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## *A Nation Surrounded*

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*Poetry is the plow tearing open and turning over time,  
so that the deep layers of time,  
its black under-soil,  
end up on the surface.*

Osip Mandelstam (1971: 50)

**I**N *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* (1991), I argued that the descendants of the Inkas, modern Southern Peruvian Quechua speakers, are “a nation surrounded,” to use a phrase from the Peruvian novelist José María Arguedas (1968: 296), in two senses: first and more obviously, Southern Peruvian Quechuas live in an institutional world mediated by the language of their conquerors, Spanish. The *conquistadores* brought along not only priests and interpreters but a public notary whose job it was to record the legal protocols of conquest. From that moment on, native Andeans became the objects of encompassing discourses that have not only shaped colonial and national policies toward the native peoples but, in the legal and commercial arenas, also determined the fates of individual households and communities. For example, the judicial proceedings through which native lands passed into the possession of Spanish colonists were held in Spanish, and the archives are rife with cases in which even the notices of the proceedings were served on native Andean communities in Spanish. In modern Peru, Spanish continues to be dominant and Quechua politically subordinate, so much so that Quechua and Spanish speakers alike find it unremarkable and take it for granted.

The second sense in which Quechuas are “a nation surrounded” is that the modern linguistic homogeneity of Southern Peru, in which the vast majority of the population speaks Quechua, was also achieved under colonial rule. Before the European invasion in 1532, Southern Peru was extraordinarily diverse,

both linguistically and culturally; it was a mosaic in which speakers of distinct and often unrelated languages lived cheek to jowl as is still true in other parts of South America, such as the northwest Amazon. Although the Inkas spoke Southern Peruvian Quechua and used it as the administrative language of their vast empire, there is no evidence that it ever became hegemonic or was ever standardized before the European invasion, even in the nucleus of the Inka state around Cuzco. On the contrary, the archaeologist Craig Morris (1985: 478) observes that “the brilliance of the Inka achievement seems to lie in its ability to accept, use, and perhaps even foster variability.” This is as true of language as it is of Inka economy and society (see Mannheim 1992). The eighteenth-century European slogan “one people, one language, one state” did not hold true for the Andes, regardless of whether it ever did for Europe.

In the decades following the arrival of the Europeans, however, the linguistic heterogeneity of Southern Peru was leveled as native Andeans were fused into a culturally cohesive “oppressed nation” through a combination of conscious Spanish policy and the unintended consequences of other actions. The Spaniards found it convenient to require the use of one of the more widely spoken native languages at the expense of local vernacular languages. During the late sixteenth century, the church adopted a single standardized catechism and sermonal, published in artificially standardized varieties of Quechua and another, unrelated language, Aymara. They used these materials throughout the Andes, even with people who spoke distinctly different languages, both related and unrelated. Spanish administrators and missionaries thus became agents of the spread of standardized forms of Quechua and Aymara. In addition, forced resettlement of the native populations and massive population movements to escape labor and head taxes undercut the older identification of language with locality, which had been the basis of the Pre-Columbian system of linguistic and cultural differentiation. Older cultural differences among native Andeans became less important than their “shared incorporation into a new colonial category, . . . Indians” (Stern 1982: 80).

In *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* and elsewhere, I have called this process “the reterritorialization of Southern Peruvian Quechua.” In this chapter, I will sketch the outlines of a broader account in which I track the rhetorical and cultural practices through which Southern Quechuas have fashioned a distinctive sense of themselves over the 450 years since the Spaniards invaded Peru. I conceive this project as a comparative analysis of linguistic texts, taking account of their formal structure, the historical and social conditions of their production, and the intertextual resonances that these texts have had for their audiences. The texts that I have in mind span the entire period

from the European invasion to the present, including Christian and native Andean religious texts; myths and other narratives; eighteenth-century religious dramas such as the famous play *Ollanta*, which elites used to invent a past for themselves; and secular songs and poetry, both vernacular and high art. My goals are: first, to trace the processes of national formation as they are tacitly reflected in these texts; second, to identify the rhetorical strategies used to appropriate both Quechua and Spanish cultural forms within a specifically Quechua cultural horizon; and third, to associate particular rhetorical strategies with specific historical moments in the making of a Quechua “nation surrounded.”<sup>1</sup> I use the phrase “national formation” (evocative of the notion of “class formation” as it has been used by Thompson [1963] and Wright [1985]) to emphasize the unstable, conjunctural character of Quechua nationality, which percolated below the threshold of awareness save for sporadic eruptions.

Besides asserting cultural positions vis-à-vis non-Quechuas, within the discursive fields of the Peruvian colony and republic, these texts stake out positions within the Quechua-speaking population. For example, in the eighteenth century, provincial landowners in Cuzco, such as the Marquis of Valle Umbroso, sponsored paintings and versified dramas that invented a utopian vision of the Inka past, invoked divine intervention by the Virgin Mary on behalf of people from the provinces, or—in the paintings—portrayed the landowners as Inka nobility (see J. Rowe 1951; Cummins 1991). The versified dramas were usually written in Quechua, except for the stage directions which were written in Spanish.

These plays were part of an effort by provincial elites of Spanish descent to assert their legitimacy within a Quechua field of reference and thereby legitimize their vast landholdings. The self-defined Quechua nobles who sponsored them wore “Inka” clothes, spoke Quechua, and addressed each other with the Quechua title *Apu* or “Lord,” a title that is used today only for the mountain deities. The plays, then, were simultaneous claims to legitimacy within two

<sup>1</sup> Although I am not the first to use the words “nation” and “national” to describe the process of cultural self-fashioning by native Andeans (J. Rowe 1955, Arguedas 1968), I do so reluctantly because I do not want to imply that they in any way resemble the self-conscious nationalism of Europe since the eighteenth century. If Southern Peruvian Quechuas have become “a nation surrounded,” it is in the tacit sense of a nation “in itself” rather than the explicit sense of a nation “for itself.” Harvey (1987) and Itier (1992: 259) criticize my use of the notion as essentialist, observing correctly that ethnic and linguistic identity are continually negotiated rather than fixed. The notion of a tacit “nation surrounded” carries no implication that “Quechuaness” is a corporate, fixed identity (indeed, that better describes the explicit ideology of modern nation-states), but instead it serves precisely to call attention to the problematical and shifting ground of ethnic and linguistic identity in the Andes.

fields of social contention. They staked a claim by Quechuas and provincial elites against Spaniards and coastal elites and, at the same time, a claim by landowners that their dominion over Quechua peasants was legitimate.

My strategy is to explore the processes of “national formation” by studying the linguistic and religious forms through which Southern Quechuas have positioned and repositioned themselves in Peruvian society and especially the ways in which they have become “a nation surrounded.” I do so episodically by identifying social movements and linguistic texts that illuminate broader conflicts over cultural imagery and interpretations; the texts are sometimes written by Spaniards and Latin Peruvians and sometimes spoken or sung by Quechua-speaking peasants, and the movements spill over into imperial or national consciousness. Each of these texts and movements illustrates the complex and often self-contradictory social positions of their creators, participants, and listeners, as “literatures of the impossible” (to borrow a phrase from Frank Salomon [1982]), occasionally both embodying contradictory social interests and projecting utopias. I will mention only four examples of such complexities: one text (discussed below) was appended to a priest’s manual, to be sung at Marian feasts, yet it evokes native Andean religious imagery by means of strategic ambiguity. Another set of texts, the eighteenth-century dramatic poems mentioned earlier, was written in Quechua by educated provincial elites, drawing on an imagery of empire in order to appropriate the Inka past not for Quechua-speaking smallholders but for Quechua-speaking traders and landowners. Another example (also discussed below) is a modern song from a remote rural community that turns out to be a cryptogram of considerable complexity, with opposing native Andean and Christian religious imagery, though not easily recognized by listeners and perhaps by singers as well. As a final example, Arguedas’s poem *Katatay*, written in the 1960s, encapsulates a learned and historically potent imagery in a modernist poetic form, published in Quechua but accessible to most of its readers only through a thinned-out Spanish translation. These examples exhaust neither the range of texts nor the spectrum of social conditions under which they were produced and sometimes listened to, but they might convey a sense of the complexity of the project.

I approach the texts, performances, and social movements through their formal structure, working through the details of linguistic form and imagery at a close range that will strike some as excessive, but there are two reasons for doing so. First, although it is fashionable today to stress the indeterminacy of interpretation and the power of interpretive communities in shaping cultural strategies (see Fish 1980, for example), texts and other cultural phenomena provide the formal stimuli that guide their interpretation, even though such

stimuli may operate below the interpreter's threshold of awareness. Cultural forms such as texts are indeterminate in that they allow an infinite set of interpretations, yet determinate in that the set is bounded by the formal structure of the text and—in particular instances—by the institutional settings within which the text is transmitted. Not only do interpretative communities shape the interpretations of texts, interpretive communities are defined and formed by the texts themselves.

Second, since the rhetorical mechanisms by which interpretive strategies are formed are often below the threshold of awareness of speakers, writers, and listeners, they provide insights into the cultural landscape within which they were formed that often exceed the explicit statements of the participants, even where these are available. Unlike their Mesoamerican and central Mexican counterparts, neither modern Southern Peruvian Quechua speakers nor (I suspect) their Inka ancestors have had well-developed traditions of linguistic and cultural exegesis. Consequently, any exploration of the processes of Quechua self-fashioning must begin with tacit structural representations of the sort that I have been discussing. I follow Gates (1988) in advocating a formalism of a new kind, one that locates texts and other cultural forms and practices in a historically articulated repertoire; in short, a formalism that is sensitive to the social conditions of textual production and to the repertoire of local figures and strategies.

