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La construcción del Perú ("The Development of Peru") (details) by Teodoro Núñez Ureta. Mural. 1954. Picture: Daniel Giannoni.

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PERUVIAN PHILOSOPHICAL THINKING IN THE 17TH & 18TH CENTURIES

José Carlos Ballón*

Over the course of almost two decades, a large group of researchers has consulted various archives, selected documents and authors little read in their original versions, and translated them directly from Latin, to bring us closer to sources hitherto unpublished as a single *corpus*, marking the commencement of the philosophical tradition in Peru.

This 1438 page book¹ divided into two volumes can be taken as a historical introduction to philosophical thinking in Peru, but also as a selection of texts, offering a first approach to reading colonial sources. But strictly speaking, this book is neither an "anthology" nor a "history of colonial philosophical thinking;" it is a compendium of the main opposing voices. Its objective is closer to Heidegger's idea of recovering "controversy with the beginning of our actual story."

It's about recovering "our accumulated historical experience as an intellectual community in building conceptual categories and ethical or aesthetic sensibilities along the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to formalize the rules of our co-existence and socialize various depictions we have imagined of ourselves during a period when a multicultural society consolidated and established classical discursive precepts of our most common imaginary depictions".

Peruvian Precept

Our republican life during the following centuries (19th and 20th) is incomprehensible if we do not previously become familiar with the intersubjective codes of understanding that were established in this period in which our society was forged. The republican independence is deeply puzzling if we ignore such a background. Jorge Basadre raised long before us the riddle we will try to unravel here:

It is hard to be a South American because, to date, there is no code, grammar, set of rules telling us how to behave as such [...]. We can take in any current cultural trend [...], we easily absorb others' ideas, we are inspired by the most varied sources, we improvise admirably, and we afford all of them an air of elegance and, in a sense, even originality by combining contradictory elements.²

In fact, our cultural conglomerate appears, at first sight, as an inconsistent ideological tangle, today, popularly often called "*Chicha culture*"³ as synonymous with inconsistency and improvisation.

We still feel the same critical rage of the young Victor Andres Belaunde, when he claimed: "Inconsistency explains the inferiority of our collective life."⁴ Many of our greatest thinkers and historians have raised the question of whether "there is a genuine and original Peruvian philosophical thought", in much the same way as we speak about the French, American, Chinese or Indian thought. Most of the answers were negative.

This book suggests the hypothesis that, in fact, we are witnesses to a fine and complex multicultural fabric of concepts and sensibilities whose constitution we still find largely enigmatic, but whose strength can testify to the successive failures of any attempt to change our understanding of inter-subjective rules, from the po-



Portrait of Francisco Ruiz Lozano. XVII Century. Oil on canvas. 164.5 x 123.2 cm. Author: Anonymous. Portrait Collection of the San Marcos Art Museum.

litical, religious, or economic powers, in a somewhat modern sense.

Background

The study of this social code or grammar, which has determined our symbolic relationships of coexistence in the last four centuries, the study of its origin, its main connectors and discourse structure "is arguably the goal that inspired the long investigation that led to this book."

Several masterpieces can be considered classic works on this line of research: The legendary *Vida intelectual del virreinato del Perú* (Lima, 1909) [Intellectual Life of the Viceroyalty of Peru] (Lima, 1909), by Felipe Barreda y Laos, followed by the best bibliographic map of our philosophy: *Fuentes para la historia de la filosofía en el Perú* [Sources for the history of philosophy in Peru] (Lima, 1952), by Manuel Mejía Valera. This phase of the research finishes in the first half of the twentieth century with *Historia de las ideas en el Perú contemporáneo. El proceso del pensamiento filosófico* [History of Ideas in Contemporary Peru. The Process of Philosophical Thinking] by Augusto Salazar Bondy

(Lima, 1965), which combined with previous work, seems to offer a comprehensive overview of the corpus of Peruvian historiography of philosophical thought.

Manuel Mejía Valera meticulously recorded numerous authors and writings of our colonial philosophy, but most of the sources he inventoried are still scattered in monastic and private libraries around the country, hence they are difficult to access. Many of such writings are in Latin and it have not been translated into Spanish yet. We are unaware of the current whereabouts of many of them and in other some cases, we barely have indirect references. Some will soon be lost by physical deterioration and others may have been lost forever.

However, since the second half of the last century, we have been revisiting very important clues. First, the remarkable translation and study of the logical-semantic writings of Juan Espinosa Medrano by Walter Redmond O'Toole, University of Austin at Texas. Also the historical interpretation effort performed by María Luisa Rívara (San Marcos) on the work of the Jesuit priest José de Acosta.

Photo: Daniel Malpica.

From the late 1990s, Walter Redmond and James G. Colbert (Fitchburg, Massachusetts), associated with the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP) in the "Vargas Ugarte Project," have been working on recovery, transcription, and digital publication of the *Cursus philosophicus dictatus Limae* (Seville, 1701) by the seventeenth century Jesuit thinker José de Aguilar.

Meanwhile, Ángel Muñoz García, University of Zulia, Venezuela, has translated into Spanish for the first time the masterpiece of Jesuit priest Diego de Avendaño, *Thesaurus Indicus* (Antwerp, 1667-1686, six volumes), published by the University of Navarra (Pamplona: Eunsa, 2001, 2003, and 2007). We should note the probabilism and modernity studies by Professors Luis Bacigalupo and Augusto Castro of PUCP, and the thesis recently presented at the University of Navarra by Father José Antonio Jacinto Fiestas on the same subject.

From a historical perspective, we must highlight the contributions of historian Pablo Macera in his now classic essays: *El probabilismo en el Perú durante el siglo XVIII y Lenguaje y modernismo peruano del siglo XVIII* [Probabilism in Peru during the eighteenth century and eighteenth-century Language and modernism] (Lima, San Marcos, 1963). Similarly, from an anthropological perspective, it is necessary to look into the work of Emilio Mendizábal Lozack: *La pasión racionalista andina* [Andean Rationalist Passion] (Lima, San Marcos, 1976) and Jürgen Golte: *La racionalidad de la organización andina* [Andean Organizational Rationality] (Lima, IEP, 1980).

Discursive Topics

From the late sixteenth century and the second half of the eighteenth century, researchers have spotted three major discursive topics around which our colonial thinkers articulated their speeches and debates, as if seeking to find in them a kind of "foundation" of our depictions, identities, and differences.

First, the topic of *natural*, i.e., all our speeches refer to a natural state or order supposed original, as if the natural elements (geographical location, the color of the skin, blood relationships, etc.) were unchallengeable signs of our identities and cultural differences.

Second, the topic *providentialism* our historical narratives, with which proponents intended to give some "sense" or "inexorable fate" to our representations of events as the embodiment of some force or sacred purpose that transcends circumstances and individual actors in favor of some teleological aim.

A third topic is given by the constant presence of a messianic aura with which we associate our discourse to the power we hold over others. The repeated presence of this rhetorical feature present in our discursive

activity suggests the existence of *evangelism* or *civilization* topic present in the discourse, as a critical component in socializing any discourse.

These discussions were initiated in the context of the stabilization of colonial society (with the "new laws" and "ejection of idles") which gave way to a novel multicultural society in which codes inherited from the Andean and European worlds coexistent although they were insufficient in articulating rules for intercultural coexistence.

Natural Philosophy

The first matter to be addressed was the cosmological horizon inherited from the blending of the old Greco-Roman, Arab, and Judeo-Christian worlds, which articulated the coexistence of European and Iberian communities, particularly during the expansion of the medieval world.

However, in America (like in China and India), classical cosmology confronted a new and more complicated intercultural integration experience. Europeans encountered life styles that were not structured around a single "sacred text" or shared a single "universal religious pantheon" or organized their rationality from conceptual categories of universal metaphysics, as did the ancient European, Arab, and Jewish civilizations.

This assessment of European ancient natural philosophy served as fodder to the major modern debates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between supporters of the brand new mechanistic philosophy of nature and the proponents of the organic philosophy of nature. They both sought to forge a unified cosmos which included the hitherto ignored worlds.

Concerning this debate over nature, we have selected two texts by the Jesuit priest José de Acosta: *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* [Natural and Moral History of the Indies] (Seville, 1590) and *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* (Salamanca, 1589). Similarly, we have chosen excerpts of the works of Nicholas of Olear: *Summa Tripartita Scholasticae Philosophiae* (Lima, 1694) and of Joseph Eusebio Llano Zapata: *Resolución Physico-Mathematica sobre la formación de los cometas y los efectos que causan* [Physics and Mathematical Solution on the Formation of Comets and the Effects they Cause] (Lima, 1743).

Llano y Zapata closes nearly a century of development of the emerging modern science in Peru, which began in the second half of the seventeenth century from three factors: the consolidation of the subject of Mathematics Prime Numbers San Marcos; the appointment of Senior Cosmographer of the Kingdom (1618-1873); and the periodical issuance of scientific publications from 1654 to 1665, when Francisco Ruiz Lozano published six reports or papers on astronomy and a *Tratado de cometas* [Treaty on Comets] [Lima, 1665]. Let us remember that the debate about comets was the point that sparked the beginning of the Copernican revolution of modern science. Following the discovery of America, looking at the sky suddenly gained significant economic and political interest.

