any classification. He is also a humanist with a wide culture, a teacher of several generations, and an opinion leader genuinely committed to the destiny of his community. All of this warrants Szyszlo a key role in the decisive battles for modernizing his country and Latin America.

In his case, modern order means constantly exercising human liberties and creative imagination, as well as the pressing need to seek for a specific identity. He accomplishes his work in an emblematic manner, balancing an unavoidable insightful look –into Peru's ancient past, its indigenous roots, and its controversial social being– with openness to universally artistic languages enabling him to speak on equal footing with the world.

RIES ON CANVAS

have published a comprehensive volume dedicated to the work of this exceptional artist. The book titled Szyszlo includes a Bondy, Javier Sologuren, Marta Traba, and Emilio Adolfo Westphalen, among other famous intellectuals.



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As time passes: Here, this week's comment on literature and art
Octavio Paz, 1959

After many years, I have seen again painter Fernando de Szyszlo. Anthony Souza invited Szyszlo to exhibit some of his latest painting in Souza's gallery. Szyszlo is the best Peruvian painter or, at least, the most popular abroad. He was one of the initiators of abstract painting in Latin America. Although critics kept their eyes closed –did they ever have them open?—to his art exhibition, I was glad to see young painters (Lilia Carrillo, Soriano, Felguerez, Coronel, among others) at the opening. This exhibition was for them and a few others. Szyszlo has not changed much. I keep from our years in Paris –where he managed to conquer the admiration of Hartung, the harshest of the abstract painters– a series of engravings: *Homenaje a César Vallejo* (A tribute to César Vallejo). Comparing them with the more recent oil paintings, I find that he has greater control of himself, he is freer and more daring; while he continues to be himself: difficult, austere, violent, and deeply poetic at the same time. A painting that does not give itself away; it is withdraw in its own intimacy. A

painting which disdains sensual complicity and requires of spectator ascetic contemplation. In Mexico, his exact opposite would be Soriano, all drive and effusion, using many colors and raving shapes. I am not saying that Szyszlo's paintings are pure intellectual constructs, but rather, that they are a struggle between rigor and spontaneity. His tense and quick shapes are sometimes aggressive, cruel; while his highly concentrated colors have sparks of wild enthusiasm. [Imagination] loose, explosion, and aloofness. Many painters –perhaps inspired by Picasso– frequently change their ways; Szyszlo does not change: he matures; he grows. He has something to say.

Source: *Claridades*, México D. F., 30 April, 1959, p. 23.

Excerpts taken from: *Szyszlo*, Lima: Lima Museum of Art and Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2011, 357 pp.

THE MAGICAL ASHANINKA CUISINE

MYTHICAL ORIGINS

Pablo Macera and Enrique Casanto give us an enlightened approach to Ashaninka worldview by incorporating oral traditions to their cuisine.

This book brings us closer to a space, history, and reality normally unknown to us. We can only understand the Ashaninka and its cultural wealth (including its cooking habits) by recognizing Peru as a land of multiple cultures.

The Ashaninka are one of the ten ethnic groups of Arahua linguistic family. According to Carlos Mora, the Ashaninka would have settled in the Peruvian Amazon about three thousand years B.C. This family is scattered all around the South American tropical forest, including the Antilles. According to Santos and Barclay, it is possible for that eastern part of Peru where the Ashaninka live to «may have been the place of origin of the Arahua family and that Arahua-speaking tribes spread to the east and to the north».

According to Macera and Casanto, the Arahua macro-group includes different ethnical groups in addition to the Ashaninka (Machiguengas, Yine, Kakinte, Nomatsiguenga, Yanetsha). Ashaninka are scattered around different departments (Pasco, Apurímac, Ayacucho, Huánuco, Junín, Loreto, and Ucayali) and nine rivers (Apurímac, Ene, Tambo, Satipo, Pichis, Bajo Urubamba, Alto Ucayali, Pachitea, Yurúa). With a population of 80.593 people, as per the 2007 National Census, the Ashaninkas is the most important indigenous population in the Peruvian Amazon, followed by the Aguarunas (55.366) and the Shipibos (23.117). Its people live in 411 communities of different sizes.

The Ashaninka can be divided into two different groups: the Ashaninkas of the Great Pajonal and the Riparian Ashaninkas.

On the other hand, the Ashaninka-Asheninka have linguistic differences. Although the Peruvian State's current policy focuses on encouraging a linguistic unification process, Enrique Casanto, one of the co-authors of this book, has expressed his concern because the graphical representation of some letters has been left out: «g», «tz», «th», and «w». Hence, for example, the word 'manitsi' (jaguar) would be written as 'maniti'.

Ashaninkas are known for their secular and active exchange between



Photo: Elsa Estremadoyro.

the low jungle areas and the central Andes, as well as for their multiple transactions across the complex river network. Its historical process has been full of struggles due to the pressure of colonizers which began in the 16th century. For at least 100 years (mid-18th to 19th centuries), the Ashaninka were at liberty to forge their own political space under the leadership of Juan Santos Atahualpa, and subsequently under his son, Josecito. However, in the mid-19th century, the national Peruvian State deployed a military offensive which served as preamble to the colonizing operations of European immigrants. Later, towards the turn of the 19th century, the Peruvian Corporation, gathering Peru's external debt creditors, were given a huge land concession which affected the traditional Ashaninka domains. During the 20th century, the Ashaninka territory was subject to pressure from Andean migrants. Likewise, in the latter part of the century, the Ashaninka suffered a number of interventions (Adventist missionaries, the Summer Institute of Linguistics) as well as political violence from the MRTA and the Shining Path. As a result, they migrated to far away territories in the center of the [continent].