I locate this project within a broader shift in the historiography of native Latin Americans in which written sources in Native American languages, ranging from notarial registers to the myths of Huarochirí, are being used to understand the complexity of the Spanish colonial world and of Native American positionings within that world and to appreciate the complex and fissured world in which both lived.<sup>2</sup> For those who have worked in the historical ethnography of the central Andes, this represents a departure from the ways in which we have customarily talked about the relationship between native Andean and Spanish Peru. In the 1970s, historical ethnographers of the Andes tried to establish continuity between modern Andean cultural forms and preconquest forms so as to find the quintessence of "Andeanness." In recent years, scholars such as Alberto Flores Galindo (1987) and Michael Taussig (1987) have instead emphasized that Andean cultures, Andean landscapes, and even Andean utopias have been refashioned within the European—and North American—imagina-

<sup>2</sup> Exemplary works include Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart 1976; Burkhart 1989; Cummins 1991; Hanks 1986; Karttunen 1982; Karttunen and Lockhart 1976, 1987; Klor de Alva, Nicholson, and Quiñones 1988; Lockhart 1991; MacCormack 1985, 1988, 1991; Rappaport 1987; Salomon 1982; Salomon and Urioste 1991; Silverblatt 1987; and Szeminski 1987.

tion. The newer approach has been a valuable corrective to the romanticism of the earlier one, but it runs the risk of annexing Andean historical ethnography to European intellectual history. In my view, the task of Andean historical ethnography is to determine how native Andeans have continually repositioned themselves given continually changing forces of social and cultural domination. There are serious obstacles to such a program. Although there is now substantial literature on native Andean and peasant uprisings—a legacy of 1970s historiography—almost nothing comes to the attention of political authorities (compare Guha 1983). Moreover, even these moments of eruption are notoriously thin in the extent to which they have articulated explicit cultural politics. In part this is inherent in the source materials, such as bureaucratic records, court transcripts, and government inquests, but in part it also must be because native Andeans have not typically engaged in overt exegetical practices.

As examples, I discuss two song texts and a textile pattern in order to contrast their rhetorical strategies. *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin* is a Christian hymn composed before 1622 and included in a church manual for priests. The second song text, a folksong recorded in the early 1960s, is a cryptogram. I then show that the same rhetorical forms used in the second song are at play in a contemporary textile. In all cases, I begin with a detailed formal analysis of the texts or textile and work outward by trying to account for the tacit knowledge that allows speakers of the language to understand it. For *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin*, I have also attempted to understand the text in terms of the institutional politics of its production, including doctrinal and organizational disputes in seventeenth-century Andean Catholicism. These texts are socially located in very different ways, with the seventeenth-century hymn composed by a churchman and the folksong (presumably) by Quechua-speaking peasants. The hymn, though intended for and appropriated by Quechua peasants, fits stylistically into European musical traditions. In contrast, the folksong, performed in an already-Christianized world, belongs stylistically to an archaic native Andean tradition. Not surprisingly, the two song texts exemplify substantially different rhetorical strategies, approaching the place of European Christianity in an Andean world in very different ways.

The hymn, *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin*, appears untranslated at the end of Juan de Pérez Bocanegra's *Ritual formulario*, published in 1631. A hymn composed for the adoration of the Virgin Mary, it is identified by Pérez Bocanegra as having been composed in *verso sáfico*, although it is not clear what that means in the context of seventeenth-century Spanish versification. According to Stevenson (1968: 280), it is the oldest piece of vocal polyphony published in the Americas, composed in a style that, except for its language, shows no trace of an Andean provenience (Figs. 1, 2). The presumed author, Pérez Bocanegra, taught

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ADMINISTRAR A LOS NATIVAS DE  
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 el Reino de Chile, y Virreyno de Indias, para  
 su mejor gobierno y conservación de sus  
 personas y bienes.

Por el Sr. D. Juan de Torres y Vizcaino, Obispo de  
 Santiago, y de la Real Audiencia de San Francisco de Asís,  
 en virtud de su Real Cedula de 17 de Mayo de 1763,  
 en virtud de la qual se le dio licencia para  
 imprimir el presente Formulario.

En la Oficina de la Real Audiencia de San Francisco de Asís,  
 el dia 10 de Mayo de 1763, yo el Sr. D. Juan de Torres y Vizcaino,  
 Obispo de Santiago, y de la Real Audiencia de San Francisco de Asís,  
 por el Sr. D. Juan de Torres y Vizcaino, Obispo de Santiago,  
 y de la Real Audiencia de San Francisco de Asís.



CON LICENCIA  
 IMPRIMIO EN LIMAPUZ GERONYMO  
 de Cuaucac, hijo de Cuaucac de Tuto Domingo  
 Año de 1763.

Fig. 1 Title page, *Ritual formulario*.  
 Photograph courtesy of Universidad  
 Nacional San Antonio Abad del  
 Cuzco.



Fig. 2 Facsimile of arrangement of *Hanaq pachap kusikuyinin*.



Latin grammar at the University of San Marcos (Lima) and served as a singer in the cathedral of Cuzco, choir book corrector, and parish priest in Belén in the city of Cuzco before assuming the positions of examiner general of Quechua and Aymara for the diocese of Cuzco and *párroco* of Andahuaylillas (province of Quispicanchi), a village south of Cuzco (see Mannheim 1991: 47–48, 146). The parish church of Andahuaylillas, constructed in the early seventeenth century, with Pérez Bocanegra's name on the cornerstone, is sometimes called "the Sistine Chapel of America" for its ornate interior (Figs. 3–5).

Pérez Bocanegra was an exquisite Quechua stylist, and his manual reveals a deep familiarity with rural Andean life, including information on dream interpretation and other forms of divination, marriage practices, and so forth. A third-order Franciscan, Pérez Bocanegra was involved in a lengthy jurisdictional dispute and litigation with the Jesuits, who coveted his parish as a Quechua-language training center for missionaries, parallel to the Aymara training center that they had established in Juli. (They had also accumulated titles to several nearby haciendas.) The *Ritual formulario* was published during the period in which the Jesuits controlled the parish. Pérez Bocanegra's dispute with the Jesuits was also reflected in his translation style and in his practical recommendations. The Jesuit-dominated Third Council of Lima, commenced in 1583,



Fig. 3 Inscription in Luis de Riaño, *Beatizo de Cristo*, commemorating the construction of the church in Andahuaylillas, under Pérez Bocanegra, 1626. Photograph courtesy of José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert.

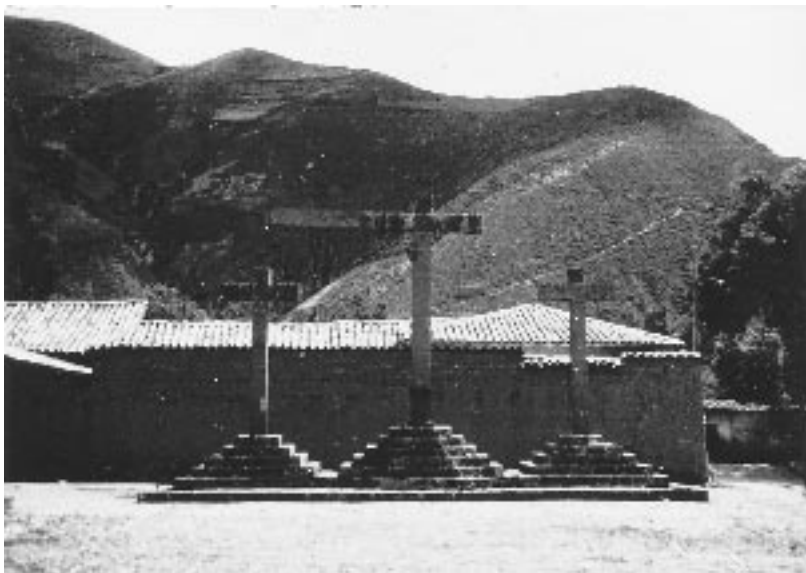


Fig. 4 Outside the parish church, Andahuaylillas. The three crosses are said by modern Quechua residents to stand for the Father, the Son, and the Mother.



Fig. 5 Interior of parish church, Andahuaylillas. Photograph courtesy of Tom Cummins.

recommended that priests train native Andean adepts to hear confession, record them on knotted *kipus*, and confess the entire community; Pérez explicitly discouraged the practice. Where the Third Council encouraged the use of neologisms such as *I ñiy*, “to say ‘uh huh,’” to accommodate the absence of a concept of “belief” in Southern Peruvian Quechua, Pérez often preferred to use the habitual form with the infinitive “to say.” The Third Council of Lima agonized over the translation of Christian religious vocabulary and finally recommended that Spanish loans be used in order to avoid possible doctrinal distortions. In contrast, Pérez attempted to concretize Christian religious concepts in Andean imagery, including a translation of *Dios* with the name of the mountain *Huanacauri*. In order to get away with the translation, he arranged the page so that the Quechua and Spanish texts were not directly associated. Quechua passages are followed by their Spanish counterparts, the latter often paraphrasing the former. In the case of *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin* and two other, even more difficult, hymns, Pérez includes no translation.