As an example of the criticism to Cartesian mechanism in Peru, we have included an eighteenth-century anonymous manuscript (doc. 28) entitled: *Papel sobre la Física de Descartes* [Paper on Descartes's Physics]. We have added to these excerpts of one of the classics of our organic tradition: Hipólito Unanue: *Observaciones sobre el clima de Lima y sus influencias en los*

seres organizados, en especial el hombre [Observations on the Climate of Lima and its Influence on Organized Beings, especially on Mankind] (Lima, 1805, Madrid, 1815).

The philosophy of language

The need to build a community of speakers in a multicultural world led to new problems. The second major philosophical debate focused on the "logical and linguistic universe," condition enabling communication and coexistence in a multilingual society.

The failure of the first evangelization raised the problem of searching in another area the possibility of a change in the Indian imagination that would «desarraigar de sus entendimientos que ningún otro Dios hay, ni otra deidad hay, sino una» ["uproot from their insight that there is no other God or any other deity, but just one." According to Acosta, this change was "extremely difficult" since it entailed stripping idolatries from common things, «reprobando sus errores en universal»⁵ ["rejecting errors as universal."]

For Acosta, idolatry was not due to lack of "natural reason" of the Mexicans and Peruvians, but rather to a certain "ownership of Indian languages", which consists in the lack of universal metaphysics, since they are languages restricted to first order reasoning: «De cosas espirituales y puntos filosóficos tienen gran penuria de palabras [...] carecían del conocimiento de estos conceptos» ["When dealing with spiritual and philosophical points, there is great dearth of words [...] poor knowledge of these concepts." For that reason, he stated that: «mucho me ha maravillado que [...] no tuviesen vocablo propio para nombrar a Dios [...] si queremos en lengua de indios hallar vocablo que responda de Dios, como en latín responde *Deus* y en griego *Theos* y en hebreo *Él* y en arábigo *Alá*; no se halla este en la lengua del Cusco, ni en la lengua de Méjico»⁶ ["I have been overwhelmed with [...] their having no word to name God [...] if we wish to find in Indian language words for the concept of God, such as in Latin the word *Deus*, in Greek the word *Theos*, and in Hebrew and in Arabic the word *Allah*, such word does not exist in the language of Cusco, or in the language of Mexico."]

How then can Andean idolatry be questioned about particular entities, if its language does not have such universal terms? The background of this puzzle revolved around solving two typically modern problems. On one hand, the so-called 'problem of translation' (which Jakobson called in the mid-twentieth century as "interlingua communication or intersemiotic") or "communication" (which Chomsky named as "Descartes' problem"), as it poses the following problem: how can we access the knowledge of other minds?

How to build a "general language" whose collection and lexicographic composition was determined by universal syntax allowing for the universal evangelization of *universal intentions*?

For the purposes of this debate, we have analyzed six key conflicting excerpts. First, from the Latin edition of the book of Jerome de Valera: *De la naturaleza de los predicables, de sus propiedades según Porfirio, junto con las cuestiones del sutilísimo D. Escoto* [From the nature of the predicable, their properties according to Porphyry, along with very subtle issues of D. Scotus] (Lima, 1610); second, the *Summulae* by Albarracin Christopher Roa, and the doctrine of

"insignificant" terms; third, the book of Ildefonso de Penafiel: *Cursusintegri Philosophici, tomusprimus: Dispute II. On the Universe's nature and properties* (Lugdini, 1653); fourth, the book of John Espinosa Medrano: *Philosophia Thomistica Seu Cursus Philosophicus. Tomus prior* (Romae, 1688); fifth, a large excerpt of the work of the Jesuit priest and cosmographer Juan Ramón Conink: *Cubus et sphaera geometricae duplicata* (Lima, 1688); finally, the work of the Jesuit priest José de Aguilar: *Cursus Philosophicus Dictatus limae. Tomus Tertius. Tractatus in books of methaphisicae* (Seville, 1701).

The limitations of language and mysticism

This discussion led to another classical problem of modern philosophy: the one on the "limitation of language", which, in turn, opened another avenue: "mysticism." A sort of shadow alternative (associated with the solipsism spirit) attached to the modern metaphysics of the subject, from Descartes, Leibniz, and Berkeley to *Tractatus* by Wittgenstein, early twentieth century.

The mystical literature, unlike the scholastic one, abandoned or is skeptical about the conceptualist view of theoretical philosophy and, in a way, comes close to practical philosophy.

Mysticism is a kind of experience of consciousness that is not caused by sensitivity or natural reason, but is rather of a transcendental nature. A realization that sheds light from out of this dark world, as shown by the emblematic metaphor for the worldly darkness of Ignatius of Loyola: «ilumina un mundo oscuro que no se comprende a sí mismo» ["it illuminates a dark world that does not understand itself"].

As a linguistic event, the mystical discourse constitutes a challenge to the limitations of language: to show those elements about which we cannot speak clearly, as «escrituras que carecen del sentido corporal» ["writing devoid of corporeal meaning"]. In this section, we have included long excerpts from the book of the Limenian mystic Antonio Ruiz de Montoya: *Sílex del divino amor y rapto del ánima en el conocimiento de la primera causa* [Flint of divine love and rapture of the soul of knowledge of the first cause] (Lima, 1650).

Moral philosophy

The third major debate is in the field of practical philosophy and is based on the moral doctrine of probabilism. One of its first public appearance in Peru dates back to the Jesuit Diego de Avendaño (1594-1688). The selected text belongs to his significant *Thesaurus indicus* (Antwerp, 1667-1686, six volumes).

The controversy sparked truly public scandals on religious matters (the attempt to condemn probabilism in the VI *Concilio Limense de 1772* [VI Council of Lima in 1772], accused of "laxity" morale) and also on political affairs (the expulsion of the Jesuits by the *Pragmática Sanción* [Pragmatic Sanction of Charles III] on September 7, 1767, accusing them of endorsing the "regicide").

The "sin" of probabilism consisted of moving much of the moral and political judgments to the sphere of public opinion and, therefore, not subject them to a categorical imperative but to contextual reasons: circumstances giving rise to the moral act. Avendaño follows García Muñoz in what the latter called a "moral situation." «Consecuencia del probabilismo es la casuística, opción opuesta al rigorismo» [Casuistry is a consequence of

probabilism, opposite to rigor]; hence the label of "laxity" with which probabilism was stigmatized as «causante de todos los males del Perú» ["the cause of all the evils of Peru"] by the moral fundamentalists.

Two texts depicting the dispute of probabilism have been included: first, an antiprobabilism text by the lawyer of the Royal Audience of Lima Francisco Alvarez⁷. The other document is an unpublished manuscript of the eighteenth century, author unknown, contrary to the conviction of probabilism, which circulated clandestinely in Lima during the VI *Concilio Limense de 1772* [VI Council of Lima in 1772], entitled: The torch light [La antorcha luminosa].

The Nature of Political Power

The fourth debate relates to the realm of political philosophy. Two topics from the previous debates on the political discourses of power: 1) the organic representation of society and of the State as a whole and 2) the sanctity of the State as providential head of the social body charged with articulating a multicultural community and unifying its transcendental purposes.

Texts have been selected from the writings of Diego de Avendaño: *Thesaurus Indicus* (Antwerp, 1668) Chapter I: «Si se puede dudar del derecho de los Reyes Católicos sobre las Indias» ["Can the rights of the Catholic Monarchs over the Indies be Challenged?"] and excerpts from the book of Antonio de León Pinelo: *El paraíso en el nuevo mundo* [Paradise in the New World] (Madrid, 1656). Similarly, excerpts from the book of Vitorino Gonzales Montero y del Águila: *Estado político del Reino del Perú* [Political status of the Kingdom of Peru] (Lima, 1742) and the booklet of Pedro Joseph Bravo de Lagunas: *Voto consultivo* [Consultative Vote] (Lima, 1755). We conclude with excerpts from the legendary *Carta dirigida a los españoles americanos* [Letter to the Spanish Americans] (London, 1801) by Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán.

The recurring presence of the organic paradigm in our political tradition was detected and studied long before us by San Marcos historian Miguel Maticorena Estrada⁸: "Organicism, metaphor of the social and political corpus, or organic analogy, served as the foundations for the theory of the State and of society in the colonial period in Latin America. The "mystical body" of St. Paul gave way to the "political organization" or "moral-political organization of Francisco Suarez" and in Latin American that would become the "nation," a natural metaphor harshly criticized by Hobbes and the whole modern contractarian tradition because of its authoritarian consequences".

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1 La complicada historia del pensamiento filosófico peruano. Siglos XVII/XVIII (selección de textos, notas y estudios) [The Complex History of Peruvian Philosophical Thinking, 17th and 18th Centuries (selection of texts, notes, and studies)], José Carlos Ballón, Academic Vicepresident's Editions Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos-Universidad Científica del Sur (Editorial Fund), 2011. Volume I: 671 pp. Volume II: 767 pp. <http://vrcademico.unmsm.edu.pe/index.php/portada>
2 Basadre, Jorge; *Historia de la República* [History of Peru]... 6th Ed., Lima, Ed. Univ., 1970, t. XVI.
3 Translator's Note: "Chicha culture" refers to a socio-cultural phenomenon that started in the urban, working-class of Lima.
4 Belaunde, Víctor Andrés; *Meditaciones peruanas* [Peruvian Insights], Lima, P. L. Villanueva Ed., 1963, p. 18.
5 Acosta, *Historia natural y moral* [Natural and Moral History]..., ob. cit. Vol. V, chap. III, p. 142.
6 Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum...*, ob. cit., Vol. IV, chap. IX, p. 518.
7 Published at the beginning of the book *Idea sucinta del probabilismo*. Brief Idea on Probabilism... (Lima, Royal Printing Press: Calle de Palacio, 1772, 206 pp.).
8 Maticorena Estrada, Miguel; *El concepto de cuerpo de nación del siglo XVIII*. [The concept of Nation in the Eighteenth Century] Lima, UNMSM, 1974.

