Foreign Encounters in the Pallas of Bolognesi, Peru

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The Pallas

The Pallas is a widespread song and dance tradition in Bolognesi province, Ancash department, Peru. It takes place during patron saint festivals in several villages and re-enacts the encounter between the Incas and the Spanish conquistadors. In this article, I textually analyze excerpts from the songs which I recorded in three localities: Pacllón, Cacnas, and Raqui. The verses are intoned by the performers of the eponymous pallas, or Inca princesses. There are generally also performers of the Inca (Atawallpa, the last emperor), Sinchiruna (the Inca's general) and Pizarro (the leader of the conquistadors). The language of the songs reflects the bilingual context in which they are sung: central Peruvian Quechua (henceforth CPQ), the native language, is mixed with Spanish, the language of officialdom. As we shall see, these languages are sometimes combined in rhetorically significant ways. My purpose in this article is to illustrate how the songs consolidate the sense of an Incan community with which the participants identify and which is opposed to the Hispanic Other. I argue that this is a strategy of responding to contemporary marginalization but only serves to reproduce the same discourse of unequal dualism. The Pallas songs are part of a wider Andean tradition of oral literature that reproduces the initial opposition between Andeans and Europeans (cf. Cornejo-Polar 1990; Beyersdorff 1993; Burga 1998; Chang-Rodríguez 1999; González Carré & Rivera Pineda 1982; Howard 2002; Husson 1997; Itier 1992; Kapsoli Escudero 1985; Lara 1957, 1989; Millones 1988, 1992; Montoya 1993; Wachtel 1977).

The Pacllón Tambo

The term tambo denotes the various stops that the Inca retinue made while journeying around the Empire. In the Pallas dramatization of the settlement of Pacllón, it refers to Atawallpa's final stop in Cajamarca before he was executed by the Spanish. The verses that accompany the tambo are sung in the church just before the execution is enacted. They were recited by Doña Hilda Osoriano, the capitana, while my interpretation was aided by Doña Dorla Ibarra, also from Pacllón.

Embajadami aw Pizarro y Atawallpa
Los conquistadores sospechaman
Que el Inca procede a mala vía
En sus ejércitos numerosos

Ima invitación kay invitación
Malalaguerolla invitación whistle of waychaw
Gran Pizarruntsikshi invitamantsik
Ciudad de Cajamarcallayman

Embassy of Pizarro and Atawallpa
The conquerors suspect
That the Inca treads an evil path
In his many armies

What invitation is this invitation?
Cursed invitation whistle of waychaw
Our Great Pizarro, they say, invites us
To the city of Cajamarca

Malalaguerolla invitación
Arrozila pantasila invitación
Gran Pizarruntsikshi persiguimantsik
Ciudad de Cuzco chaychawshillay whistle of waychaw

Cursed invitation
Invitation of rice and bread
Our Great Pizarro, they say, persecutes us
In the city of Cuzco whistle of waychaw

Apuraykullayraq mamay nushta
Malalaguerolla invitación whistle of waychaw
Hakalla relleno comidallan
Gran Pizarruntsikshi invitaman

Make haste, nushtas
An evil omen is inviting us whistle of waychaw
Stuffed guinea pig is the food
Our Great Pizarro invites us
Manjarlla blanculla invitación
Malalaguerochi kallarqa
Gran Pizzarruntskipa invitación
Ciudad de Cajamarcallaychaw

Invitation of manjar blanco
An evil omen
Our Great Pizarro’s invitation
In the city of Cajamarca

Palacionllantskipa alturanchaw
Pajaro solitariun waqaykallan
whistle of waychaw
Malalaguerochi Atawallpa
Wanuylla muertilla hanallantsikchaw

Above our palace
A solitary bird is calling
whistle of waychaw
An evil omen for Atawallpa, it seems,
Death, fatality, looms over us.

The first verse opens by setting the scene of opposition between Atawallpa and Pizarro: Embajadami aw Pizarro y Atawallpa, “Embassy of Pizarro and Atawallpa.” Dualistic opposition is, in common with many cultures (Needham 1973), a ubiquitous feature of Andean social structure. Most townships are divided into upper and lower halves (Bourque 1994:230; Bouyss-Cassagne 1986:202-203; Fock 1981:316-317; Platt 1986:230-31; Sallnow 1987:37; Urton 1981:40-42; Zuidema 1964:2-10), and gender dualism, while ultimately universal, is emphasized particularly in Andean ideology and social organization (Allen 1988:85, Blumtritt 2013, Bourque 1999:11, Harris 1986, Silverblatt 1980). One Quechua term that expresses this complementary dualism is tinku, “the convergence of oppositional forces” (Seligmann 2004:131) in a spirit of cooperation and competition. Inherent in the notion of tinku is a particular form of violence, whereby the two halves engage in a ritual battle that can even be fatal (Harrison 1989:52).

The rationale behind the violence is, however, survival of the group: “Tinku... resembles a combat between warriors, but in reality it concerns a rite which unifies rather than separates... From the confrontation is born life, [which] is the realm of fertility and reproduction” (webpage of “Fraternidad Taller Cultural Tinkus Wist’us,” in Stobart 2006:134). The purpose of tinku is to define the differences between groups so that they may come together as complementary units; but if they merged completely, there would be no difference that could be harnessed productively. This is true between upper and lower halves of the village where, traditionally, the upper half rears livestock and the lower half cultivates crops (cf. Duvivio 1973) and between male and female whose differences are the basis for reproduction and the perpetuation of the group. Thus, tinku has “a double force, centripetal and centrifugal, which allows opposites to unite without merging” (Mirande 2005:364-365, my translation).