A transliteration and translation of *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin* appear in facing columns below.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In the transliteration, I follow the orthographic practice detailed in *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* (1991). The salient points are: (1) I distinguish dorsal *s* (like the *s* in American English), written *z* (*z*, *c*, and *ç* in colonial documents) from apical *s* (like the *s* in the Spanish of Madrid), which is written as *s* (*s* or *ss* in colonial documents). These are distinguished fairly systematically in many of the earliest sources. Nevertheless, two transliterated sibilants are doubtful: *yasywana* (line 23) and *qallasanan* (line 31) (compare *zananmanta* [line 20]). (2) I distinguish uvulars (*q*) from velars (*k*) in all stop series, even though Pérez Bocanegra did not indicate the distinction directly. (3) I distinguish between plain, ejective, and uvular stops, even though Pérez Bocanegra did not record the distinction (see Mannheim [1991: chap. 6] for further discussion). (4) I have replaced vowels with tilde superscripts with the corresponding vowel-nasal sequences, using other citations by Pérez Bocanegra to identify the place of articulation of the nasal. In the absence of other citations, I have assumed that it is homorganic with the following oral stop. (5) I use three vowels rather than the five marked by Pérez Bocanegra. Only the three cardinal vowels were distinctive in his Quechua (as today). (6) I have restored the *y* at the ends of *hupaykuway* (line 56) and *qatachillay* (line 60), which I believe were dropped by Pérez Bocanegra in order to fit them into his rhyme scheme. These appear between brackets in the transcription. (7) I have inserted spaces to indicate word boundaries in some of the epithets in the four-syllable lines. Some were called for morphologically (e.g., line 48, *Runapmarcan*), but others were less straightforward and may affect the translation (e.g., line 84, *Huachaicuya*).

Several translations of *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin* have been published in literary anthologies, including Beltrán (1891: 55–63), Lara (1969: 220–222), and Sichra and Cáceres Romero (1990: 116–123, after Beltrán). All three amend Pérez Bocanegra’s text silently, in part to avoid problems in translation. Of the three, Lara’s is closest to Pérez Bocanegra’s original, though he omits verses 17–20. A comparison of these translations with my own is beyond the scope of this chapter.

*Hanaq pachap kusikuynin* [Bliss of heaven]

- |    |                              |  |
|----|------------------------------|--|
|    | 1. Hanaq pachap kusikuynin   | Bliss of heaven  |
|    | Waranqakta much'asqayki      | A thousand times I adore you   |
|    | Yupay ruru puquq mallki      | Tree of uncountable fruits   |
|    | Runakunap suyakuynin         | Hope of peoples  |
| 5  | Kallpannaqpa q'imikuynin     | Pillar of the weak   |
|    | Waqyasqayta                  | To my cry  |
|    | 2. Uyariway much'asqayta     | Listen to me, to my adoration  |
|    | Diospa rampan, Diospa maman  | Who leads God by the hand, Mother of God                             |
|    | Yuraq tuqtu hamanq'ayman     | To the white dove, the white <i>hamanq'ay</i> flower                 |
| 10 | Yupasqalla qullpasqayta      | My meager curations  |
|    | Wawaykiman suyusqayta        | To your son, what I have apportioned                                 |
|    | Rikuchillay                  | Make him see   |
|    | 3. Chipchiykacha qatachillay | Who glitters, <i>qatachillay</i>                                     |
|    | P'unchaw pusaq qiyantupa     | Daylight's guide, dawn's aurora                                      |
| 15 | Qam waqyaqpaq, mana upa      | For you the crier, never unhearing                                   |
|    | Qizaykikta "hamuy" ñillay    | To your despised, just say "come"                                    |
|    | Phiñasqayta qispichillay     | Make him forgive my anger  |
|    | Susurwana.                   | <i>Susurwana.</i>  |
|    | 4. Ñuqahina pim wanana       | Like me whoever repentant  |
| 20 | Mit'anmanta zananmanta       | From the descendance, from the lineage                               |
|    | Tiqzi machup churinmanta     | From the son of the beginning ancestor                               |
|    | Llapa yalliq millaymana      | All victorious, however ugly   |
|    | Much'apuguay yasuywana       | Adore him for me, <i>yasuywana</i>                                   |
|    | Wawaykikta.                  | Your child.  |
| 25 | 5. Wiqikta rikuy p'inkikta   | Look at the splattered tears   |
|    | Zukhay zukhay waqachkaqman   | To the crier of bitter tears   |
|    | Sunqu qhiwi phutichkaqman    | To the contrite, broken-hearted                                      |
|    | Kutirichiy ñawiykikta        | Turn your eyes   |
|    | Rikuchiway uyaykikta         | Let me see your face   |
| 30 | Diospa maman                 | Mother of God  |
|    | 6. Hanaq pachap qalla sanan  | Genetrix of heaven's lineage   |
|    | K'anchaq p'unchaw tutayachiq | Who turns shiny daylight to night                                    |
|    | Killa paqsa rawrayachiq      | Who kindles the clear moon   |
|    | Angelkunap q'uchukunan       | Joys of the angels   |
| 35 | Hinantimpa rirpukunan        | Light with which all see themselves <sup>4</sup>                     |
|    | Kawzaq pukyu                 | Life-giving spring   |
|    | 7. Qhapaqmanta miraq-suyu    | From the powerful, domain of fertility                               |
|    | Qhapaqkunap Qhapaqnimpa      | Powerful of the powerful   |
|    | Ñawpamanta wachaqnimpa       | From the ages who gave birth to her                                  |
| 40 | Gracia suq'uy, aklla phuyu   | Who imbibes Grace, select cloud                                      |
|    | Qampim suyan tiqzi muyu      | In you waits the beginning circle ( <i>tiqzi muyu</i> ) <sup>5</sup> |
|    | Dios kusichiq                | Who brings joy to God  |

<sup>4</sup> Beltrán (1891: 57) translates line 35 as "En quien todos se miran."

<sup>5</sup> Beltrán (1891: 57) translates *tiqzi muyu* as "el mundo todo."

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
|    | 8. Quri wantu Dios purichiq<br>huq simiwan huñispalla   | Golden litter, who makes God run ( <i>puriy</i> )<br>With one word, just persuading  |
| 45 | Dios churikta chaypachalla<br>Wikzaykipi runakachiq<br>Ukhuykipi kamakachaq<br>Runap marq'an  | God the Son in that time <sup>6</sup><br>In your womb, maker of a being<br>In your inside, maker of a soul<br>Cradler of humanity [of a person, of Quechuas]   |
|    | 9. Wayna wallpap kusip marq'an<br>Pukarampa qispi punkun<br>Awasqaykim, yupay unkun<br>Qamtam allwiqpaq akllarqan<br>Kikiykipitaq munarqan<br>Runa kayta. | Cradler of the young creator, of the fortunate<br>Crystal door of his bastion<br>Your weaving, His revered <i>unku</i><br>You were chosen to weave the figures<br>In you He wanted<br>A <i>Runa</i> to become. |
| 55 | 10. Usachipuway kawzayta<br>Purum tazqi hupaykuywa[y]<br>Dios zizaq inkill wiwa<br>Maymantañach, Aquyayta<br>Usachiyman, qam mamayta                      | Obtain me for life<br>Wild child, exhort me to want you <sup>7</sup><br>Who pollinates God, garden-keeper<br>From wherever it might be<br>I would obtain it, for you mother                                    |
| 60 | Qatachilla[y].  | <i>Qatachillay</i> .   |
|    | 11. K'anchaq rawraq, zuma killa<br>Chiqan p'unchawpa ziqaynin<br>Hinantimpa suyakuynin<br>Qam millaqqaq ch'uqi illa                                       | Who shines, who kindles, beautiful moon<br>Raiser of the true day<br>Hope of all<br>You, a flash of lightning for the ugly one   |
| 65 | Mana yawyaq pampa killa<br>Diospa llaqtan   | Full moon ( <i>pampa killa</i> ), who doesn't diminish<br>City of God  |
|    | 12. Qamman Quya pillam paqtan<br>Tukuy santokunamanta<br>Llapa Angelkunamanta   | To you, Queen, who is equal<br>Of all the saints<br>Of all the angels  |
| 70 | Zupaypa umanta waqtan<br>Allpawan tupukta t'aqtan<br>Sutillayki.  | The head of the devil is beaten<br>With earth <i>tupu</i> are stomped<br>With just your name.  |
|    | 13. Ñukñu ruruq chunta mallki<br>Runakunap munay kallcha  | Palm tree ( <i>chunta</i> ) <sup>8</sup> that bears tender fruit<br>Beautiful harvest of the people  |
| 75 | Pukay-pukay zumaq phallcha<br>Sut'arpu tukuchiq khalkki<br>T'itu wach'iq nawillayki<br>Qispi wampu  | Reddened beautiful <i>phallcha</i> flower <sup>9</sup><br>Who turns volcanic ash into bricks<br>Just your eyes shine in mystery<br>Translucent nave ( <i>wampu</i> )   |
| 80 | 14. Qammi kanki Qhapaq tampu<br>May-may kamapas uyaylla   | You are the great refuge<br>Whatever place accepted  |

<sup>6</sup> Beltrán (1891: 58) translates lines 44–46 as “Consentiendo con un sí/Á Dios Hijo en el instante/En tu vientre le humanaste.”