ANTONIO CISNEROS

STOPS ON THE JOURNEY

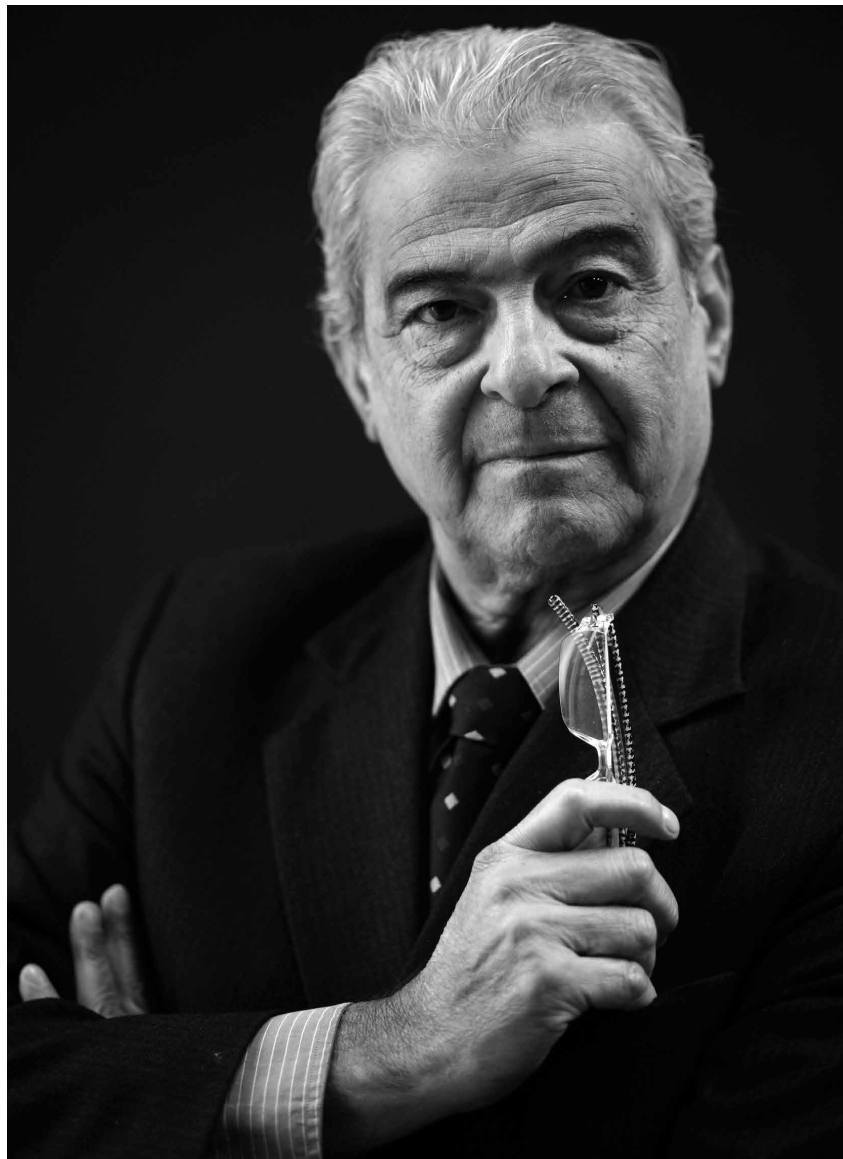
Peter Elmore*

The poetry of Antonio Cisneros overflows with signs of the journey. It shows a type of writing that moves in the waters of collective history and personal experience. It traces the vicissitudes and adventures of both a unique and diverse character.

Key figure of the so-called 60's Generation of Peru and the author of one of the most important poetic works of contemporary literature in the Spanish language, Antonio Cisneros (Lima, 1942) left us on October 6, 2012. His poetry, from *Destierro* [Exile] (1961) to *Un crucero a las islas Galápagos* [A cruise to the Galapagos Islands] (2005), has the signs of the journey he exposed in all of his writings. From distance and encounters, from wanderings and findings, his poetry shows a type of writing that shifts fearlessly and gracefully in the waters -seldom gentle, often turbulent- of collective history and personal experience. Navigation chart or log book, the poetry of Antonio Cisneros outlines the vicissitudes and adventures of a both unique and diverse character.

«El puerto /casi ha llegado / hasta los barcos» ["The port / has almost arrived / to the boats"] he declared, with laconic serenity, with the poetic voice of the novice, in the book published when the poet was 19. Forty-four years later, a clairvoyant feverish speaker says, in the first prose poem in *Un crucero a las islas Galápagos* [A cruise to the Galapagos Islands]: «No es en esos meandros, donde viven los peces de agua dulce, que yo el gran capitán broadcaster destajero, con cien pesos al mes mientras navego y ciento treinta cuando estoy en tierra, he sentido terror por lo que resta de mi ordinaria vida» ["It is not in these meanders, home to freshwater fish, the I, the great captain, a pack broadcaster, with one hundred pesos a month while sailing and one hundred and thirty when I'm on land, I am terrified for what is to happen in the rest of my ordinary life]. Significantly, among the emblematic scenarios of Cisneros's poetry, the banks and coastlines surface: changing borders that unite and demarcate margins where destinations are decided and balances are made. The points of departure and destinations invite us to examine an existence which is discovered in time and with its changes. This can be perceived in the titles themselves of «Entre el embarcadero de San Nicolás y este gran mar» ["Between St. Nicholas pier and the great sea"] and «Medir y pesar las diferencias a este lado del canal» ["Measure and weigh the differences on this side of the channel"], two splendid poems in *Canto ceremonial contra un oso hormiguero* [Ceremonial Song against an Anteater] (1968), which won the Casa de las Americas Award in Cuba, at a time when it was the most prestigious award for poetry in the Spanish language.

Cisneros, who has wrongly been seen as a representative of purely conversational poetry focused on plain everyday life. As a poet, he moved with ease through the wide range of formal expressiveness: flexible and comprehensive, Cisneros's poetry -lively and urbane, colloquial and



Last portrait of Antonio Cisneros. Lima, September, 2012.

archaic, epic and religious, cosmopolitan and rooted in Peruvian life style- shapes and mingles seemingly disparate materials. The scope of his writing covers, loosely, both a long history and current local affairs. Reluctant to be split between the civic drive and intimate meditation, the poet does not yield to the false opposition between social reality and personal experience: the first person used in the poems becomes an assembly of voices and a theater of perspectives. In Ezra Pound and, especially, in Bertolt Brecht, Cisneros found clues and proposals that he would creatively further elaborate. Through dramatic monologue and versatile cast of presences, the poet expands the orbit of his expression.

Already in *David* [David] (1962), the poet-king is the person (*person*, in classical Latin theater means the actor's mask) who embodies the drama of his life and submits to the judgment of others. In *Monólogo de la casta Susana y otros poemas* [Monologue of virtuous Susana and Other Poems] (1986), a biblical figure -Susana, persecuted and harassed by «viejos repelentes» ["old repellent"] - and a universally renowned poet -a Goethe who, in his old age, has not

forgotten «el vivo deseo por Annette» ["the strong desire for Annette"]- the poet reflects himself upon others. In Cisneros's second book, *David* is a complex being and, therefore, resistant to clichés and formulas: a hero and adulterer, a monarch and poet, the character receives, according to his deeds and attitudes, solidarity or questioning from his chronicler.

Sympathy or sarcasm tarnish the king's image, but the fullest and most genuine image of Cisneros's *David* (or of Cisneros or *David*) is revealed when he takes the floor, as in «Canto al Señor» ["Song of the Lord"]: «Estoy acostumbrado al amor, / sin embargo conozco tu silencio» ["I am used to love, / but I know your silence]. This prayer precedes, by over a decade, to one of Cisneros's major works, *El libro de Dios y de los húngaros* [The Book of God and the Hungarians] (1975), which describes the experience of religious conversion and includes «Domingo en Santa Cristina de Budapest y frutería al lado» [«Sunday in Santa Cristina in Budapest and next to greengrocers"], perhaps Cisneros's most beautiful poem -for its smooth diction, for the way it holds a gleeful ceremonial tone, and for the perfect plasticity of its images.

Photo: Mayu Mohanna

Comentarios reales [Royal Comments] (1964), the book that followed *David*. After a heterodox raid into sacred history, it was time to turn to the controversial history of Peru. The jovial allusion to the work of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega displays the poet's purpose of questioning -at age 22, Cisneros was granted the National Poetry Award. However, the most persevering homage has been imitation: he revisited Peru's history and rewrote it in verses, a practice that spread following the *Comentarios reales* [Royal Comments]. Cisneros critical wit shines, especially in satirical poems (such as, among others, «Oraciones de un señor arrepentido» ["Prayers of a Man Repented"] or «Descripción de plaza, monumento y alegorías en bronce» ["Description of Plaza, Monuments, and Bronze Allegories"]). Also noteworthy is his brevity, the containment of poetic words, this was a necessary antidote against the rhetoric lush of Neruda's epigones in *Canto general* [General Song] or in the Vallejo de *España, aparta de mí este cáliz* [the Vallejo of Spain, take this cup away from me]. In *Crónica del Niño Jesús de Chilca* [Chronicle of the Infant Jesus of Chilca] (1981), Cisneros, once again, takes a historical look and the critical willingness he showed in *Comentarios reales* [Royal Comments], but he corrects the size and procedures of his project: the voices of poems - except in the last one, the excellent «Entonces en las aguas de Conchán (verano de 1978)» ["In the Waters of Conchán (summer of 1978)"]- he proposes stylized versions of the statements offered by informants in a rural community, of their old memory and dying present, in the south coast of Lima.