It is within this context that we must place the efforts of Amazon communities for preserving their

unique traditions. The Ashaninka are no exception. Hence, their cuisine embodies a sort of cultural struggle, a line of resistance. The food experience, in the words of Noelia Carrasco, is a collective event: «When we feed ourselves we are not only exercising an essential individual action; we are subjects, objects, and participants of a significantly complex social operation». These traditional cuisines are in danger, in the views of Hocquenghem and Monzón. They face the threat of being replaced, among other reasons –according to the authors, because of the long prep time required by its recipes.

It is hard to measure the success of food operations in the Peruvian Amazon. There are, of course, those who are quasi-pessimistic or better said are relatively prudent. For example, Dourojeanni has said that the biomass of living animals in the Amazon does not seem to be too big. Some studies show that there is 200 kilograms per hectare of which half is land fauna, invertebrates. Vertebrates barely use 20 to 30 kilograms per hectare –five to ten times less than the African savannas. Dourojeanni bases his views on those of Betty Meggers (1976) or R. Gross (1982), who stated that «the survival and density of the aboriginal peoples of the Amazon is limited to their poor growth caused by lack of protein in the diet».

This hypothesis has been discussed by Beckerman, who has made it a priority to provide diets richer in animal and vegetable proteins for Amazon human settlements. Some of the food strategies seem to indicate, however, that there are specific difficulties. In this regard, it would be necessary to assess the use of insects in Ashaninka cuisine as sources of fat and proteins, according to Devan. Ashaninka children are responsible for catching these smaller animals, including insects and reptiles (ants, beetles, snails, ...).

There is agreement that in addition to the apparent abundance of food, it is necessary to recognize the difficulties in using such resources properly. Giovanna Cavero has stated that the morbidity of the Tambo river basin is mainly associated to chronic malnutrition (74%), which among infants is as high as 83.7%.

The Ashaninka production unit is the marriage community with gender-based division of labor. Recently, changes have occurred as a result of their entry into the market. Tizón has affirmed that Ashaninka women abandon her traditional production chores in order to devote her time to yield agricultural products to be traded by men.

The abovementioned authors have pointed out that the diversity

of cooking techniques used by the Ashaninka for their red meat, poultry or fish. In addition to using pans, they place them on hot ashes or tongs and bonfires. In turn, fish and caterpillars tend to be smoked or sun dried. Their stove is quite simple; it is made of wooden tripods upon which to place pans. According to Santos and Barclay, besides the importance of fishing, hunting, and gathering food «most of their protein intake (80%) comes from vegetable gardens. They are horticulturalists. In addition to hunting, animal protein intake comes animals they breed, such as hen, duck, and poultry, with the exception of pork». Pork is not included for two reasons. The first one is related to the «damage such animals can cause to their yucca gardens». The second one is a cultural and religious prohibition that dates back to the times of Juan Santos Atahualpa. As kitchenware, they use pans made by them or exchanged with family and neighbors. These authors, however,

mention that «the art of pottery is giving way to aluminum pans».

Household goods include baskets and mats which, like pottery, are also crafted by women. Some of these baskets can be very strong such as the ones used to harvest yucca (50 kg in one basket). Men and women work in order to ensure that the family kitchen counts will all necessary utensils. When men go hunting, for instance, they bring back the following instruments: pangolin tails to keep salt, turtle shell or motelo to store smoked food, armadillo to store meat, lizard tail and toucan beak to keep salt, monkey skull, snail shell, paña fish tooth, and crab leg, pangolin nail, and ray-fish lancet: all of them used as graters.

When speaking of Ashaninka cuisine, it is also worth mentioning its spirits (maize, palm fruits, sweet yucca); masato of yucca being

the most popular. 'Masato' is an Amazon-Spanish word and derives from the word 'masa'. In Ashaninka, this spirit is called 'piarentsi'.

This beer is made by women:

«In Perú, masato is a fermented beverage traditionally made from cooked yucca, which is chewed and spit into a container in which the substance is mixed with water and is left for the starch in the yucca to turn into sugar as a result of the saliva enzymes and it is finally fermented so that it turns into an alcohol beverage. This prep method still prevails among native Amazon ethnic groups; however, when masato is prepared for commercial purposes it is done so by grinding the yucca and adding yeast for fermentation to take place. As a result, persons who do not belong to any Amazon ethnic group can drink it; otherwise, they 'despise' their consumption for such unconventional method».

Food is a matter of solidarity: «it is the only article, apart from their houses, that is not traded; instead, it is delivered and given to every visitor for free. Hunting and fishing products are shared with neighbors.

Since reciprocity is the rule, this division ensures meat-based diets for all given the lack of appropriate means for meat preservation. Though food is distributed for free, no one has a right to take someone else's food without the prior consent of its owner».