<sup>7</sup> González Holguín's (1952: 204) entries for *hupa* suggest that it is a sexual exhortation of the sort made of a woman by a man.

<sup>8</sup> Soukup (1970: 37) identifies the *chunta* as *Bactris gasipaes*.

<sup>9</sup> *Phallcha* is used for several species of gentians: *Gentiana scarlatina*, *Gentiana acaulis*, *Gentiana primuloides*, *Gentiana sandienses*, and *Gentiana campanuliformis* (Herrera y Garmendia 1938: 55–56, 58).

## A Nation Surrounded

	Qatiqukipaq munaylla	For your successor beloved
	Hatun sunqupas hayrampu	And big-hearted, <i>ayrampu</i> <sup>10</sup>
	K'umuykuqkunapaq llamp'u	For the humble, smooth
	Wakchay khuya	Who cares for the poor
85	15. Wichq'aykusqa kusi muya	Enclosed garden of joy
	Qhapaq yayap khaynakuna	These of the powerful father <sup>11</sup>
	Yupay t'ika, akllakuna	Revered flower, the chosen ones
	Jesus puriqchiq uruya	Who made Jesus function ( <i>puriy</i> ), <i>uruya</i> <sup>12</sup>
	Pillqu ch'antaq k'anchaq khuya	Who patterns color, <i>khuya</i> <sup>13</sup> which sparkles
90	Suyakunqay	My hope
16.	Zapallaykin q'imikunqay	You alone are my pillar
	Kanki mama, kay pachapi	You are my mother, in the world
	Ña wañuptiy huq pachapi	When I die in the other world
	Kusikuymán thatkikunqay	Toward happiness make me strive
95	Q'uchukayman yaykuykunqay	Toward joy make me enter
	Qhapaq punku	Powerful door
17.	<i>Animayta</i> uturunku	To my spirit, a jaguar ( <i>uturunku</i> )
	Qallu llullmiywan llullaspa	With my lying tongue deceitful,
	Pallqu kawzayman pupaspa	Hypocritical life tarred,
100	Muyupuwan ch'unku-ch'unku.	A throng encircles me.
	Chayñan maywaq intuykunku	So they surround you already with shows of love
	Wantunqampaq	In order to be lifted <sup>14</sup>
18.	Hucha zupay ayqinqampaq.	In order that the devil-sins be removed.
	Yanapaway kallpaykiwan	With your power help me
105	Hinaspari wawaykiwan	With your child do likewise
	Kay wakchaykip k'aynanqampaq	In order that this poor one of yours be like this
	Mana tukuq kawzanqanpaq	In order to live without end
	Atawchaway	Make me fortunate
19.	Quri qullqa, qullqi ch'away	Golden granary ( <i>qullqa</i> ), silver storehouse
110	Tita yachaq, waqaychaqa	Who knows mysteries, storehouse
	Qhapaq mikuy aymuranqa	Great harvest of food
	Muchunqayta amachaway	In my hunger support me
	Allin kaypi zamachiway	In well-being let me rest
	Qispinqaypaq	For my salvation

<sup>10</sup> Soukup (1970: 238–239) identifies the *ayrampu* as *Opuntia soehrensii*, a cactus. Its reddish-brown flowers are used to produce a dye for textiles and for coloring maize beer. *Ayrampu* is also used to designate the color produced by the dye.

<sup>11</sup> Beltrán (1891: 61) translates line 86 as “Al que solo Dios tiene entrada.”

<sup>12</sup> *Uruya* is a leather lift that is hung between two trees to carry someone across a river.

<sup>13</sup> *Khuya* as a verb can be translated as “to care for affectionately, to protect.” As a substantive it is used as an adjective to describe amulets (*illa*, *inqa*, *inqaychu*) that are conceived as “generador de vida, . . . fuente de felicidad y bienestar, . . . propiciador de abundancia” (Flores Ochoa 1977: 218), or as a noun to refer to the entire class: simply *khuya*. *Khuya* appears to be used in this latter sense in line 89. In contrast, in line 84, I translated *Wakchay khuya* as “Who cares for the poor,” with the verb nominalized (compare Lara 1969: 222).

<sup>14</sup> That is, as a burden would be lifted on the shoulders.

<p>115 20. Gloria kachun <i>Dios</i> yayapaq  <i>Dios</i> churipaq hinallataq  <i>Santo Espiritu</i> paqwantaq  Kachun <i>gloria</i>, wiñayllapaq  Kawzaykunap, kawzaynimpaq</p> <p>120 Kusi kachun, Amen</p> <p><i>Manaraq pacha tiqzisqa kaptin Zapay Quya,</i>  <i>Dios ninchikmi, kikimpaq akllasurqanki.</i></p>	<p>Glory be to God the Father  To God the Son  And also to the Holy Spirit  Glory be, for all eternity  For the lives of all lives  May there be bliss, Amen</p> <p><i>Before the beginning of the world, my only</i>  <i>Queen, Our God chose you for himself.</i></p>
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The division of lines into stanzas follows Pérez Bocanegra's: five lines of eight syllables each followed by one line of four syllables. The four-syllable lines close each strophe, sometimes with a word or phrase that is linked syntactically to the first line of the following strophe (see line 6), sometimes with an epithet for the Virgin, such as *Diospa maman*, "Mother of God" (line 30), or *Qatachilla*, "Pleiades" (line 60). This division of lines into stanzas is typical enough of Spanish verse of the Golden Age to not require further comment, save for the label "Sapphic verse." The formal poetic constraints associated with this pattern of versification are spelled out in Figure 6.

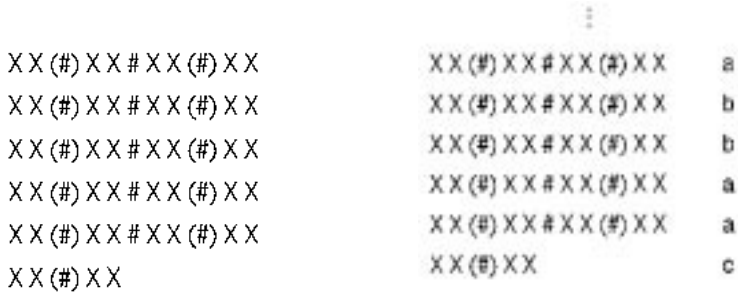


Fig. 6 Pattern I: Pérez Bocanegra's versification: "verso sáfico."

Legend, Figs. 6 and 7

- X syllable
- # word boundary
- ( ) optional
- primary stress: penultimate
- secondary stress on first syllable of all feet preceding primary stress
- 18 violations in 120 lines of word boundaries coinciding with caesura

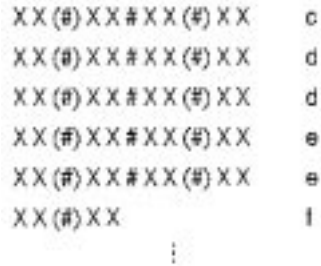


Fig. 7 Pattern II: Binary parallelism and rhyme, supported by agrammatical morphology.

A second pattern cross-cuts the first, creating a syncopation of poetic units. The second pattern consists of pairs of lines that are joined by end rhyme and sometimes by grammatical parallelism and morphological repetition (homeoteutelon) as well. Pérez Bocanegra sometimes cuts words and omits grammatical morphemes in order to make the lines fit the second binary pattern, summarized under “Pattern II” in Figure 7. Although older Quechua poetry did not use end rhyme to group lines into larger groupings, it did use homeoteutelon and grammatical parallelism quite extensively, and these devices always resulted in facultative end rhyme. Here, end rhyme has been promoted to a poetic figure constitutive of the organization of the hymn, evoking the older tradition of poetic parallelism and homeoteutelon.

Neither pattern I (Fig. 6), the Spanish-derived pattern of versification, nor pattern II (Fig. 7), the Quechua-derived pattern, exhaustively account for the poetic organization of the hymn. Both seem to be operating at once, creating a syncopated rhythm of poetic units. Although the Spanish-derived Sapphic verse pattern is the one printed on the page, it is likely that the hymn would have been interpreted differently depending on the poetic conventions with which the listener was most familiar. Thus, a Quechua-speaking monolingual with no exposure to Golden Age Spanish poetry could have been expected to hear the binary pattern.

In addition to the pattern ambiguity, the imagery of the hymn is subject to multiple readings. On the one hand, it uses classical European imagery for the Virgin, including “City of God,” “cradler of humanity,” “pillar of the weak.” Even the celestial imagery with which the hymn is saturated is firmly grounded in European poetic imagery and iconography: the association of Mary with the moon appears in a painting by Diego Velázquez; it is a short distance from the identification of the Virgin as *Maria maris stella*, “Mary star of the sea,” to *Chipchiykacha qatachillay*, “Who glitters, Pleiades” (line 13). But the specific configuration of images and epithets in the hymn has an unmistakable strangeness within the European tradition, evoking the fecundity of the Virgin Mary, praising her as the source of agricultural fertility, as a weaver of brocades, and identifying her systematically with the celestial objects of female devotion in the Pre-Columbian Andes: the moon, the Pleiades, and the dark cloud constellation of the llama and her young (see the epithets and images listed below). The ambiguity found at the level of poetic structure is replicated in the hymn’s imagery. *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin* is at one and the same time a hymn to Mary and a hymn to the Pleiades and other celestial objects of native Andean adoration. Here again, no single interpretation seems to account exhaustively for the structure of the hymn, and while a Roman Catholic priest might find the



hymn an acceptable vehicle for Marian devotion, a Quechua-speaking smallholder might find it a comforting continuation of her older religious practices, without one or the other interpretation dominating.