At age 26, with *Canto ceremonial contra un oso hormiguero* [Ceremonial Song against an Anteater], Cisneros published one of the most important books of the twentieth-century Latin American poetry. The whining anteater cleverly questions certain idiosyncrasies of Lima, the poems express the poet's stance -sharp and savagely ironic, but also nostalgic and emotional- on his family, his own biography, and the city in which he grew up. «Y tuve una muchacha de piernas muy delgadas. [And I had a girl with very thin legs]. Y un oficio [And a trade] / Y esta memoria -flexible como un puente de barcas- [And his memory -as flexible as a bridge of boats]/ que me amarra [tying me]/ a las cosas que hice y a las infinitas cosas que no hice, [to the things I did and to the infinite things I did not do] / a mi buena o mala leche, a mis olvidos [to my good or bad mood, my forgetfulness]. / Qué se ganó o perdió entre estas aguas [Gained or lost in these waters]. / Acuérdate, Hermelinda, acuérdate de mí [Remember, Hermelinda, remember me] » -these are the final lines of «Crónica de Lima» ["Chronicle of Lima"]. In *Canto ceremonial contra un oso hor-*

RÉQUIEM

IV

Sea este cordero a la norteña / alegre y abundante / como los bares el viernes por la noche.
Siempre esté con nosotros, es decir, / en nuestro corazón, / pero también en nuestro calmo vientre.
Compasivo y sabroso sepa ser / en el lecho de muerte, / donde cesan la gula y la memoria.
Sea el cordero / símbolo y consuelo. Agnus Dei.
Sea eterno el cordero / con sus papas doradas partidas en mitad.
Mas no se tenga / por cosa de comer y digerir.
Sea solo un farol, una bengala / en medio de los fondos submarinos.
Algo en la mano para esa travesía / tan oscura y feroz como un mandril.
En *Las inmensas preguntas celestes*, Lima, Jaime Campodónico, 1992.

REQUIEM

IV

May this northern-style lamb be / joyful and abundant / like the bars on Friday night.
May it always be with us, that is, / in our hearts, / but also in our calm belly.
Compassionate and tasty, let it know / how to be on its deathbed, / where gluttony and memory fade.
May the Lamb be / a symbol and comfort. Agnus Dei.
May lamb be eternal / with its golden potatoes cut in half.
But should not be taken / as something to eat and digest.
May it just be a light, a flare / in the middle of the seabed.
Something on hand for that journey / so dark and fierce like a mandrel.

In *Las inmensas preguntas celestes* [Immense celestial questions], Lima, Jaime Campodónico, 1992.

miguero, [Ceremonial Song against an Anteater], the lyricist is protagonist and witness: the confessional I bears the density and profile of a character, an active presence in the world stage. The tragicomedy in which he operates -and in which the fate of his word is decided- is communication. Thus the ceremonial singing of poetry fights against those who, with in bad faith, dodge social dialogue. Another city -London, where the poet writes his book- also appears as the scene for speech and experience, in poems like "Karl Marx. Died 1883 aged 65" or «Kensington, primera crónica» ["Kensington, first chronicle"].

The Poet extensively exploited his first European adventure in *Como higuera en un campo de golf* [Like a Fig on a Golf Course] (1974), the most voluminous of the books published by Cisneros and, without doubt, the most caustic of all. The heartbreak poems (like «Cuatro boleros maroqueros» ["Four Crying Boleros"] or «Dos sobre mi matrimonio uno» ["Two about my marriage one"]) and the balance of expat life (like 'revisited London, poetic art 2 "or" A finger to Florence') are essential in Cisneros' most summary anthologies. Despite its formal excellence, the book faces a dead end: disenchantment covers everything, including poetry itself.

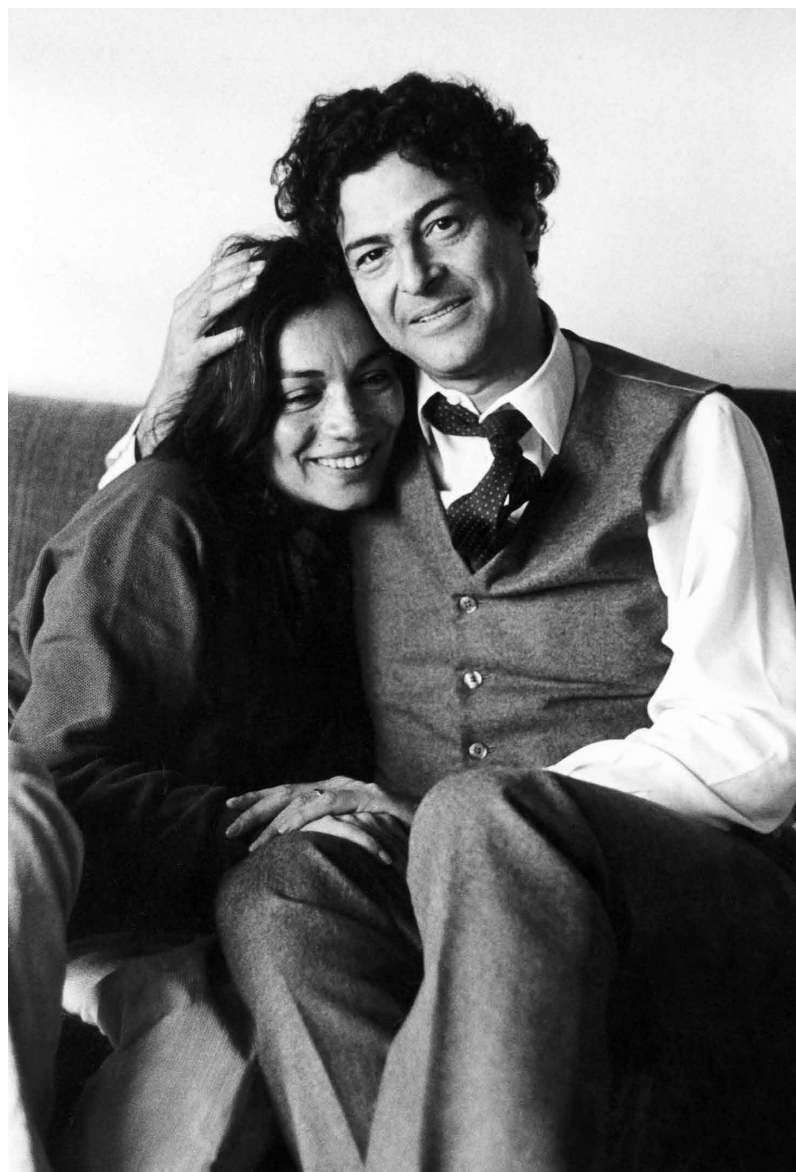
To continue the journey, it was necessary to return to faith: the verb reborn -celebratory and supportive, serene and intimate-, in *El libro de Dios y de los húngaros* [The Book of God and the Hungarians]. High caliber religious poetry, such as the sonnets to the Virgin, José Lezama-Lima, or the *Telescopio en la noche oscura* [Telescope in the dark night] of Ernesto Cardenal, is the Book of God and the Hungarians. This is also true in the *Un crucero a las islas Galápagos* [A Cruise to Galapagos Islands] (2005), one of the most brilliant, imaginative, and complex poetry books of our times. Between The Book of God and the Hungarians and A cruise to Galapagos Islands is *Las inmensas preguntas celestes* [Immense Celestial Questions] (1992), whose atmosphere of crisis and unrest replicates, in the circumstances of the civil war and the economic crisis that devastated Peru in the 1980s, the gloomy plot of weather Like a Fig on a Golf Course.

In *Un crucero a las islas Galápagos* [A Cruise to Galapagos Islands], the focus on dramatic or lyrical scenes defines prose poems, whose momentum takes to the deepest parts of memory and afterlife. The poetic I -which appears as an amazed and lucid navigator- glances with visionary gaze, so that it is not only the prose poem format which links it to this volume with *Iluminaciones* [Illuminations] by Arthur Rimbaud. In all his destinations -the distant past, present, and afterlife- the witness recognizes the paradoxical presence of ever after: the horizon of nostalgia or apocalyptic anticipation guide the journey. Poetic imagination privileges coastlines and vast water bodies: the mark of *Un crucero a las islas Galápagos* is not stagnation, but the adventure.

The glance of a sentimental traveler and believer covers in *Un crucero a las islas Galápagos* [A cruise to Galapagos Islands] several time periods and several levels: it is therefore multiple and panoptic. In the book, memory and fantasy define the poetic persona, but it is ultimately defined by its corpus. Like Jorge Eduardo Eielson or César Vallejo -just to mention two key figures of Peruvian modern poetry, Cisneros clearly depicts human drama in a radical sense, somatic drama. Pain and pleasure - *pathos* and passion of love- are identified beats, but of the same nature: the mysteries of the flesh are spiritual problems. Nothing illustrates this in a more tragic way than the moment of death, again and again reinvented in the pages of *Un crucero a las islas Galápagos* [A Cruise to Galapagos Islands].