Food is also linked to religious beliefs. During pregnancy, for instance, couples avoid eating certain food. «Neither parent can eat turtle during pregnancy for the fear that the child may be born crazy».

Excerpt taken from the presentation of the book *The Magical Ashaninka Cuisine* by Pablo Macera and Enrique Casanto. Lima: Publishing House of Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2011. www.usmp.edu.pe/fondoeditorial.

Stories*

Magic and words

Ahooshi (armadillo)

It weighs approximately 8 to 12 kg. It wanders around alone or in packs. It is a daytime animal. Its breeding season is during the summer. It eats maggots, worms, and insects. It is hunted with arrows, rifles, and, sometimes, with dogs. Armadillos are highly valued in the market and now they do not care if they are male or female; yet, if they see offspring, the adult armadillo is not hunted.

Once upon a time there was an Ashaninka called Pavocari who wanted to be a great hunter to appeal to women. But his parents had not taught him to hunt; all he knew how to do was pick fruits, mushrooms, and worms. When he was older, he wanted to take a wife. His parents were sad because they would say: How can he get married if he does not know how to hunt or fish -he is just a good farmer? Pavocari paid no attention and walked until he got to next community when it was almost dark. He was ashamed because all he had in his satchel were worms. He had no arrows for hunting, not even a piece of meat. Yet, he was warmly welcomed in this town. Pavocari gave them the worms he had with him. Everybody liked it. Since then, all he did was pick worms and he did not hunt. That is why he was given the armadillo. The armadillo can be hunted by man or woman, or by both together; when they catch it they take it home and open it up to take out the guts and then wrap it up with leaves. The meat, with the shell, smokes it. It is then used to make stew or soup with small cubes of yucca.

Samani (samaño)

Rodent weighing between 10 and 12 kg. Wanders on its own. Walks long distance seeking for food. Its breeding season is in both summer and winter. It is hunted without any limitation. It is an endangered species. It is hunted with arrows, traps, dogs, rifles. Samani eats wild fruits, pacay, maize, yucca, sappota, 'ovilla' fruit, manioc, and green plantain. The owner is Tinticotzi. The plant which protects it from hunting is Samanishi.

Once upon a time there was a young Ashaninka called Tinticotzi; he was a really fun person. He lived with his grandfather who had special powers. Tinticotzi imitated his grandfather and chewed coca leaves and tobacco. His grandfather warned him not to do so otherwise he ran the risk of turning into some sort of being. The young boy paid no attention. Hence, Tinticotzi started turning into an insect. His eyes changed and so did his arms and thighs. His grandfather tried to free him, but failed. He watched how Tinticotzi's eyes became puffed up like balloons and his arms turned into cricket rear legs. He then told his grandson: You will never be happy if you continue like that. At least, you will own the Samani and you will have a plant to hunt it. Men hunt Samani and bring them home. The wife boils water and peel the sow. Then the man cuts it in half and takes out the guts; he cleans it up and chops the pork into pieces. Then he puts it in a clay pot, in which water is already boiling with salt. Once cooked, it is served with yucca. If the family is small, then the heart, the liver, and part of the meat is smoked. Sometimes they cut



Illustration: Enrique Casanto

off all four legs to roast and eat them. They are put on the fire, where they cook and then they eat the legs with yucca.

Tsamari (paujil)

It weighs about 10 to 15 kg. They wander in pairs or alone when young. It does not move in packs. When a hunter sees a Tsamari in its nets, he does not kill it. The easiest months to hunt them is June because that is when they wander a lot. Hunters respect paujil when it is with its offspring. It is hunted with arrows, slingshots, or rifle. With the arrow, it is killed by surprise. Sometimes hunters catch young paujils and breeds them. They eat grains, fruits, snails, shrimp, and crabs. It lives in swampy areas. They sleep in the bushes. Its owner is Meentya and its plant is Tsamirishi.

The story goes that Meentya was a young man -though not too good at hunting or fishing, he was a good farmer. When he was taking a break from his fieldwork, he would go into canyons seeking for snails, shrimp, and crabs for lunch and would take everything to his wife who would prepare and cook the yucca. He became a famous warrior and everybody looked up to him. But there were other people who envied him and turned him into a paujil bird and also the owner of the paujil and its plant Tsamirishi. The husband hunted the paujil and the wife plucks the bird's feathers. When they get home, it is the wife who chops it and takes out the guts to cook it in *chipa* with *mohena* (*inch-aquitsopana*) leaves; the remainder of the paujil meat is cooked in a clay pan.