### *Epithets*

#### I. Mother of God and of Humanity

2.8	Diospa rampan	Who leads God by the hand
	Diospa maman	Mother of God
5.30	Diospa maman	Mother of God
8.43	Dios purichiq	who makes God run
15.88	Jesus puriqchiq	Who made Jesus function
9.49	Wayna wallpap kusip marq'an	Cradler of the young creator, of the fortunate
8.46	Wikzaykipi runakachiq	In your womb, maker of a being
8.47	Ukhuykipi kamakachaq	In your inside, maker of a soul
15.88	uruya	(basket for crossing river)
8.43	Quri wantu	Golden litter
6.31	Hanaq pachap qalla sanan	Genetrix of heaven's lineage
8.48	Runap marq'an	Cradler of humanity [of Quechuas] ( <i>Runa</i> )

#### II. Agriculture, Fecundity

1.3	Yupay ruru puquq mallki	Tree of uncountable fruits
13.73	Ñukñu ruru chunta mallki	Palm tree that bears tender fruit
15.85	Wichq'aykusqa kusi muya	Enclosed garden of joy
10.57	Dios zizaq inkill wiwa	Who pollinates God, garden-keeper
13.74	Runakunap munay kallcha	Beautiful harvest of the people
19.111	Qhapaq mikuy aymuranqa	Great harvest of food
13.75	Pukay-pukay zumaq phallcha	Reddened beautiful <i>phallcha</i> flower
14.82	hayrampu	(cactus plant with reddish-brown flowers used for dye)
6.36	Kawzaq pukyu	Life-giving spring
7.37	miraq-suyu	domain of fertility

#### III. Celestial

11.61	K'anchoq rawraq	Who shines, who kindles
6.32	K'anchoq p'unchaw tutayachiq	Who turns shiny daylight to night
11.61	zuma killa	beautiful moon
11.65	Mana yawyaq pampa killa	Full moon, who doesn't diminish
6.33	Killa paqsa rawrayachiq	Who kindles the clear moon
11.62	Chiqaq p'unchawpa ziqaynin	Raiser of the true day
3.14	P'unchaw pusaq	Daylight's guide

## A Nation Surrounded

19.109	Quri qullqa	Golden granary
19.109	qullqi ch'away	silver storehouse
19.110	waqaychaqa	storehouse
10.60	Qatachilla	Pleiades (see figure)
3.13	Chipchiykachaqa qatachillay	Who glitters, Pleiades
7.40	aklla phuyu	select cloud

## IV. Spiritual

1.1	Hanaq pachap kusikuynin	Bliss of heaven
7.42	Dios kusichiq	Who brings joy to God
6.34	Angelkunap q'uchukunan	Joys of the angels
1.4	Runakunap suyakuynin	Hope of peoples
15.90	Suyakunqay	My hope
11.63	Hinantimpa suyakuynin	Hope of all
1.5	Kallpannaqpa q'imikuynin	Pillar of the weak
14.83	K'umuykuqkunapaq llamp'u	For the humble, smooth
14.84	Wakchay khuya	Who cares for the poor
15.89	Pillqu ch'antaq	Who patterns color
15.89	k'anchaq khuya	<i>khuya</i> which sparkles
7.40	Gracia suq'uq	Who imbibes Grace

## V. Institutional Church, Power, Mystery

11.66	Diospa llaqtan	City of God
9.50	Pukarampa qispi punkun	Crystal door of his bastion
16.96	Qhapaq punku	Powerful door
7.38	Qhapaqkunap Qhapaqnimpa	Powerful of the powerful
7.37	Qhapaqmanta	From the powerful
7.39	Ñawpamanta wachaqnimpa	From the ages who gave birth to her
13.76	Sut'arpu tukuchiq khallki	Who turns volcanic ash into bricks
13.78	Qispi wampu	Translucent nave
19.110	Tita yachaqa	Who knows mysteries

The imagery of *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin* points outward from the text to evoke distinct sets of associations within the distinct Spanish and native Andean interpretive traditions. In addition, the imagery forms an internal configuration, especially around the celestial terms, though a configuration that is unsystematic and open-ended. I have diagrammed the key celestial imagery in Figure 8.

In the top line, to the left of the dotted line, I include the main celestial epithets, connected to their customary referents (e.g., *killa* to “moon”). Under each of the customary referents, I list conceptually related epithets, tied to the terms in the top line not by a shared referent so much as by euphemism and

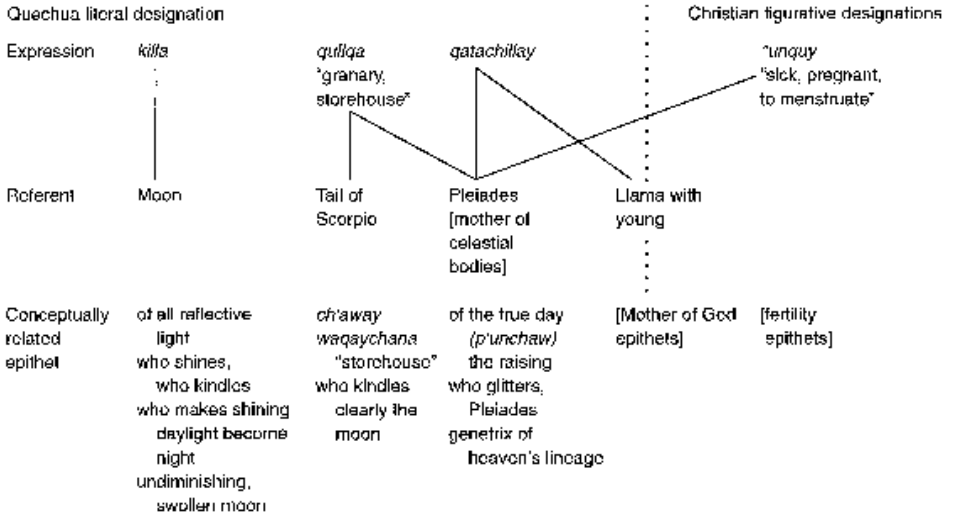


Fig. 8 Key celestial imagery.

paraphrase. I especially want to point out that two of three terms used for the Pleiades, *qullqa* and *qatachillay*, appear along with five conceptually related epithets, but a third term for the Pleiades, *unquy*, does not. *Unquy* is used even today as a polite euphemism for pregnancy and menstruation, and its omission here is jarring in light of the emphasis on fecundity and the other mentions of the Pleiades. I believe that the omission reflects a deep fear that Pérez Bocanegra shared with other priests of his time that the *Taki Unquy* millenarian movement would recur. In the 1560s, the *Taki Unquy* movement spread from what is today Ayacucho through the south central highlands of Peru, preaching the revival of the sacred places and a coming battle with Christianity.<sup>15</sup> Cristóbal de Molina (1943: 80) described it as "a kind of song." According to Molina, the followers of *Taki Unquy* ". . . preached the resurrection of the *huacas* (sacred places), saying that the *huacas* were traveling in the air, thirsty and dead of hunger because the Indians were no longer sacrificing nor pouring them libations of *chicha*, and that they had reached many fields with (parasitic) worms, in order

<sup>15</sup> *Taki Unquy*, from *taki*, "song, to sing," and *unquy*, "sick, menstruating, pregnant, Pleiades," is usually mistranslated as "dancing sickness." There is a large corpus of literature on the movement based on a small set of sixteenth-century sources, including Molina 1943 and Albornoz (in Millones 1971). Key works on *Taki Unquy* include Millones Santa Gadea 1990; Duviols 1971: 107–122; Wachtel 1977: 179–183; Curatola 1977; Cock and Doyle 1980; Stern 1982: chap. 3; Hernández et al. 1987: chap. 4; MacCormack 1991: 181–187; and Adorno 1991: 239–243.

to plant them into the hearts of the Spaniards, the Spanish cattle and the horses and also into the hearts of the Indians who remained in Christianity. . . .”<sup>16</sup>

Needless to say, *Taki Unquy* terrified Spanish settlers, especially clerics. Even though *Taki Unquy* had taken place sixty years before Pérez Bocanegra wrote the *Ritual formulario*, he included a questionnaire in which parishioners were to be asked directly about vestiges of the movement (1631: 145). In the more detailed study that I am summarizing here, I suggest that the absence of the epithet *Unquy* was also significant because the hymn was precisely a *Taki Unquy*, a Pleiades song, drawing on an older tradition of singing to the Pleiades at the time of the interregnum between the end of the lunar year and the rearticulation of lunar and solar calendars by the winter solstice.<sup>17</sup> If so, then our understanding of the *Taki Unquy* millenarian movement needs to be modified considerably.

To summarize the first example, *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin* is ambiguous, allowing it to be understood within two quite different interpretive horizons by distinct interpretive communities, who could thereby maintain the comfortable fiction that they were engaged in the same ritual endeavor. There are many layers to the structural and imagistic ambiguities inherent in the hymn that I have not been able to discuss here: the place of such ambiguity in Pérez Bocanegra’s politics of translation; the use of the hymn to co-opt indigenous women’s ritual practices within the institutional church; and the potentially subversive nature of indigenous readings of this polyphonic text.