In half a century of experience, Antonio Cisneros's poetry comes across as an exploration of the layers and the transformation of creative and critical consciousness so as to simultaneously and creatively challenge the limits of personal identity, the claims of history, and the communicative possibilities of lyrics.

* His most recent publication is the editing and foreword of *Antología poética* [Poetic Anthology] by Antonio Cisneros in the collection of Aula Atlántica of the Economic Culture Fund (Mexico City, 2012). He is the author of several essays and narrative books. He is a professor at the University of Colorado, United States.



With his wife Nora Luna, 1984.

Photo: Jorge Deustua

Last Publications and Posthumous Tributes

Antonio Cisneros actually oversaw the reprinting of his books *Como higuera en un campo de golf* [Like a fig on a golf course] (Barcelona, Kriller71, 2012), *Propios como ajenos* [Insiders and outsiders alike] (Mexico DF: UNAM, 2012), and *Canto ceremonial contra un oso hormiguero* [Ceremonial Song against an Anteater] (Lima: Peisa, 2012). He also oversaw the reprinting of *Antología poética* [Poetic Anthology] (Mexico DF, FCE), edited and introduced by Peter Elmore, presented posthumously by the Embassy of Mexico in the City of Miraflores. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Peru paid tribute to the poet and organized an exhibition of his work at the Centro Cultural Inca Garcilaso, of which he was a director from 2005 until his death. The National Library of Peru has dedicated a special issue of its magazine *Libros & Artes* [Books & Arts].

TEODORO NÚÑEZ URETA: A

2012 marked the centennial anniversary of the birth of Teodoro Nunez Ureta, one of the most important artists of Peru. The Mario Vargas Llosa Library of Arequipa sponsors



A PORTRAIT OF A COUNTRY

eru's traditional ["costumbrista"] school. The Pancho Fierro Gallery of the City of Lima, the National Museum, and ed retrospective exhibitions of his exceptional work.

Teodoro Nunez Ureta (Arequipa, 1912-Lima, 1988) was one of the most versatile contemporary artists. With great skill, he mastered various contemporary pictorial genres -watercolor, oil painting, pastel, drawing, mural, frescos- showing through them his outstanding skills as a colorist, cartoonist, and insightful soul searcher of his peoples, a glimpse of which he depicts the multifaceted expressions of reality. The vital adventure he illustrated in his art showed a permanent combination of his simple and clear roots of the social environment of his childhood, adolescence, and youth: the Arequipa in the first half of the twentieth century, which kept a close link between the rural universe of its beautiful surroundings and the yet peaceful of everyday atmosphere the city had in 1950, when he moved to Lima, had no more than two hundred thousand inhabitants. This calm atmosphere was interrupted from time to time with protests by citizens, which, since the nineteenth century, have played decisive roles in the political and social developments of Peru. Indeed, Núñez Ureta's early commitment to reformist trends in his region resulted in his being exiled to Chile, where he stayed in 1932 and 1933. There is no doubt that he was keen in observing peasants and poor people from his homeland, the ironic analytical gaze of the labyrinthine darkness of the corridors, and vestibules of court hearings, the experience of watching with mocking eyes the politicians selling illusions, together with academic readings, his travels, and his accusing and rebellious spirit, and that all of this inspired his brush to paint, as he put it: "without patriotic statements, without declamations, without the glasses of a tourist: the country with its people, its landscape, its hope, its greatness ...".

Excerpt from the foreword by *Teodoro Nunez Ureta*: mural painting, by Luis Enrique Tord, Lima, Editorial Fund of the Industrial Bank of Peru, 1989.

CAPTIONS:

1. *Paisaje iqueño* [*Landscape of Ica*], 1957. Picture by Daniel Giannoni. Courtesy of the City of Lima.
2. *Autorretrato* [*Self-portrait*], 1982. Picture by Daniel Giannoni. Courtesy of the City of Lima.
3. *La ciudad de Arequipa* [*The City of Arequipa*]. Fresco mural painting. 1950. Located at the former tourist hotel in Arequipa. Courtesy of the Editorial Fund of the Congress of Peru.

2



AIMARA CUISINE

The cuisine in the southern Andes of Peru is inspired partially on the ancient tradition of the Aymara people. A recent book by anthropologist Hernan Cornejo seeks for such roots in the Aymara-Spanish bilingual edition, published by the Publishing Fund of San Martin de Porres University.

Aymara cooking is one of the most ethnic cuisines of South America, a living cultural heritage, with sophisticated cooking techniques, culinary rules, strong symbolism portraying hierarchies, social status, highlighting old and new social roles, arranging and putting on equal footing the men in large ceremonial meals. It considers functional criteria and can intentionally trigger senses, shaping behaviors, balancing conduct, triggering the organs of the body [...].

It is a cuisine with history, in which we can still recognize culinary traces and styles of the ancient Pucaras, Tiahuanacos, Puquinas, Uros, Lupacas, Pacajes Chiriguano and Pacajes civilizations deeply entrenched in the feelings of people. Their clay pots, stone fulling mills, mortars, grinders, and ceremonial vessels are witnesses of time. From the first men who came to the Highlands to this day, the Aymara have composed a culinary tradition that encompasses a cookbook of amazing flavors and preparation techniques that may well be used in the modern world.

In Peru, specifically in the departments of Puno, Tacna, Moquegua, and Arequipa, culinary styles can clearly be distinguished by their tastes, styles, and aesthetics. This book allows us to retrieve the symbology and recipes of Aymara cuisine of Peru and, particularly, the baking techniques, discretions and excesses in the flavoring, virtuous preparations, sophisticated gastronomic rules, and forms covered with modernity, tolerance, and assimilation cosmopolitan cuisines.

The Aymara Cuisine of Puno

This cuisine stands out for its simplicity and for keeping the natural flavor of food. It does not use much species or frying. The Aymara cook of Puno strives to dominate as far as possible cooking time so that her dishes are not overcooked and do not lose the original flavor of ingredients. These warriors of tastes are known for their tasty broths and stews with extreme flavors, and very well known for their skills at mastering ceremonial meals and accurate calculation to feed large crowds.

In Puno, Aymara peoples live in the towns of Tilali, Conima, Moho, Rosaspata, Vilquechico, Huancané, Juliaca, Puno, Ilave, El Collao, Chucuito, Yunguyo and Sandia. The dishes mostly prepared in these villages are broths with fish from Lake Titicaca, such as *Carachi* (fish native to the lake), and also the delicious and unforgettable soups made of head of sheep that feed the entire town during holidays and fairs. Also worth highlighting are the magnificent and revered stews such as the *Huacani*, *Matasca*, *Thimpo*,



Photo: Jean-Louis Gonterre

and the spicy and legendary *olluquito*¹ with *charqui*² jerky. To these must be added the proud party dishes like baked suckling pig, roasted and irreverent variety of hot peppers stuffed with a lot of vitality and harmony.

The Aymara Cuisine of Tacna

The Aymara cuisine of Tacna has preserved much of the essence of traditional Aymara cuisine due to the proximity to the villages of Puno. The main feature of this Aymara area is the prevalence of fried dishes. The Aymara of Tacna cooks are not shy when it comes to adding spices to their food, as they appeal to sophisticated systems for cooking and frying. Their skill rests in making virtuous preparations filled with meat and chuño³ combinations.

In Tacna, Aymara people live in the towns of Tarata, Ticaco, Sitajara, Susapaya, Chucatami, Turacachi, Estique-Pampa, Chucatami, Ticaco, Candarave, Curibaya, Quilahuani, Huanuara, Cairani, Ilabaya, Camilaca, Calana, and the human settlements Alto de la Alianza and Nueva Esperanza. The most known dishes distinguished by their Aymara label are the alpaca cracklings, baked pork, and proud mutton broth.

The Aymara Cuisine of Moquegua

Imagination and taste characterize the Aymara cuisine of Moquegua in which meat, corn and potatoes prevail. This trilogy of flavors offers strong and consistent flavored dishes. In Moquegua, the Aymara peoples live in the towns of Carumas, Cuchumbaya, San Cristobal, Samegua, Sorata, Calacoa, and Is-

coña. The most noteworthy dishes are the roast *kanka* made of alpaca and llama. Furthermore, in the towns of Carumas, people are experts in marketing dried peach fruit, peaches and cheeses.

The Aymara Cuisine of Arequipa, Colca Valley

Aymara cuisine is slowly dying in the city of Arequipa. The Aymara presence in this city is nearly extinct; all that remains are a lot of Aymara place names and street names. Moreover, many of its dishes, such as black chuño broth, white broth, chairro, chaquetripas, etc., have gradually blended and have been assimilated into the great cuisine of Arequipa. However, we must emphasize that in recent decades, thousands of Aymara migrants have again massively populated the human settlements of Ciudad Principal, Cerro Colorado, Ciudad Blanca, Israel, Miguel Grau and Hunter.

On the other hand, a big group of Aymara-speaking people live in the Colca Valley, specifically in Caylloma, Tisco, Sibayo, Callalli, Tuti, Canacota, Chivay, Achoma, and Maca. These Aymara live with a growing export market for wool from local camelids and for tourism. Nevertheless, the last Aymara-Collaguas of the Colca Valley maintain their customs, ceremonies, some rituals devoted to crops and festivities, with strong Aymara imprint, such as the Q'amili dance, the Wit'iti or Wi-



Photo: Juanjo Calvo

fala, Tukutusuy carnivals, the Festival of the Crosses, roofing of houses, Jenq'aña, and All Saints Day. The best dishes of the Colca Valley-Collaguas are the legendary corn and barley stews, roasted alpaca and llama, alpaca and llama cracklings, tamales, potato flour porridge or cornmeal, blood-filled gut or liver jolques.