Conoya (motelo)

*It weighs about 10 to 300 kg. It wanders on its own. It is a daytime animal. Breeding season is the summer along creek shores. It eats wild fruits such as grapes, wild anona, mushrooms, and rotten logs. When an Ashaninka traps a Conoya, he takes him to a tree *cayapa* to throw away or get rid of its food. He keeps it on an empty stomach until the Conoya is clean; then the hunter takes it to his wife for her to cook it. The Conoya's owner is Onoria, with it is plant Conoyashi.*

Onoria was an Ashaninka woman battered by her husband until one day she decided to flee. She did not know where to go but she found a quiet place in the woods where motelos lived. So, Onoria strolled away. All of the sudden, she saw something yellow with Brown spots moving. She got frightened because she thought it was a jaguar. She thought: I much prefer it to eat me before letting my husband batter me. But then she realized it was a huge motelo so Onoria decide to sleep on top of the motelo. The motela walked all night with Onoria on it so she left no footprints. There were only traces of the motelo. Meanwhile, her husband was unsuccessfully looking for her. Her husband went to see a tobaccoist who told him: Your wife has left you do to your battering her. Now, she is the motelo's woman. The Ashaninka man, as a hunter, when encountering the motelo in the woods put it on a branch until it got rid of all its food. After three or four days, the man went to pick the motelo up and carries it back. When he gets home, the man chops it up. They do not eat the guts. Then the woman adds the salt and puts it on the stove making sure it does not burn. It is also chopped into small pieces, boiling it with beans for several hours until the beans and meat are soft. They eat it with yucca.



* We have not touched the wording proposed by the Ashaninka writer Enrique Casanto.

THE NINTH WONDER THE ART OF PREACHING

Ramón Mujica Pinilla*

The Publishing House of the Congress has republished one of the most relevant books of Peruvian Baroque. *The Ninth Wonder* is a collection of thirty preaches by Juan de Espinosa Medrano «El Lunarejo». This publication is the first modern edition of this piece of work that had not been republished completely since 1695.

La novena maravilla (*The Ninth Wonder*), by Espinosa Medrano, published in Spain (Valladolid) in 1695, is a posthumous anthology with thirty sermons preached in the city of Cusco between 1656 and 1685. Six of the sermons were not dated, and, hence, this could expand their historical horizon. The book's compiler –Agustín Cortés de la Cruz– was a disciple of *El Lunarejo*. He did not put the sermons in a chronological order, but rather in a thematic structure and we are yet to determine the criterion used for its publishing. According to Friar Ignacio Quesada, a «critic» of the book *La novena maravilla* (*The Ninth Wonder*), the book encompasses three different types of «panegyrics». There are those which extol the «Sacred Mysteries» of the Blessed Sacrament of the altar and the mystery of the Incarnation, the ones that praise Virgin Mary –«the supreme creature of all creatures, the one who deserved to take the first place after God»– and the ones which eulogize the virtues of the saints most worshiped in the city of Cusco. Almost one third of the sermons were preached in the Cusco cathedral. Four were spoken at the chapel of Saint Anthony Abad Seminar, one at his university, two at the Saint Catalina of Siena Convent, two at the Spaniards Hospital, and the others at the Natural Hospital, Saint Andrews Hospital, Monastery of *Las Descalzas*, Saint Blas of parish church, and Preachers Convent. In addition to this, *La novena maravilla* (*The Ninth Wonder*) included the «courtier's sermon», which Espinosa Medrano preached at the funerals of Phillip IV (1666) and the one he gave for his «oposición»¹ in 1681, when he applied for a job as Senior Canon with the choir of the Cathedral of Cusco; an appointment that was confirmed in 1682 by Royal Decree by Charles II, as recorded in the book «Minutes of the Meetings» of the «Honorable Metropolitan City Hall of the Cathedral of Cusco».

La novena maravilla (*The Ninth Wonder*) –as has been noted by José A. Rodríguez Garrido– was edited in Spain in the middle of the legal battle (1692-1696) in Cusco between the Saint Anthony Abad Seminary –headed by secular clergy– and the Royal School of Saint Bernard under the Jesuits². While the students of the Saint Anthony Abad Seminary were indigenous or «mestizo» and used their academic education as a means of social mobility, those of the Royal School were «outsiders», «many of whom even came from Charcas», and generally were the children of government officials, wealthy landowners or influential *Criollo* or Spaniards working for the Viceroy³ administration. After several decades of religious rivalry and major social struggles which divided the city into two opposing forces, the Company of Jesus tried to



Couverture originale de *La neuvaime merveille*.

repeal, through a legal challenge, the short pontificate of *Aeternae Sapientia* (1692) and the Royal Decree (1692), which conferred upon the Saint Anthony Abad Seminary the power to grant university degrees. This was a prerogative which the Royal School intended to hold exclusively and based its arguments of a Papal Bull of 1621 by Pope Gregory XV regulating the operation of universities in the Indies. In the end, Saint Anthony Abad Seminary prevailed mainly thanks to the belated and decisive support of the Dominican order and the involvement of Agustín de la Cruz, the writer of *La novena maravilla*⁴ (*The Ninth Wonder*). In fact, when Agustín de la Cruz labeled the sermons on Saint Thomas Aquinas by *El Lunarejo* as «daring panegyrics», he did so in order to allude to the doctrinal conflict between the Saint Anthony order and the Royal School of Cusco, who had irreconcilable interpretations of the writings of Angélico. He even quotes *El Lunarejo* linking it to the defense of orthodox Thomism in an adversarial and controversial context:

If Thomas is the universal teacher of the Church of God, what would he say about the Dominican religion of his disciple? [...] The greatest honor you could have given me is this [to preach in the Dominican convent]; on my behalf and in the name of my school, I revalidate, reiterate, and confirm my oath to follow Thomas; I love Thomas, I learn from Thomas, I owe myself to Thomas; I do not want any knowledge that does not come from Thomas; I will call Thomas even if the edges of a knife fatally shut me up (p. iv).