My second example is a modern folksong recorded in the early 1960s. It is far more complex and introverted in its structural organization than *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin*. The song, which has no title, begins with the image of red *phallcha* (gentian) flowers offered to the feet of the Christ child; for convenience’s sake, I will refer to it as the *phallcha* song. Fourteen lines long, with a fifteenth, nonsensical tag line, it was recorded by the filmmaker and folklorist John Cohen in the highland Andean community of Q’eros (province of Paucartambo, department of Cuzco). Cohen, who at the time spoke neither Quechua nor Spanish, does not supply any context for the song, except that it was sung by two older Quechua speakers, a man and a woman. Though formed in an oral tradition, it is inordinately complex.

<sup>16</sup> “. . . andaban predicando esta resurrección de las huacas, diciendo que ya las huacas andaban por el aire, secas y muertas de hambre; porque los indios no le sacrificaban ya, ny derramaban chicha; y que habían sembrado muchas chacras de gusanos, para plantarlos en los corazones de los españoles, ganados de Castilla y los caballos, y también en los corazones de los indios que permanecen en el Cristianismo. . . .”

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of the role of observation of Pleiades in the rearticulation of solar and lunar calendars in the Inka ritual cycle, see Zuidema (1982) and MacCormack (1991: 421). See MacCormack (1988) for a similar suggestion that *Taki Unquy* was an annual ritual event.

*Phallca*

- |       |   |  |
|-------|---|--|
| a 1.  | Phallcha phallchalla/cha kichallaman    | <i>Phallcha phallcha</i> just to (his) little feet |
| b 2.  | Phuña phuñacha/cha kichallaman          | <i>Phuña phuña</i> just to (his) little feet       |
| b 3.  | <b>Mama taytallay</b> /kan tarumuwan    | My parents sing to me//My parents lock me          |
| b 4.  | <b>Tayta mamallay</b> /kan tarumuwan    | My parents sing to me//My parents lock me          |
|       |   |  |
| a 5.  | Runaq wawampa/kan tarullanqa            | The lock of the child of <i>Runa</i>               |
| b 6.  | Manalla <b>chhalluy</b> /a tiychallalla | It just can't be destroyed                         |
| b 7.  | Manalla <b>p'itiy</b> /a tiychallalla   | It just can't be broken into pieces                |
|       |   |  |
| a 8.  | Espiras munaq/sun quchallawan           | With my heart of hope and love                     |
| b 9.  | <b>Karinatapas/p'i</b>  tiykumuni       | [And] I break the chain into pieces                |
| b 10. | <b>Kantarutapas/cha</b>  lluykumuni     | And I destroy the lock                             |
|       |   |  |
| a 11. | Saqsaywamanllay/man ma rit'iylla        | Just snow to my Saqsaywamán                        |
| b 12. | Usqha llukulla/ri t'iykaykumuy          | Quickly like crazy it snows                        |
| b 13. | <b>Tayta mamaytaq</b> /ri kurquwanman   | My parents could see me                            |
| b 14. | <b>Mama taytayaq</b> /ri kurquwanman    | My parents could see me                            |
| coda  | Ay sinta sinta limunaray sinta          | Ay ribbon ribbon my lemon ribbon                   |

a, b = melodic contours, followed by line number

/ = scannable caesura

| = audible caesura

italic (in Quechua) = suffixes inserted to fill line rhythmically

italic (in English) = untranslated words

boldface (in Quechua) = semantic couplets

The song is sonnet-like in its organization, consisting of fourteen lines divided into two quatrains (four-line verses) and two tercets (three-line verses), with a fifteenth tag line. It differs from a classical sonnet form in that it can be divided into two parts of equal length. The integrity of the poetic line is important in the classical sonnet, with avoidance of metrical patterns that allow the line to be divided into two equal segments (Friedrich 1986). In contrast, each line in the Quechua song splits evenly.

The imagery of the song is fairly simple, but not simplistic. Images that are associated with Christian religious practices in the first half of the song are opposed to images associated with Andean religious practices in the second. The song is a cryptogram, in that the content is systematically concealed by its form which, in turn, distorts the perceptual cues that Quechua speakers would normally use to parse the text. The rhythmic prominences (or stresses) that mark the beginnings and ends of words appear in places where they would not

appear in ordinary speech. There is also an unaccountable pause, an audible caesura (or break), part-way through each line. Together, the displacements result in each line being divided in two places, once by the listener's rhythmic expectations (scannable break) and once by an audible pause.

The scannable breaks occur halfway through the line. Each line is ten syllables long and divided into halves of five syllables each. The points at which the listener's rhythmic expectations divide the line (scannable break) are marked in the transcription by a slash "/." The rhythmic displacements occur within each half. For example, line 2, *Phuña phuñacha/ cha|kichallaman*, has a scannable break after *phuñacha* and an audible pause after the first syllable of *chakichallaman*.

The audible breaks, which are marked either by silence or by laryngeal closure, occur after the sixth syllable, that is, exactly one syllable after the scannable breaks regardless of whether they interrupt a word. The audible breaks are marked in the transcription by a vertical bar "|." The scannable breaks divide each line into a 5/5 pattern of two equal halves. The audible breaks divide each line into a 6/4 pattern, in which a six-syllable part is followed by a four-syllable one. This is diagrammed in Figure 9, in which a solid line marks the axis of symmetry created by the scannable caesura, and the dotted line the displacement created by the audible caesura.

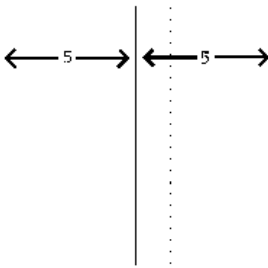


Fig. 9 *Phallcha* song, axis of symmetry created by scansion.

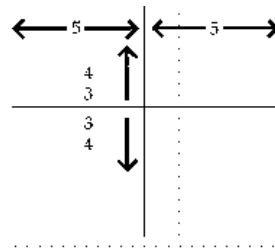


Fig. 10 *Phallcha* song, bisecting axes of symmetry.

Legend, Figs. 9 and 10

- solid line = axis of symmetry
- dotted line = points of antisymmetry
- numbers across vertical axis = syllables in each half-line
- numbers across horizontal axis = line groupings in each half of the song

The displacements reflect a further feature of the song, that is, a complex, multi-layered icon in which a reversal at one level opens into a reversal at another. These include reversals in the accentual pattern; in the relationships between words; in the organization of lines into verses; in the organization of the verses in the song seen as a whole; in the poetic images; and in the meanings of individual lines.

The lines and verses marked in the transcription of the *phallcha* song were determined by seven distinct criteria: (1) recurrent melodic phrases, (2) pauses and breaths between lines, (3) metric regularity, (4) the domain of certain phonological processes, (5) parallelism (especially semantic coupling), (6) the extent of image sequences, and (7) the relationships between image sequences. Line boundaries are marked by strongly audible inhalations; these are stylistic rather than physiological. They are of three types: relatively longer breaths mark the boundaries between verses; shorter breaths mark the beginning of the second couplet in the four-line verses; other line boundaries within verses are also short.

In the first half of the song, a four-line verse is followed by a three-line verse; in the second half, the sequence is reversed. This creates a second axis of symmetry, around which the images reverse.<sup>18</sup> As with the first axis of symmetry, there is an element of antisymmetry introduced into the pattern, this time by the tag line (line 15). The second axis of symmetry is diagrammed against the first in Figure 10, in which the arrows represent the reversal of line and verse structure.

The second axis of symmetry organizes the argument of images in the song. The opening image has *phallcha* or red gentian flowers (*Gentiana scarlatina*, *Gentiana acaulis*)<sup>19</sup> scattered to someone's feet, identified by Quechua speakers as the Christ child's. For Quechua speakers, *phallcha* flowers evoke fecundity, and indeed the epithet "Reddened beautiful *phallcha* flower" was used for the Virgin Mary in the first text. *Phallcha* flowers are used in rituals of animal increase that take place throughout Southern Peru in February and in late June. The same scene is repeated in the second line with the white *phuña* flower (*Culcitium ceneszens*; Herrera y Garmendia 1938: 88) substituted for the *phallcha*. Both *phallcha* and *phuña* flowers are found in the higher altitudes near mountain peaks.

The second couplet (lines 3–4) is ambiguous between two interpretations, "my parents sing to me" and "my parents lock me." Preposterous as the second interpretation might sound, it is the one that is developed in the following tercet (lines 5–7): "Of people, the child, its lock/just can't be crushed/just can't

<sup>18</sup> There are other reversals that take place across the second axis of symmetry. These are explained in detail in Mannheim (1995a).

<sup>19</sup> See Herrera y Garmendia 1938: 55–56, 58.

be broken into pieces.” Line 5 is also ambiguous: *Runaq wawampa* is the Quechua translation of “[of the] Son of Man,” but can be translated as “the child of Quechuas.”