Excerpts from *La cocina aimara. Aymarana phayña*, [Aymara Cuisine. Aymarana phayña], by Hernan Cornejo, Lima, Editorial Fund of Universidad San Martin de Porres, 2012. Cf. www.usmp.edu.pe/fondoeditorial.

1 Translator's Note: Olluquito is a tiny tuber that looks like a little potato.

2 Translator's Note: charqui is dried salted meat usually from llama common in South America.

3 Translator's Note: chuño is a freeze-dried potato flour.

4 Translator's Note: Tunta is a native Andean crop

RECIPES

PAPALIZA BROTH

INGREDIENTS | Serves 4
300 grams of olluco [type of tuber] cut into long thin strips
250 grams salted dry meat, soaked for 15 minutes before preparation
4 potatoes, peeled and cut in halves
1 carrot cut into long strips
½ cup of green beans
1 onion, small diced
3 tablespoons of ground garlic
1 a branch of parsley
2 tablespoons of oil
Add salt and pepper to taste
2 liters of water



PREPARATION

In a pan prepare seasoning with oil, onion, pepper, cumin, and dry meat. Cook and add water. Cook until the meat is tender and add vegetables and olluco. Cook for 10 minutes and add the potatoes, check salt. Serve and sprinkle with parsley.

TUNTA⁴ STUFFED WITH CHEESE

INGREDIENTS | Serves 5
20 white chuños or tuntas, soaked overnight
200 grams of cheese, preferably paria (a semi-hard cheese made from cow milk)
1 cup evaporated milk
50 grams of butter
½ teaspoon aniseed
1 onion green tail
1 a branch of muña (also known as Andean Mint)
2 tablespoons of oil
Add salt to taste
2 liters of water or until chuño is covered with water

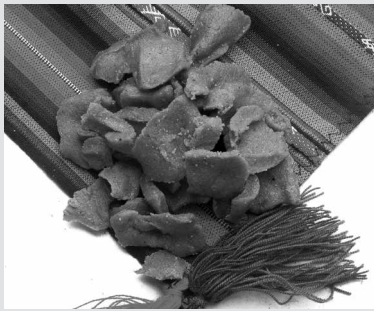


PREPARATION

The night before, wash and soak the white chuño or tuntas in an uncovered container. An hour before preparation, drain water and keep white chuño or tuntas in the container. In a large clay pot cook chuños, onion green tail, and salt to taste. Wait for about 20 minutes, then drain the water, add several squirts of oil, wait for 8-10 minutes and remove the pan. Uncover the pot for a few minutes and put into another bowl, then cut chuños in half, spread them with butter, join them with a slice of cheese and wait a few minutes. Place the stuffed chuños carefully in a large pot and add milk, butter, anise, and salt to taste, cover with thin slices of cheese and simmer for 10-15 minutes, or until cheese is "slimy" and milk has evaporated.

KISPIÑA

INGREDIENTS
1 kilo of quinoa flour
(pre-roasted and stone ground)
250 grams of *catawi*
(water and lime mixture)
Add salt to taste
3 cups of cold water



PREPARATION

Make dough with the quinoa flour, catawi, and a little water. Mix until the dough is almost yellowish, then rub hands with a little oil and with the dough form a coarse thread that can easily be cut into small pieces and molded with the pressure of four fingers, shaping it into small biscuits and let sit for a few minutes. In a clay pot, put a base to prevent contact of the dough with water, Aymara woman's wit consisted in putting kindling or sticks, and a layer of straw or Andean *uchu*. Steam-bake the kispinos for 10-12 minutes, then turn for balanced cooking. Remove from the pan and wrap *kispinos* in a blanket until they have cooled down.

ROAST LLAMA

INGREDIENTS | Serves 4
8 pieces of llama meat
½ cup of ground aji panca
1 teaspoon of cumin
1 teaspoon of pepper
1 teaspoon of huacatay (an Andean herb)
Add salt to taste
½ cup of oil



GARNISH

8 potatoes, peeled, covered with aji panca (chili) and oil
8 black chuños, boiled

PREPARATION

The night before, marinate llama meat with salt and water only. The next day, in a small container, prepare a dressing with aji panca (chili), garlic, pepper, cumin, salt. Then coat the meat with the dressing; sometimes it is necessary to make some cuts for marinating to be even. Then put the meat in a roasting pan and coat the potatoes with aji panca (chili). Bake for 20 minutes, turn the meat and wait until you have the perfect cooking to serve with boiled potatoes and chuño.

CHUÑO KUSA

INGREDIENTS | Serves approximately 42 to 45 cups
1 kilo of tunta flour previously soaked, pre-toasted, and stone ground
2 cinnamon sticks
8 cloves
2 servings of *chancaca* (dark brown sugar sweet)
10 liters of water



PREPARATION

The night before, soak tunta. The next morning, drain excess water. Then it should be ground carefully in the stone grinder. Set aside. In a frying pan, lightly toast tunta or set aside in the open. The purpose of this step is to activate the natural juices and to secrete the starch required for cooking. After, in a big pot cook tunta with water, *chancaca*, cinnamon, and cloves for about an hour. Allow to cool and change container. Separate tunta flour and liquid with a thin cloth. When serving, add sugar to taste. Serve in glasses. At the end, you can sprinkle with cinnamon.

ROAST ALPACA

INGREDIENTS | Serves 4
4 pieces of meat
5 tablespoon of ground aji panca (type of chili)
4 tablespoons of garlic
1 cup of black beer
Add salt, cumin, and pepper to taste



GARNISH

8 black chuños, boiled
8 potatoes, peeled and boiled
Llahua (a sauce prepared with aji amarillo panca [Peruvian yellow chili], onion, oil, and garlic). Lettuce, tomato, and onion salad seasoned with lime, cumin, salt, and pepper

PREPARATION

The day before, prepare in a container or bowl a juice or sauce flavored with aji (chili), cumin, salt, garlic, and beer. Then spread over meat, cover with a thin towel and let stand for 12 hours, approximately. The next day, heat the oil in a frying pan and fry the meat. Serve with 2 boiled potatoes, 2 chuños and *llahua* salad.

PERUVIAN WALTZ AND “CANCIÓN CRIOLLA”¹

Gérard Borrás*

The Peruvian “criollo” waltz continues to be associated with famous composers and artists who made such genre internationally famous in the mid-twentieth century. The author of *El vals y la canción criolla (1900-1936)* [“The waltz and ‘Canción Criolla’ (1900-1936)"] proposes a new understanding of that era, highlighting the close relationship between the waltz and the inhabitants of Lima.

On October 18, 1944, the President of Peru, Manuel Prado, established 31 October of each year would henceforth be celebrated as the Day of the ‘Canción Criolla’, on such date special tribute would be paid to the “popular” music², which hitherto was essentially played and heard by the poorer echelons of society. This official act, and ultimately a political statement considering the context of the time, enshrined a cultural expression that until then had not had but quite distant relationships and undisturbed with the upper echelons of the Republic. This recognition allowed it to move, in the words of Llorens Amico, from “the street to the ballroom” (1983: 62) and demonstrated that the songs were a little less frivolous and unimportant than some originally sought to call it.

This widespread musical and cultural production, played and listened to in Lima from 1900-1936 is the subject matter of our study. Within this group of *música criolla*² with quite fuzzy contours gradually consolidated into a genre since the late nineteenth century, as the tango, the son, the samba, and the maxixa did in other places. At first, it was known as the vals limeño³ [Lima waltz], before gradually become the criollo waltz, a term that identifies with the “Criollismo”⁴, the true art of living in Lima -according to some. This is what our study will privilege while making sure we do not completely isolate it from other genres with which it composes a unique aesthetic and audible mode.

President Prado’s official sanctioning was accompanied, in the following years, with abundant production of quality music. One of the best informed observers of the time (Manuel Zanutelli 1999: 99) once wrote: «La Generación del 50 [es] la época cimera de nuestra canción popular costeña» [“The 50’s Generation [is] the prime time of our coastal folk song”]. Yet, we are witnessing a shift that is at least interesting. The canción criolla, at that time, played an undoubtedly new social function. Changes triggered by migration stimulated the ancient myth of the «Arcadia colonial» [“colonial Arcadia”] and a renaissance of *criollismo* as a value that can be used as a defense in face of the disturbing vitality of those who moved from the Andes to the capital city. The Waltz, more than any of its peers in folk song, will be one of the tools used in an attempt to rewrite reality. In the past, one of the most popular expressions used among neglected populations was «gente de medio pelo» [“common people”] in urban society. In the compositions of Chabuca Granda



Cover of *Lima, el vals y la canción criolla (1900-1936)*. [Lima, Peruvian waltz and “canción criolla” (1900-1936)].

and others this expression becomes an idealized expression of a wonderful historical past where everything was “luxury, quietness, and voluptuousness”⁵ before the people from the Andes arrived, we should add. This production, solidly supported by record producers, radio, and later by television, created a smokescreen that barely allows us to distinguish from this time of inception few old melodies that do not clash with acceptable performances.