Espinosa Medrano talks about the «pure, authentic, and genuine doctrine of the Master», suggesting that there were other interpretations –that of the Jesuit order—which were at odds with his canonical interpretation⁵. In Roma, his writings were praised and in the kingdoms of Peru, *El Lunarejo* was considered a «living prophet» or a «second [Saint] Jerome», having unrivalled knowledge of the Bible and Hebrew. However, in his *Foreword*, Cortés de la Cruz suggests that during

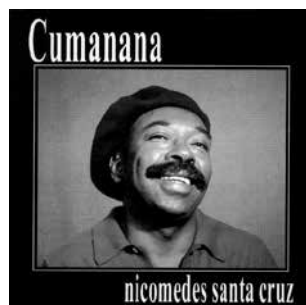
the university debate in Cusco the «the incredulous and envious people of his fame» maliciously questioned his erudition: «But, who would say that such an eminent man, such a big theologian as he was would have those who would like to belittle him after his death, saying that he actually did not know that much and that he knew nothing about Theology» (p. xii). For his writer, this local criticism returned upon the accusers themselves and was like «to course the Sun; try to deny what the entire world applauds is to reveal oneself as *barbarians*» (ibid), an offensive term associated to the *Criollo* –as we will see below.

Be that as it may, the etching that illustrated *La novena maravilla* (*The Ninth Wonder*), in the frontispiece, served as a visual model for a famous colonial Cusquenan painting in the late 17th century and which commemorated the conclusive papal bull *Aeternae Sapientia* (*Eternal Wisdom*) (1692), and gave legitimacy to the claims of the Saint Anthony Abad Seminary. Both the etching of the collection of sermons and the painting show the same allegorical representation of *Eternal Wisdom*⁶. It was depicted as a woman wearing a crown, holding a scepter, and leaning on a closed book. Nevertheless, in the etching, *Wisdom* is holding a bright portrait of Saint Thomas Aquinas; while, in the Cusquenan painting, *Wisdom* is holding a cornucopia of flowers and blessings. *Wisdom* is shown in the sky surrounded by clouds on top of the Saint Anthony Abad Seminary, which is depicted as a flower garden. The song resonated with a sermon by *El Lunarejo* in which he spoke about how «Mary dripped a few drops of scientific milk on our land, from which this university saw blossom white lilies graduating from doctoral programs and blue lilies graduate from master programs» (NM, 67-68). The half-portrait photos of 34 of its famous alumni –among them *El Lunarejo*– show the inside buds of flowers planted by St. Anthony Abad, their spiritual horticulturist. The image of their mentor St. Thomas Aquinas talks with the effigy of a Lord of Earthquakes crucifix –from the middle of the garden of the university– appearing as a Fountain of Eucharistic Life watering the garden with blood. Between the arcs in the back, the Roman Pope and king Charles II give a St. Anthony Abad Seminary student their controversial papal bull and royal decree, respectively. A branch with flowers and three professors cross the wall separating the university gardens of St. Anthony Abad Seminary from those of the Royal School, home of the Jesuits. With this exchange of seminarians –as suggested by a caption on the painting⁷– the two schools had finally settled their differences.

In reality, the selection of sermons by Cortés de la Cruz for *La*

THE SOUNDS OF PERU

CUMANANA
NICOMEDES SANTA CRUZ
(XENDRA MUSIC, 2012)



In 1964, Nicomedes Santa Cruz signed a piece of art unlike the ones for which he had become well-known as a journalist and poet ('decimista'): a double album with music and recited poems. As stated by the author, this marks the beginning of his phase as a researcher of the Afro-Peruvian culture. *Cumanana*, with its 25 soundtracks, is an unpublished testimony for his time of the tradition and richness of a group that has always been patronized. Unforgettable décimas ('poems') such as «How much have you changed, Pelona...!» or «Black Music of Peru» and the well-known 'festejo'¹, such as «Ingá» and «Do not cumbén me», turned this musical collection into a reference point used to acknowledge and value a culture that is as American as it is African, in which the playfulness and

joy of the music and verses contrast with the harsh and unfair conditions in which they were treated. Forty eight years later, the Peruvian music house Xendra Music revived this document with an edition that tries to replicate the original presentation, which included a leaflet with the lyrics and poems along with valuable notes signed by Santa Cruz, in which he gave put into context each of the musical pieces. Moreover, the soundtrack was taken from the original master reels; hence, ensuring that the soundtrack is just like the original version of the first edition. A must.

novena maravilla (*The Ninth Wonder*) summarized the doctrinal agenda of the most renowned seminarian from St. Anthony Abad Seminary, who, despite his alleged indigenous origin⁸, had fully adopted the vindication arguments of the colonial *Criollo*. This was a core issue in the writings of *El Lunarejo*. Already in his *Apologético en favor de don Luis de Góngora* (*Apologetic in favor of Luis de Góngora*) –published in Lima in 1662– he admitted that: «Apparently I am departing from this venture late: but *Criollos* live far away and, unless they are driven by some interest, very rarely do things from Spain come to us; [...] but what good can there be in the Indies? What could they have that could be of interest to Europeans for those who doubt about this fortune? Satires judge us, tritons brag about us; soulless creatures in vain they try to unveil our human masks»⁹. The fact that a «learned *Criollo*» was defending the metropolitan poet concealed what Nelly Richard has called «the revenge of the copycat»¹⁰. Espinosa Medrano regained «his humane mask», and took ownership of defending in an enlightened manner from the Indies the Castilian language which enabled him to defend the essence of his Hispanic nature. At the end, the literary debate about Góngora's «poetic culture» went beyond the linguistic sphere and resorted to the Classical Antiquity as a source of shared culture that unified Europe and the Americas into a common identity prior and supranational¹¹.