Crossing the axis of symmetry, the second tercet (lines 8–10) negates the first one (lines 5–7). The lock of *Runaq wawan*—the Son of Man or the child of Quechuas—which could not be broken, is smashed, the chain broken to bits: “With my heart of hope and love/[And] I break the chain into pieces/And I destroy the lock.” The image shifts abruptly in the final verse: “Snow must be falling just on my Saqsaywamán/quickly, like crazy, it snows.” Saqsaywamán is a mountain adjacent to Cuzco, and it might be that the name is used for local mountains elsewhere. The appearance of a specific mountain in Cuzco in a song recorded in Q’eros is puzzling, given that Q’eros is about sixty km away from Cuzco; it is not one of the principal sacred mountains that the people of Q’eros would call upon in ritual. In any case, the images with which the song closes reverse the imagery of the opening. In the opening verse, an Andean ritual action—scattering the *phallcha* flowers—was offered to a Christian sacred being. In the closing verse, it is replaced by a natural action received by an Andean mountain. Similarly, the final image, “My parents could see me/My parents could see me,” also echoes the opening verse (lines 3–4). The singers’ parents confined them with the lock of *Runaq wawan*, “the child of *Runa*/the Son of Man”; now it is broken so “My parents could see me.”

Each scene in the first half of the song gives way to a counterpart in the second half; for example, the scene of an offering of *phallcha* and *phuña* flowers to the feet of the Christ child (lines 1–2) gives way to snow falling on an Andean mountain (lines 11–12). The reversals here are not symmetrical. Rather, just as the lock of the Son of Man in the first half of the song is destroyed in the second, the Christian imagery of the first half gives way to autochthonous imagery in the second. The images are not merely juxtaposed or contrasted, but there is a movement from the first set to the second, underscored by the antisymmetrical nonsense line (15) with which the song ends.

The reversals of images are replicated by layer upon layer of reversals, including reversal of the pattern of lines and verses; reversals of couplet structure; and reversals of metrical feet within each half-line. These reversals take place in time and create both asymmetric and symmetric forms of patterning. The images, and relationships between images, are set into a grid of symmetrical oppositions that are themselves laid into the pattern of unfolding asymmetry. Conversely, the formal patterns are diagrams of the reversals of imagery and of the asymmetric pattern by which they unfold in time. The same interplay between symmetrical reversals and asymmetrical unfolding is found in the sound



as in the images. The intricate formal patterns of the song both organize the imagery into a whole and reflect the argument of the images at several different levels.

Although it is easy to explicate the text of the song on paper, the effect of the rhythmic displacements and pauses is to disorient the listener, disguising the song's content. To a great extent the disorientation is produced by familiarity with the normal rhythmic conventions of Southern Peruvian Quechua. This is quite unusual even in song because the words are being forced into the pattern of reversals to the extent that both form and meaning are concealed. The same formal devices that organize and replicate the message conceal it from the ears of outsiders.

How can a song of the complexity of the *phallcha* song be composed and transmitted in an oral tradition without the aid of diagrams or other meta-poetic discourses? The poet Gary Snyder (1983: 5) reflects on the ancient Chinese *Book of Songs*: "When making an ax handle/the pattern is not far off." Indeed, the pattern for the *phallcha* song is never far off in the southern highlands of Peru. The same pattern of nested bilateral symmetries and antisymmetries is found in textiles, especially in coca clothes, ritual clothes, and women's shawls. The intricately developed figures in the song, then, are not idiosyncratic.

It would be hard to underestimate the importance of textiles in the everyday lives of southern Andean peoples, preconquest and modern. Before the Spanish conquest, textiles were a means of storing and exchanging wealth and an important item in the symbolism of statecraft (Murra 1962). For modern Andean agriculturalists and herders, handwoven textiles are used for transportation and storage of goods, for clothing (in more isolated communities), for women's shawls (*lliklla*) and men's *ponchos*, in coca cloths and bags, and as ritual cloths (*unkhuña*). The style of shawl and *poncho* worn in a community is partly an index of social position, occasion, and changing fashion, but it also indicates the community of origin of weaver, wearer, or both, by such obvious features as the figures woven into the cloth and the colors of dyes or such subtle features as the color of a thin border stripe between two patterns (Cereceda 1978: 1018; Silverman-Proust 1985; Seibold 1992).<sup>20</sup> Indeed, in the hymn that I discussed earlier, the Virgin Mary is imaged as a weaver:

Awasqaykim, yupay unkun  
Qamtam allwiqpaq akllarqan

Your weaving, His revered *unku*  
You were chosen to weave the figures.

<sup>20</sup> There is an abundance of specialized literature on Andean textiles including those of modern Southern Peru and Bolivia. See, among others, Gayton 1961; A. Rowe 1975, 1977, 1987; Meisch 1985; Zorn 1987; Desrosiers 1988; Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías 1992; and Gavilán Vega and Ulloa Torres 1992, in addition to the works cited in the body of this chapter.

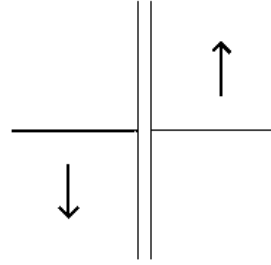


Fig. 11 Compositional pattern of a *lliklla* (woman's shawl). The double line is a zig-zag seam, the primary axis of symmetry. The single line that bisects it is the implicit axis around which the two halves are rotated.

Like the *phallcha* song, southern Andean textiles are composed of figures of bilateral reversal that are nested into each other. The degree of involution and the specific figures vary considerably from community to community, but the general pattern is stable across a vast area including southeastern Peru and Bolivia. Most southern Andean textiles are produced by a complementary warp weave, which is a process where the yarns are matched in pairs so that they have a complementary distribution on the two surfaces of the cloth (Franquemont, Isbell, and Franquemont 1992). The effect of a complementary warp weave is that the two surfaces duplicate each other with the yarn colors reversed, which is especially startling for brocaded figures, in that figure and ground appear to reverse from one surface to the other.

The textiles are structured compositionally through nested patterns of bilateral symmetry. As in the *phallcha* song, every level of patterning, from the most minute to the most extensive, is implicated. For example, women's shawls are composed of two halves joined by a zig-zag seam, creating a primary axis of symmetry (shown by a double line in Fig. 11). The two halves are woven from opposite directions (shown by the arrows), with characteristic finishing weaves marking the end of each section. These identify the beginnings and ends of opposite corners, which creates a rotational symmetry around a second, implicit axis (shown by a single line).<sup>21</sup>

Each half of the shawl is further divided along another axis of symmetry parallel to the primary one. There is a sequence of bands of various colors set against a black (or untinted) background; the bands are organized by inverse symmetry so that the sequence of bands on each side of the axis is the mirror

<sup>21</sup> I am following the conventions established by scholars of Andean weaving in showing the primary axis of symmetry of women's shawls as a vertical rather than horizontal axis, although this partly obscures the parallelism between the axes of symmetry in the *phallcha* song and in textiles. In fact, in most communities in the Southern Peruvian Andes, shawls are worn folded parallel to the primary axis of symmetry, at a 90-degree rotation from that diagrammed in Figure 11.

image of the other. The edges of the halves introduce an antisymmetrical element into the symmetrical pattern because of their function in the larger whole, namely as edges.

The most important bands of color carry additional brocades (*pallay*, “to gather”). The brocade bands are also woven in symmetrical pairs. Finally, the figures are themselves fields of symmetrical design, often including paired or four-fold images. Each of these domains of compositional symmetry is subject to the intrusion of an antisymmetrical element. This asymmetry can be the result of the position of a pattern in the larger whole, can be introduced deliberately by the weaver, or can appear in the way the textile is used. For example, women’s shawls are most often worn folded, parallel to the primary axis of symmetry, but never at the seam itself.

The shawls or *llikllas* woven in Q’eros, the community from which the *phallcha* song was recorded, follow this general pattern (see Silverman-Proust 1985), as does the *lliklla* that I discuss here, from the Lares Valley of Cuzco (Fig. 12). The weavers of the Lares Valley are especially inventive in adopting brocade motifs from outside sources, for instance, from a child’s school notebook or from the textiles of a visitor (Seibold 1992). They are adept at brocading figures and flaunt their skills in incredibly crowded textiles in which the background almost disappears into the brocades, always within the constraints of the symmetry patterns discussed earlier.

The central brocade in the shawl is the execution of Thupa Amaru.<sup>22</sup> Thupa Amaru was a leader of the massive rebellion in 1780, which spread through much of highland Peru and Bolivia, where it continued for several years after his capture and death. The rebels sacked rural estates and workshops; many sought to expel the Spaniards from Peru. After his capture Thupa Amaru was sentenced to death by quartering, which was the standard form of punishment for rebellion against the body politic.

The shawl has eight bands of brocades, with seven complete brocades and an eighth partial figure that bleeds into a conventionalized ending pattern. Three brocades are repeated across the textile: Thupa Amaru is being quartered by four horses displaying Peruvian flags (Fig. 13), the horses quartered by four birds (Fig. 14), and (in a compound figure) Thupa Amaru quartered by the horses that in turn are being pulled by four birds (Fig. 15). The execution motif is brocaded in its simplest form in the central figure of the seven; this creates an implicit axis of symmetry bisecting the primary, rotational axis or the seam. On

<sup>22</sup> Textiles of the Lares Valley, including the Thupa Amaru motif, are also discussed by A. Rowe (1977: 86–87), Gisbert, Arze, and Cajías (1992: 225, the Thupa Amaru motif in plates 248–251), and Seibold (1992, the Thupa Amaru motif on 179–183 and plates on 180–182).



Fig. 12 *Lliklla*, Lares Valley, Cuzco.



Fig. 13 Detail of *lliklla*: the quartering of Thupa Amaru.



Fig. 14 Detail of *lliklla*: the quartering of a Spanish horse by condors.