This adamant return to an idealized past in large part led to the writing of Lima, la horrible [“Lima, the horrible”], an amazing incendiary pamphlet in which Sebastián Salazar-Bondy (2002 [1964]) exposes the fictions and misleading performances of *criollismo*⁶. Salazar-Bondy, after González Prada and his bitter prose, after the “vote against” Mariátegui⁷, denounces this fable attempting to build this idyllic image of the “City of Kings”. For Salazar-Bondy, the biggest problem comes from the relationship that people in Lima have with memory or more exactly, with history. They seem to be more satisfied with the

rather vague outlines of the myth, «la extraviada nostalgia»⁸ [“the lost longing”], than with the «realidad-realidad» [“reality-reality”], just to borrow an expression so dear to José María Arguedas. This mismatched relationship between an amnesic memory or one ideologically rebuilt and a story simply closer to the facts is the one which has actually guided much of the writings of this paper. The epigraph quoting Jacques Le Goff, and Pierre Nora indirectly, becomes fully meaningful in this context.

In this ambitious undertaking, song could play an essential role not losing sight of this particular relationship which keeps music and songs with the memory or memories. Few human expressions –except, perhaps its sister: poetry– have this ability to portray emotions and convey them over the years. Indeed, we know very well that it is no longer entirely the “same” song. Obviously “Jan Petit qui danse” still familiar to the ears of many people in southern France, does not have quite the same meaning as it could have had centuries earlier⁹. Depend-

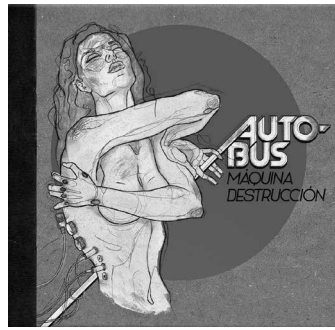
ing on the period, recipients take ownership of such music and often afford them new meanings, yet the essence is there and lingers. The criollo waltz is no exception. More than a century after, songs like «La Palizada» [“The Palisade”], «El guardián» [“The Guardian”], «Tus ojitos» [“Your eyes”], etc., are part of Lima’s collective memory and of our national heritage. But that’s the problem. If music is the record of memory, a memory element, its permanent and intimate link with the world that revives and gives sense to such music, turns it into an extremely ephemeral cultural object. Now, in Lima there is a surprising gap between what “these groups have done in the past”, to use the expression of Pierre Nora, and the past itself. For various reasons, what Peruvian collective memory has preserved from this “inception” period of the waltz and the *canción criolla* is a truncated memory, if not amputated and replaced with performances that have little or nothing to do with the reality of the time. This forgotten part is the one that we wanted to go back to find and analyze, as a first step towards a comprehensive understanding of the social and cultural development of the criollo waltz.

The two dates that frame the period studied in this paper define a space that is not homogeneous from the point of view of music production and consumption. 1900 is indeed a “practical” date, but it is also the time when several indications evidence the emergence of the Lima waltz and the creation of its own choreographic and melodic characteristics. This is why we have chosen it. 36 years later Felipe Pinglo dies. His disappearance is another landmark we have chosen despite the problems posed. Indeed, many things changed since the days when the only way to make and listen to music involved the simultaneous presence of the musicians and listeners. The twenties marked a break with the first wave of mass dissemination of records. 1927 witnesses the arrival of talking pictures and musicals. From 1930-1936, radios extend their networks and influence, record and reading devices such as the “Victrola” become common objects. The “*vedetariado*” has established itself in the world of popular music and we can talk about true entertainment industry in this field. Add to that the evolution of musical tastes which have immediate implications on how music is composed. We could have shortened the period to offer more coherence, but lost a lot. First, because difference is a good thing: the two periods produce different expressions and its specific features

SOUNDS OF PERU

MÁQUINA DESTRUCCIÓN
["DESTRUCTION MACHINE"]
AUTOBÚS [BUS]
(INDEPENDENT, 2012)

Autobús [Bus], a band with several years in the Lima-indie [indigenous] arena, achieving great notoriety by opening international concerts of The Killers and Franz Ferdinand, launches its second album, titled *Máquina Destrucción* ["Destruction Machine"], available in full on its web page <http://autobusmusic.bandcamp.com>. The album is especially worthy for the quality of its production, recording, and playing, reflecting the good work of a band that is well aware of its business and masters conventional style, since the indie is a genre that has long ceased to be defined by its distribution, to do so through its own musical aesthetic



standards. *Máquina Destrucción* ["Destruction Machine"] takes us directly to Smashing Pumpkins from *Mellon Collie and the Infinite Sadness*, with some subtle touches of dance closest to the first era of The Killers; all immersed in a retro and artsy aesthetics (extending to the artistic concept to the album and the videos) very fashionable and many will labeled it as a *hipster*.

NATURALEZA LUMINOSA
["SCINTILLATING NATURE"]
LOS ÚLTIMOS INCAS [THE LAST INCAS,
LUI] (INDEPENDENT, 2012)

The dynamism and progressive rock technique, together with the virtuosity of jazz, funk restless pace and all identity, mysticism, and strength that traditional Peruvian instruments imprint, makes the music of The Last Incas (LUI) an experience in which eclecticism is the connecting thread giving it all a sense of unity. An interesting aspect of this group is its desire for research. In this sense, Peruvian sounds are not limited just to Charango, *queñas* (Andean flutes) and *zampoñas* (Andean reed pipes), but also remaking tools and techniques used by pre-Columbian peoples. *NATURALEZA LUMINOSA* ["Scintillating Nature"], the band's fourth album, shows consistency and unity worthy of a conceptual album, due more to the musical aspects than to the theme. Beyond



yond that, the lyrics vindicate artists with Andean thought, and we can find gems like «*Llanto de la Pachamama*» ["Mother Earth Cry"], full of poetry and condemnation for environmental damage. A stunning musical frame, impeccable voice work, and sound comparable to those of major labels, make *NATURALEZA LUMINOSA* ["Scintillating Nature"] a must have album. (Oscar Soto Guzman).

are better grasped when they are compared. Then, because, having a more narrow approach, we would miss the opportunity of seeing the surprising connections between the song and an extremely rich social and political context: the *eleven years of President Leguía's administration* which ended with the crisis with Chile over Tacna and Arica, with Colombia over Leticia, the emergence of APRA Political Party, Sanchez Cerro's taking office..., the appearance of other stakeholders, other witnesses such as *La Lira Limeña*, which began publishing in 1929.

At first, we only had a rough idea of what had been loss, and we were far from suspecting what we would find. In order to achieve this, we have privileged a process that, in many ways, was a real test halfway between detective investigation and detective fighter. Obviously, we could not be satisfied with the performances conveyed by this collective memory which, voluntarily or not, was castrated, but we had to go on site, like an anthropologist in the field, to find traces and clues to reconstruct an audio, visual, sensitive image of what *criollo waltz*, *canción criolla* could have been at the time. It was about trying to find the maximum number of "hints" that would allow to better understand the goal itself, to privilege their "objective materiality" protecting us from an analysis that would make reading the text of song the only possible way to conduct this study. Although the literary analysis methods have been extremely helpful, rebuilding the memory of *criollo waltz* or part of this involved a procedure offering a number of approaches. Following the procedure suggested by Roger Chartier, we have provided an essential place to such objects: records, sheet music, publishers' catalogs, song books, magazines, newspapers, etc. So many elements like Ariadne's thread made it possible to find the traces of a number of songs and music now completely forgotten, however, they would dramatically clarify the life, practices, performances of musicians and listeners, in the context of

their society. Our first intention was to give ample space to the "objects found". Although this may make the text burdensome, we have not hesitated to show them, inserting images, performances, because their materiality contains a whole network of meanings which we wanted the reader to be sensitive. At the end of the volume, we bring together a selection of texts on which we have worked. For the reader there is a significant amount of information extracted from sources which are otherwise very hard to find, records and songbooks. From this *corpus*, the reader can follow the reading and, if he wishes, he can pursue the work we have begun in this brief study.

This is structured around three great movements, each one of them indebted to some procedures. The first chapter owes much to ethnomusicology, a discipline that, in many respects, was a pioneer in proposing to pay a sharp look (and listen to) the complex relationships between complex musical and social intricacies. In articulating this section, Mantle Hood's (1963) famous phrase often came to mind: "The study of music itself and of the context of its society". This phrase certainly guides our study, but we first wanted to outline a social context considering actors, creators, broadcast networks, and, at the same time, give a significant place to the first term of the equation: the waltz itself. We explore as much as possible the formal elements which made it, so as to in turn, better understand their roles within the Peruvian society of the century.

The second chapter focuses on performances. How many times have we heard that music was the "reflection", the image of the society in which it was created? Alain Darre has said so with confidence:

in a permanent mirror reflection, music reflects the social entourage, revitalizing it new meanings (1966: 13).

We tried to select in this part a number of themes representing the major issues that inspired the lyricists and composers of *canción criolla*. Having highlighted in the first

part of the study the amazing ability of the song to depict, convey, and disseminate events; in practice, we approach it from multiple perspective. We are far from exhausting the topic and a number of themes like sports, particularly soccer, which would have enhanced the corpus presented here.

The third chapter in itself is not very different in essence from the previous chapter. It shows how a song 'says', comments, speaks of social crises, about politics, disputes with our neighbors in the north and in the south. It is also a reflection, the image of these situations. But to devote here a specific section to the relationship between 'music and politics', our intention was, however, to overcome the idea that music, songs, and dance would be just a mirror of what happens in a society. This interpretation, this perception of sound objects, depriving them from the right to exist on their own right; they would simply be a "reflection of", "an image of". Finally, its role would be but to be obedient servants of the messages to be conveyed. In this sense, a song is said to be the reflection of a situation; it would more "informative" than "performative". This chapter, however, allows us to prove otherwise. In the heart of crises and conflicts, songs become "an actor of history," to use the beautiful expression of Jean Queniart (1999). We are, thus, far from the romantic sparks or macabre love –not to say, necrophiliac– that some waltzes actually describe.