In his preface of his treaty on logic (*Philosophia Thomistica*, 1688) –which was part of the «philosophy class» at the St. Anthony Abad Seminary– *El Lunarejo* confesses that his greatest desire is to publish his writings in Spain. Yet, he was overwhelmed with fear of thinking that he would be made responsible, as the author, for the frequent mistakes of printing presses in the Americas –texts «incomplete, run-on sentences, deferred syllogism, omitted words»– and that this would further strengthen the Europeans' views that indigenous people were «barbarians»¹². In his comments, the «critic» of *La novena maravilla* (*The Ninth Wonder*) resumes this

topic and openly acknowledges that the classification as «ninth wonder», used as the title for the sermon, was addressing the denigrating prejudices of Europeans regarding the «ingenious» of the American *Criollo*. Just like his other compatriots, the Peruvian preacher, was the real gold and silver mine that would make his country and the entire world rich:

From this rare and excellent piece, Ofir, Peru and the entire Americas could fill the European libraries with greater affluence, with excessive abundance; more so than the many kingdoms of treasures and opulence; if the hardships do not engulf this glory, spoiling big copies of rare and prodigious ingenious who regularly bloom by millions in this new World (p. viii).

It is not true that «the subjects from the Indies turn out to be *good foals and bad horses* » (ibid). At the age of 40 «the species and nature of Indian understandings» did not lose their luster, subtlety, zeal, and capacity, and *La novena maravilla* (*The Ninth Wonder*) so proved it fully. In Peru, there were «many learned and able men depicting such kingdoms with such overwhelming expertise that they alone could be conducting the council, which well-natured virtue considering the distance to the prize».[•]

Excerpt taken from the Foreword. *La novena maravilla* (*The Ninth Wonder*), by Juan de Espinosa Medrano, Foreword by Ramón Mujica and introductory remarks by Luis Jaime Cisneros, Lima: Publishing House of the Congress of Peru, 2011, 310 pp. www.congreso.gob.pe/fondoeditorial.

* Baroque art historian, anthropologist, and director of the National Library of Peru.

1. Translator's Note: «oposición» is the term used in Spain to refer to the government hiring process consisting of two phases.

2. Cf. José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido, «Retórica y tomismo en Espinosa Medrano», In: *Cuadernos de Investigación*, Lima: Instituto Riva-Agüero y Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1994.

3. Horacio Villanueva Urteaga, *La Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad del Cusco*, Cusco, 1992, p. 8. Also Antonio de Egafía, S. I., *Historia de la Iglesia en la América española. Desde el Descubrimiento hasta comienzos del siglo*

RENZO DALÍ ENSEMBLE
RENZO DALÍ
(INDEPENDIENTE, 2012).



One of the most talented musicians of Peru launched his first album. Renzo Dalí, early multi-instrumentalist (he debuted at 4 playing the drums) with an outstanding academic background including the Peruvian National Conservatory of Music, the London College of Music, and the Thames Valley University School of Arts, signed *Renzo Dalí Ensemble*, a long play with 13 songs mainly from the Latin pop genre- the one that tries to exploit a commercial and young spirit while remaining true to an artist who composes, arranges, records, and even produced all of his material. Dalí, 26 years old, is an unrestricted musician, who, from his undeniable qualities as an arranger and performer, explores musical paths associated with hard verses and catchy sounds, without letting this take over

the final product and turning it into easy radio pop music. Jazz, classical music and even Peruvian black and Andean music add freshness to his proposal which leaves music-lovers longing for this songwriter to deliver more, for him to further exploit the expertise he has over a big number of instruments, techniques, and schools. An interesting debut for a promising artist. (Óscar Soto Guzmán).

1. Translator's Note: "Festejo" term referring to the most representative dance genre of the black coastal population of Peru.

XIX, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid, 1966, p. 317.

4. Pedro M. Guibovich Pérez, «Como güelfos y gibelinos: los colegios de San Bernardo y San Antonio Abad en el Cusco durante el siglo XVII», In *Revista de Indias*, 2006, vol. LXVI, nro. 236, p. 123.

5. José A. Rodríguez Garrido, «La defensa del tomismo por Espinosa Medrano en el Cusco colonial» In *Pensamiento europeo y cultura colonial*, Karl Kohut and Sonia V. Rose (editors), Fráncfort: Vervuert and Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1997, pp. 115-136.

6. Ramón Mujica Pinilla, «El arte y los sermones», en *El barroco peruano*, Lima: Colección Arte y Tesoros del Perú del Banco de Crédito, 2002, pp. 294-299.