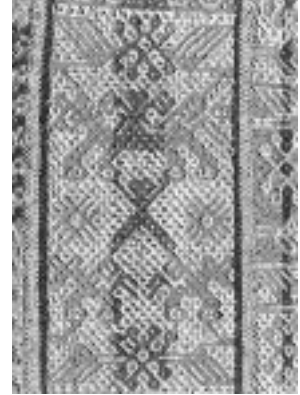


Fig. 15 Detail of *lliklla*: encapsulation of the quartering of Thupa Amaru by the condor motif.

one half of the textile, the central motif shows Thupa Amaru being quartered, with two Venus motifs at either side. Across the seam, a Spanish horse (sometimes lateral and bifurcated) is being drawn by four birds. Each brocade band repeats the motifs with minor variations but without a sequential order among them. The motif of Thupa Amaru quartered by horses (see Fig. 13) appears six times, and the compound motif of Thupa Amaru quartered by the horses, intertwined with four birds (see Fig. 15) appears another six times. The remaining figures show four birds quartering the horse (see Fig. 14).

Seibold (1992: 179) interprets the birds as either tinamous or condors. The brocaded figures seem to oppose the birds to the Spanish horses, but I know of no other symbolic representations in which tinamous play a role similar to that attributed to horses, as synecdoches for the Spaniards, first as conquerors and then as local elites. Interpreting the birds as condors would better fit the theme of Thupa Amaru's execution. Thupa Amaru identified himself with the condor, both by an alternative name, Condorcanqui, and by a stylized condor that he drew under his signature. These are historical details that are unlikely to be widely known, although it could be that they are taught to schoolchildren in the community. But if the birds are condors, the figures in which they quarter a horse or pull the horses that in turn quarter Thupa Amaru would represent a kind of vengeance for the quartering of Thupa Amaru, both encompassing and subsuming the primal act of his execution.

Of primary importance is that the same principles of patterning are involved in the composition of the textile as in the *phallcha* song. In both, there is layer upon layer of repetition of the same figure of reversal, from the grossest level of patterning to the smallest detail. Both the song text and the textile mobilize an intricate play between symmetry and asymmetry. In the song, symmetrical reversals become asymmetrical as the song unfolds in time. The audible breaks load the second half of each line against the first. In both song and textile, later patterns are structurally denser than earlier patterns. There is a similar hierarchy of structural complexity in the brocaded figures of the textile, from the Thupa Amaru figure to the figure of four birds quartering the horse to the composite figure, but these do not occur in an ordered sequence. The time dimension does not dominate the perception of figures in the textile in the same way as it does in the song. Thus, the antisymmetrical elements are relatively less prominent in the weaving than in the song. But in both, traditional patterns of bilateral reversal and traditional imagery are mobilized in what are essentially political statements made outside the sphere of discursively articulated ideologies.

What is striking about the two song texts and the textile—from different localities and even different centuries—is that they were produced, performed, and appropriated in transcultural contexts. The hymn, *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin*, was composed in European style to be sung in church, willfully designed to be appropriated by native Andeans through evocation of their intertextual experiences. The *phallcha* song was sung for a visiting folklorist, who recorded it and eventually anthologized it in the United States, though presumably it was sung and heard in Q'eros on other occasions. The textile was brought to the district center by its weaver who sold it to a North American anthropologist. This could hardly have been a singular event because it appears in the textile literature several times. I imagine the sale of textiles to be one of the main forms of dissemination of the Thupa Amaru image, political content and all. All three are products of a transcultural border zone (in the sense of Rosaldo 1989: 163 and Behar 1993) just as they comment on and constitute another kind of border themselves.

Each established a rhetorical footing thus subverting the terms under which native Andeans found themselves encompassed by Spanish and Latin Peruvian religious and social forms, with the rhetorical forms themselves formulating implicit strategies for subversion. The seventeenth-century hymn, *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin*, hid its subversion in the ambiguity of its form in which each interpretation accounts for only part of the overall structure. The structure of the hymn is thus a compromise between two distinct sets of interpretative conven-

tions and two distinct sets of interpretations. The burden of interpretation is borne by loose linkages between images, which similarly could be understood through the matrices of Roman Catholic orthodoxy or older native Andean understandings of the relationship between feminine celestial bodies and agropastoral fecundity. This is classic “double talk” (Paulson 1990) in which contending voices are articulated through, and disguised by, a single set of discursive forms.

In contrast, the *phallcha* song used a single form—indeed, a single rhetorical figure, that of bilateral reversal—to embody contradictions between Euro-Christian and native Andean religious imagery, representing the contradictions by repetition of the figure of reversals at different levels from imagery to metrical structure. As the imagery unfolds, the native Andean images come to subsume the Euro-Christian imagery. Here too, the political content is disguised because the reversals of formal structures make the text self-concealing. Ironically, it is the textile that is most open discursively in its politics. Like the *phallcha* song, it uses the repeated, multiply-nested figure of bilateral reversal to subsume the execution of Thupa Amaru, as Quechua and Peruvian national emblem, in the redemptive quartering of the horses by the condors. The subsumption of one image by another can only be established by the relative complexity of the figures (see Figs. 13–15) because the images of the textile (unlike those of the song) are not read linearly.

The song texts and textile belong to three different historical moments and embody distinct cultural projects. The hymn was written during a period of consolidation of Spanish colonial institutions, in which the church confidently sought to re-evangelize the native population. The idea of writing a European-style, polyphonic hymn for use by native Andean populations reflected that confidence. The ambiguity of the text was at once a form of seduction—presenting Christianity in familiar dress—and a “return of the repressed” by concealing the very imagery and practices that it was designed to help eliminate, which was, in effect, “smuggling . . . portions of the hidden transcript onto the public stage” (Scott 1990: 157).

The *phallcha* song was created in a community (and at a time) in which the normative supremacy of the church was well established and where virtually all members of the community would willingly identify themselves as Roman Catholics. At the same time, specifically native Andean religious practices exist side-by-side with the liturgical practices prescribed by the church in a kind of uneasy coexistence. On the one hand, the institutional church must pass a blind eye over the continuation of older practices such as payments to the earth and offerings to the mountain deities (cf. Marzal 1971; Regan 1971), and, on

the other, such practices constitute the very core of what native Andeans consider Catholicism. Not only is the location of boundaries in dispute, but their very existence is contested, as is reflected in the interpenetration of native Andean and Christian images and practices in the song.

The textile, woven at the beginning of the 1980s, comes from a region of Cuzco with several decades of active involvement in agrarian politics. During the 1970s, Thupa Amaru became a stylized emblem of the departmental agrarian confederation at the same time as he was appropriated by the military government as a nationalist emblem around which a populist redefinition of Peru would take shape. Since agrarian unions in Cuzco were organized for (and, at the local level, by) Quechua speakers and because in the public discourse of the time peasant smallholders were equated with native Andeans, the image of Thupa Amaru acquired ethnic overtones as it was being used in state-level civic discourses.

The most striking feature of these discourses is their heterogeneity. No single slogan encompasses the entire range of rhetorical strategies: not “double voiced”; not “symbolic reversal”; not “ambivalence”; not “ambiguity”; not “hybridization”; not “syncretism”; not “oppositional”; and not “resistance.” The recognition that all cultures are “creole”—blended inventions from “(re)collected pasts” (Clifford 1988: 14–15)—is not enough; we must be able to enter the zones of engagement between cultures from which new forms are generated in order to understand the ways in which these forms themselves articulate the terms of engagement at the same time as they shape their own interpretive communities. It is important to keep in mind that these zones of engagement rarely announce themselves, and to take them seriously means to do a kind of formal analysis that approaches the tacit patterning and evocation by which these forms hold sway over their creators, performers, and audiences. This is, I think, what Alonso Carrio de la Vandra understood when he wrote in 1773 that “by means of song and story they preserve many idolatries and fantastic greatnesses of their ancestors, from which comes hatred for the Spaniards” (Concolorcorvo 1973: 369).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> “. . . por medio de los cantares y cuentos conservan muchas idolatrías y fantásticas grandezas de sus antepasados, de que resulta aborrecer a los españoles. . . .”



*Acknowledgments* The studies discussed in this chapter summarize longer works in progress (Mannheim 1995a, 1995b), including more formal accounts of the analyses and translations. The stimulus to work on *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin* was a request from Barry Eigen, director of Amici Cantanti, for a phonological reconstruction and translation of a portion of the hymn. It was first performed on October 19, 1980, at the Grace Church in New York City. Jocelyne Guilbault and Tom Solomon transcribed the *phallcha* song and discussed some of its formal properties with me. Rosa Chillca Huallpa discussed both texts, especially some of the imagery of *Hanaq pachap kusikuynin*. Katharine Seibold discussed the broader context of weaving in Lares Valley. For suggestions at different stages of the work represented here, I am grateful to Rolena Adorno, Rudolf Arnheim, Tamar Breslauer, Steven Feld, Paul Friedrich, Paul Gelles, Dell Hymes, Diane Hughes, Oren Kosansky, John Leavitt, Sabine MacCormack, Nash Mayfield, Julio Noriega, Steven Pierce, Katie Stewart, Terence S. Turner, Harriet Whitehead, and R. Tom Zuidema, among others. Finally, I am most grateful to the late A. K. Ramanujan for a critique of my first, halting attempt to integrate the material discussed here.

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