Introduction to *Lima, el vals y la canción criolla (1900-1936)* ["Lima, Peruvian waltz and 'canción criolla' (1900-1936)"]. Gérard Borrás. French Institute of Andean Studies and Ethnomusicology. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2012. 503 pp. www.ifeanet.org / www.pucp.edu.pe/ide

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¹ Translator's Note: "Canción Criolla" is a Spanish expression used to refer to Peruvian music that combines mainly African, Spanish, and Andean influences.

² There is no harder term to define than «popular» ["folk," "populár," "common"], particularly when it is used to refer to culture. In

a commendable effort to clarify the term, Denis-Constant Martin makes the following observation: "The popular category is generally not accurate or discriminating and, when it is used to qualify culture, it suggest a vague set whose analytical and heuristics capacities are, at least unobvious" (Martin 2000: 169-183). In the field of music, mass dissemination has made the borders that some have wished to outline more obvious. The classical music of Shostakovich repeatedly broadcast in commercials and hummed in the street is not as "popular" as the ultimate fashion hit, also listened to by political and cultural elite, right? In our study "popular/folk/common music" refers to the music played and consumed mainly by the poorer sectors of the Peruvian capital without prejudging the aesthetic elements they are made up of.

³ For the purposes of our study, we use the term 'vals' ['waltz'] as it is used in Lima. We have disregarded the term 'valse', another term used in Lima but which could be misleading as it may refer to the European waltz 'valse' europeo, and 'valsecito', ambiguous diminutive term.

⁴ Translator's Note: "Criollismo": a movement that started in the late nineteenth century and was strongly influenced by the American countries that had recently gained their independence from Spain.

⁵ "The development of radio and television broadcasting in the 50s has changed the character of the production and dissemination of the vals [waltz], expanding its social spectrum. The middle and upper classes are revisiting their traditional contempt; moreover, they recognize it as their own, linking it with an image of what fetish Lima is like even today. Hence it became official, its connection with a nonexistent stately Lima and its affirmation in the black as a counterbalance to the growing presence of Andean culture in the city" (Pilar Núñez Carvallo 1991: 101. Cf Christian Giudicelli 2000: 93-104).

⁶ «Salazar-Bondy in Lima, la horrible [Lima, the horrible] becomes an uncompromising critic of Arcadia a Perseus looking face to face with the Medusa, a bird of prey which does not accept the colonial legend as inheritance or the ghosts that inhabit it as venerable forefathers ...» (TREVINOS et al 2002: 17).

⁷ Last sentence of Lima, la horrible [Lima, the horrible] (Salazar-Bondy 2002 [1964]: 132).

⁸ Title of the first chapter of Salazar-Bondy's book. The expression was coined by Raúl Porras Barrenechea.

⁹ This is an old song that indirectly tells the tortures inflicted on the convicted.

CHASQUI

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CAHUACHI, THEOCRATIC CAPITAL OF THE NASCA CIVILIZATION

*Federico Kauffmann Doig**

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In 1982, the Italian archaeologist and architect Giuseppe Orefici prepared to investigate the various accounts of ancient times in the watershed of the Rio Grande in Nasca and, particularly in Cahuachi, superb architectural ensemble belonging to the Nasca civilization, which is located in the Nasca river basin. At the time, all you could see jolting amidst such desert landscape were some hills and remains of ancient walls. These remains were evidence that those outcrops, apparently natural, were actually hiding old buildings. In some cases Cyclopean in nature; thus the historian Joshua Lancho-Rojas pointed to Cahuachi as the world's oldest mud ceremonial center.

The fact that they were not mere hills was evidenced only by some aerial photographs, circulating among professionals. They revealed that Cahuachi was an ancient settlement pyramid consisting of huge buildings that were buried under thick layers of sand.

Now, thanks to the adamant scientific work of Giuseppe Orefici leading his Nasca Project, Cahuachi has regained its former glory. He has not only carefully removed layers of sand, which hid for more than a millennium the giant pyramidal architectural structures, but has also performed works of consolidation and restoration of several buildings that make up this site. This has allowed the constructions known as Great Pyramid, the Phased Temple, and the Orange Pyramid to regain their value. Hence, Cahuachi now restored to its former magnificence, can be admired.

The works performed on Cahuachi have uncovered the construction phases its architecture underwent and have arranged them in their order of occurrence using carbon-14 dating method. Parallel to the Nasca Project, the valuable artifacts (textiles, pottery, shattered pottery, metal objects, and an elaborately decorated vessel) unearthed by Orefici have been rigorously and carefully studied. These artifacts portray various iconographic motifs. As for the vessel, its decoration reveals the transition from the Paracas style to the Nasca style. It shows the figure of a supernatural being which, besides carrying an ornament on its forehead as a plume, is wearing around its neck a feather ornament forming the body of a bird virtually reduced to its wings and a tail.

Orefici has gone beyond describing the accounts he recollected. He



Consolidación del Templo del Escalonado con la visión de la Gran Pirámide de Cahuachi. [Consolidation of Phased Temple overlooking the Great Pyramid of Cahuachi]

has emphasized, for example, that worship and the impressive ceremonies held in Cahuachi and regarding which there is concrete evidence, are clear indicators warranting its designation as a paradigmatic ceremonial center. While this was presumed since the researches of Alfred Kroeber in 1926, William Duncan Strong in 1957, and Helaine Silverman in 1984-1985, it is only now that we are certain that Cahuachi was not the capital of the Nasca civilization. This, however, does not mean we should discard its dual role, as fulfilled by most of the prodigious architectural monuments erected in ancient Peru: (i) a site for worship and ceremonies and (ii) at the same time, sites from which ruling elites -backed by worship and rituals-exercised the power that allowed them to manage their communities issuing orders that all had to obey.

When he enters the religious world of Cahuachi, Orefici offers us valuable insights about the role, within the context of religion, such sumptuous textiles and, in general, the apparel must have met. In this regard, worth highlighting is the textile piece 13, consisting of a particularly valuable cloak decorated with relevant religious figures, taken from one of the funeral bundles associated with a group of them discovered and unearthed by Orefici. This polychrome textile bears a figure, which apparently evoked the rainbow, exposed to second-order variants, shows that while one of its ends finishes with the head of a mythical feline qhoa- an Andean mythological feline linked to rain, on the other end there is a figure of a row of human heads showing that severed heads formed the iranta or favorite food claimed by supernatural creatures, in order to show kindness

to man and so allow culture fields to be spared from natural disasters.

In Chapter XI of his work, based on evidence reflected in the iconographic collection of Cahuachi, Orefici further analyses the topic of religious thought. He emphasizes on the close relationship attributed to the gods and nature. Worth emphasizing is the most valuable iconographic evidence Orefici revealed: a huge figure stamped on one of the walls of the Phased Temple and drawn when the mud layer was still wet. The figure is composed of two similar phased motifs, divided by a vertical line that separates them and shows them on both sides. This emblematic figure turns out to be identical to huge representation portrayed on a wall of the Tschudi Citadel of Chan Chan, more than 1,000 kilometers off Cahuachi. We have interpreted this as an emblem used to prompt both agricultural soils by taking the form of Andean terraces (hence staggered), and irrigation channel depicted by a groove. In other words, this symbolic figure joins the two key elements -soil and water-required to produce food essential to the very existence of humankind.

Other aspects related to the ceremonial and religious role of Cahuachi are also addressed in the book which introduces us to the burial patterns used at the time, and to the function of human sacrifice which is evidenced with the practice of removing human heads (heads-offering and trophy heads, according to Orefici). In addition, he profoundly discusses the ceremonies for the dead, the music and dances used in weather forecast rituals, and other issues.

A particularly important chapter is the one concerning the discovery of the tomb of the Priestess excavated in

1999. The body of the young woman lay dead wearing sumptuous textiles, beaded necklaces, gold and silver bracelets, and a facial ornament made by hammered gold foil, embossed and trimmed. On both sides of this symbolic facial adornment, which was held in the nose leaving the mouth free, the goldsmith portrayed feline mustache. On the bottom part of this piece, there is also a row of severed heads apparently alluding to the food claimed by the imaginary divinity.

Orefici also explored other archaeological sites in the basin of the Rio Grande in Nasca, in order to inquire about their possible relationship to Cahuachi. He worked in the archaeological sites of Pueblo Viejo and La Estaquería, the geoglyphs of Nasca-Palpa, and samples of Chichictara rock art near Palpa.

His research also covers archaeological sites that go beyond the basin of the Rio Grande in Nasca, such as his explorations in Madre de Dios and Cajamarca. The most recent, in 2011, was carried out in the department of San Martín, where he worked on a collection of petroglyphs (rock engravings) in the area of Yurimaguas.

Since 1982, Giuseppe Orefici is the Director of the Nasca Project, of the Italian Center Studi Ricerche Archeologiche Precolombiane (CISRAP) in Brescia, Italy, and the Archaeological Museum Antonini of Nasca, which he founded and which preserves and displays, in an educational way, the valuable and numerous archaeological legacies he has collected in Cahuachi.

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