7. A caption of the painting reads: «Although flowers blossom / reverberate so bright / to Bernardo's watering, / you should know the plants come from Antonio Magno's garden [...] and to further blossom, / they also wish to deserve / to always be accompanied / by the Jesus' House / and Ignacio's Doctrine».

8. In 1668, when the Viceroy Count of Lemos visited the city of Cusco, he attended a celebration in which this well-known speaker preached a «panegyric». When *El Lunarejo* preached –according to chronicler Juan de Velasco– «it was necessary to book a place way ahead of time to be able to hear him; attendance was once of a kind. Once, when the Viceroy was there, the old Indiana lady, the preacher's mother, wearing the dull Indigenous clothes, tried to go into the church but failed because of the crowd outside the church doors. Her son, standing on the pulpit saw her and stopped his panegyric to ask attendees for the sake of God to let in the woman, who, though Indigenous, poor, and appalling was his mother and was in her right to wish to hear her son. She was led in, and the main women of the city sat her in her seat among them»; Cf. Presbítero Juan de Velasco, *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América meridional*, Volume I, part 1: describing the history of 1789, Quito: Imprenta de Gobierno, 1844, p. 198. Cf. on the questions about *El Lunarejo's* Indigenous origin suggested by L. J. Cisneros and P. Guibovich in «Juan de Espinosa Medrano, un intelectual cusqueño del seiscientos: nuevos datos biográficos», In *Revista de Indias*, year XLVIII, Nos. 182-183, 1988, pp. 327-347.

9. Juan de Espinosa Medrano, *Apologético a favor de don Luis de Góngora*, annotated edition by Luis Jaime Cisneros, Lima: Academia Peruana de la Lengua y Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2005, p. 127.

10. Quoted by John Beverly, «'Humane masks': regarding the alleged modernity of *Apologético*, by Juan de Espinosa Medrano», In *Revista de*

Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana, Year XXII, Nos. 43-44, Lima-Berkeley, 1996, p. 52.

11. Espinosa Medrano would argue, «Be amazed [the Portuguese Manuel] Faria [de Sousa], clamoring that it is imposible to transfer into our language the Latin structures, which this is a courageous feat of Góngora [...]. The poetic, flourished, splendid Roman language could not be imitated equally by our language. The clothing, which served to dress up Latin muses, swiftly dragged the Castilian [...]. Yet, Góngora is a wise genius! He spurred all of the eloquence of the Castilian language and taking out all of its Hispanic virtues, turned it into a short, simple one; from stammering to verbose; from sterile to opulent; from shy to daring; from barbaric to erudite [...]. Much better than Jupiter in his praise to Minerva, this *Great Father of the Muses* reinvigorated our Castilian language by regenerating his sovereign ingenious, and hence came about our poetry in such a divine forum, big, high, heroic, majestic, and beautiful, deserving even more adornment [...] gaining greater recognition and making an equal of the Latin gentleness, and they were equals, irrespective of the gallantry»; Espinosa Medrano, *Apologético a favor de don Luis de Góngora*, ob cit, pp. 155-158. For Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, the *Apologético* was «one of the most mature fruits in the primitive *Criollo* literature», and it was the «pearl that had dropped in the dunghill of the poetic»; Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, vol. II, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, 1940, pp. 350-352.

12. Walter Redmond, «Juan Espinosa Medrano: prefacio al lector de *Lógica*», *Fénix*, nro. 20, 1970, pp. 74-80.

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TAYTACHA QOYLLUR RITI SANCTUARY

Manuel Ráez Retamozo*

Pilgrimage to the shrine of the Lord of Qoyllur Riti, run every year between May and June in the high mountains of Cusco, combines religious devotion with other longstanding cultural expression. Festivities and the Qoyllur Riti sanctuary were declared National Cultural Heritage in 2004. In 2011, pilgrimage was registered with the UNESCO Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The origins of the Pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the Lord of Qoyllur Riti (Snowflake or Star Snow), according to Cusquenian tradition is that towards the end of the 17th century, in the top slopes of a town called Mawayani (Ocongate) lived Marianito Mayta, a very poor Indian boy who watched over his father's herd. This boy raised suspicion of the church authorities for having befriended a strange boy who wore clerical clothing. Fearing that they might be engaged in some sort of sacrilegious action, they decide to capture the boy and his friend at place called Sinakara, where Marianito used to graze his animals. When the day came, the herd-boy realized what the authorities were going to do and decided to give his life to protect his friend, who turned out to be Jesus. Mariano is buried under a big rock on which there is an etching of the Crucified Lord and the Sinakara became a sacred site.

With time, this pilgrimage would later go beyond its original indigenous and peasant identity to become an expression of religious syncretism and the multi-cultural origin of its followers. Nowadays, around 100,000 pilgrims visit the sanctuary, including Quechua-speaking peasants praying to the *Taytacha* and making offerings to their *apus* (spirits of the mountains) and skeptical college students who are bewildered by the fervor of housewives and drivers when they touch the sacred rock or «joggle their wishes» with *alasitas* or, even by the foreign tourist who is flabbergasted by the mysticism.

Though the Christian origin of this tradition dates back to the great rebellion of the Cusquenian Cacique José Gabriel Condorcanqui, Túpac Amaru II (1780), it was rather the result of Christianizing an old indigenous pilgrimage carried out in the area. The sacred nature of the Sinakara stems from its location as it sits on the foot of the snow peak *Qolqepunku* (Silver Door), which is part of the east mountain range of Vilcanota and is the natural and mythical barrier between two ecosystems: the Andean and the Amazon. Another reason why this area is considered sacred is the presence of the striking snow peak Ausangate (6,385 meters high), one of the most important *apus* worshiped by peasant in the southern part since it is considered a mighty protector, creator



Peasant carrying an ice-block in his pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the Lord of Qoyllur Riti.

of Camelidos and refuge for the souls of the «condemned» who seek pardon. For this reason, during the festivities to the Lord of Qoyllur Riti the presence of hundreds of *pauluchas* or *ukukus* (mythical bear or alpaca men) who have the strength to defeat the «condemned» and climb the snow peak *Qolqepunku* to collect the sacred snow; likewise, there are a number of troupes of *Qollas* and *Chunchos*, which commemorate the mythical encounter between the villagers of Qollasuyu and of Antisuyu.

During almost the entire year, the *Taytacha Qoyllur Riti* sanctuary is inhospitable and silent; this situation changes a few days before the Sunday feast of the Holy Trinity, a movable date, close to the winter solstice and which coincides with the cherishing of *Taytacha*. Starting on the Friday before that Sunday, thousands of pilgrims arrive to Sinakara, many come by foot following different paths; other come by car. The latter must arrive to the village of Mawayani first and then walk to the sanctuary. All pilgrims bring along supplies to stay out in the open for several days; some are *kimichus* or local authorities and can be recognized because they wear small replicas of *Qoyllur Riti*, as well as candles of the followers who were unable to go. Other pilgrims carry rocks of different sizes, as a sign of penitence. On their way, they place the rocks close to the crosses along the path to the sanctuary. Dancers do not wear their costumes; musicians play the traditional '*alabado*' ('praise') at every cross where they stop to rest and pay their respects.

When they arrive to Sinakara, pilgrims group themselves by «nations» and go to their «cells» or spot assigned by the Qoyllur Riti Brotherhood, considering the province and town they come from. Then they pay their respects to the *Taytacha*, whose sacred effigy is painted in a huge rock inside the temple. The *kimichus* deposit their wishes close to the sacred rock for the Lord to sprinkle his might upon them. The other pilgrims will bring their candles and brawl for their turn to touch the sacred effigy. Dancers wearing colorful clothing and different masks, dance for the first time their choreography in front of the temple and then they continue dancing all around the sanctuary. On Sunday, or on the eve, the priests take confessions of the thousands of pilgrims; say mass; and lead the procession of the *Taytacha* and the Virgin Mary around the sacred areas of the sanctuary, by making two lines (like a snake), as was the traditional processions of the Inca. Before dusk, the *pauluchas* or *ukukus*, grouped by «nations» and carrying their distinctive crosses climb to the snow peak *Qolqepunku*, where they spend the night and those who get lost become the sacred intermediaries of their villages. When night falls, the *keep vigil* to the Lord of Qoyllur Riti begins with the presentation of almost one thousand dance troupes from Cusco and other regions, telling about ethnicity, genre, myth or history. Worth mentioning are the troupes of the *Qollas*, *Chunchus*, *Negros*, *Mestizas*, *Coyachas*, *Chilenos*, *Contradanzas*, *Chuqchus*, *Wacawacas*, *Kachampas*, *Caporales*, *Tintunas*, *Diabladas*, among others. During the time people stay

at the sanctuary, and as evidenced in the religious syncretism, they carry out the «joggle of wishes» in *puqllanapata*, a plaza close to the temple, where, by analogy *khuyas* (miniature zoomorphic pebbles) used by peasants in their wishful offerings to the *apu* or the *Pachamama* (Mother Earth), pilgrims also use stones or miniature objects (*alasitas*) to depict the situations they wish to occur in their lives. Hence, for instance, pilgrims have been turned into «public transportation drivers», driving their vehicles across the different regions of Peru; «police officers», keeping order and overseeing the roads; «traders», offering different products at good prices; «professional» who have just graduated; «scholars or fellows» travelling abroad; «farmers» buying and selling cattle; «housewives» refurbishing their homes; we even see efficient «thieves» or successful «smugglers». Everything is possible at the sanctuary; it is just a matter of asking *Taytacha* with faith.

Worship to the Lord of Qoyllur Riti ends on Monday at noon with a mass and blessing procession, after the *pauluchas* have rested. Next, thousands of pilgrims begin their trip back home, promising to come back the following year and to renew their alliance. They take with them their blessed *alasitas* and the miraculous water from the spring of *Taytacha* or the snow brought down by the *pauluchas*. A group of pilgrims from Paucartambo and Ocongate, who accompany the Guardian Brotherhood in their traditional «24-hour procession» through 40 kilometers, carries the *Qoyllur Riti* to the villages of Tayankani and Ocongate, but first they pay tribute and say farewell to the Sun at *Intilloqsimuna*, at the crack of dawn of the last day. This is how the wonderful pilgrimage to the Andean *Taytacha* end, surrounded by unique stories, myths, rituals. In November 2011, in a fair recognition, this festival was registered with the UNESCO Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage. ●

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