However, the word sospechaman, (suspects us), shows that the opposition in the Pucclón tambo is not the life-enhancing complementarity of tinku. Rather, the whole song concerns mistrust and suspicion. The suggestion is that the Spanish newcomers suspect the Inca because of his large army, in which case mala via (bad road, bad way) would denote resistance to the Spanish, although Doña Dora stated that this phrase could also refer to the unfavorable destiny of Atawallpa. The ambiguity contributes to the sense of uncertainty, while the Spanish in lines three and four is arguably deployed in order to voice the concerns of the Europeans. In fact, most of the Quechua in this song has been heavily influenced by Spanish, with Quechua suffixes added to Spanish roots. This reflects the widespread situation of language-shift in the area, which has been extensively documented across the Andes (Albó 2004a, Chirinos 2001, Gugenerberger 1999, Hornberger 1988, Howard 2007, Marr 1998). Nonetheless, the fact that everyone present referred to the verses as Quechua means that from an emic (local) perspective we can interpret this register as an in-group language, a refuge against the European Other.

Verse two refers to Pizarro’s invitation of Atawallpa to a banquet in Cajamarca: ¿Ima invitación kay invitación? (What invitation is this invitation?). The doubt metamorphoses into foreboding in the second line: Malalaguerollay invitación (Cursed invitation) (from Spanish malagüero, ill omen). The suffixes –lla and –y serve an affective purpose in CPQ; here, they can be interpreted as an expression of poignant regret. The verse is split by a whistle simulating the waychaw bird (Turdus chiguauno) whose call is considered an omen of misfortune.3 The phrase Gran Pizarro (Great Pizarro) in the fourth line is a common refrain in the Pallas texts of Bolognesi and probably refers to Pizarro’s military strength, though a degree of irony can be inferred in view of his depiction as an immoral harbinger of destruction. The appropriation of Pizarro through the inclusive
possessive -ntsik (our), combined with the evidential marker -shi (denoting reported information), conveys a willingness to trust but also an underlying uncertainty about whether this trust is genuine.

The third verse reinforces the ominous nature of the invitation, like a brooding thought that refuses to dispel: Malalaguerrollay invitación (Cursed invitation). The second line displays a wry bilingual play on words. Ostensibly, the line refers to the foodstuffs served at the banquet. While the mention of arroz (rice) is straightforward, the pantas (bread) is more ambiguous. Bread is pan in Spanish and tanta in CPQ. The term panta combines both. In CPQ, the root panta- means “be wrong, not identify correctly, be confused” (Romero 2003:151, my translation); moreover, pantatsi- (with causative -tsi), which sounds similar to pantas, means “trick” / “mislead.” The phrase pantaslla invitación can therefore be taken as “invitation of bread” and “deceitful invitation.” Thus, ensconced in a loaf of bread hides a grain of cynicism which parodies the whole duplicity surrounding the banquet. The phrase is also self-referential; it is hard to notice the wordplay so it is itself an example of the hidden motives at play in the encounter with the Spanish. Myrousko has likewise noted examples of bilingual wordplay in Andean songs (Myrousko 1990:173-174; 2004:53-54). It is clear, then, that bilingualism—itself a product of the encounter—has furnished speakers with added resources for constructing multiple layers of meaning.

The presentation of the Spanish luring Atawallpa to his death through an enticing promise of food recalls Allen’s description of saqras in southern Peru:

Saqras are demonic cannibals with a second mouth on the back of their necks for eating people. They inhabit isolated huts or remote villages high in the puna where they receive unwary visitors with every show of hospitality—and then lure their guests into eating meals of human flesh before they, too, are killed and added to the cooking pot. (Allen 2002:88-89)

The saqra is so terrifying because it refuses to obey the laws of reciprocity that govern the Andean ayllu (community) and that are prerequisite to survival. As Mannheim states, indigenous Andeans consider reciprocity “not as an abstract principle of governing social interaction, but as the fundamental organizing basis of the material world” (Mannheim 1991:19). Therefore, “Quechua speakers treat the boundary between Quechua speakers who live by the law of reciprocity and Spanish speakers who do not as a distinction of primordial social importance” (ibid., 19-20).

The third line, Gran Pizarruntsikshi persiguimantsik (Our Great Pizarro, they say, persecutes us), parallels its corresponding line in the previous verse, with the only difference being the replacement of invita- (invite) by persigu- (persecute). The parallelism is continued in the next line: Ciudad de Cuzcollaaychawillay (in the city of Cuzco) instead of Ciudad de Cajamarcallayman (to the city of Cajamarca). Parallelism is a ubiquitous device in Andean poetry, past and present, and has been widely studied (Harrison 1989, Husson 1985, Itier 1992, Lienhard 1993, and Mannheim 1998), though it is also a very common feature worldwide, serving different purposes in different contexts. Here, the parallelism heightens the contrast between the ostensible kindness of the invitation in Cajamarca and the cruelty of the persecution in Cuzco while the Inca is absent, thereby emphasizing the duplicity of the Europeans. The affective –lla and –y once more convey poignant regret, while the twofold utterance of the evidential of reported speech, –shi, heightens the sense of uncertainty.

Following another sinister whistle of the waychaw, the fifth verse encourages the hushias (largely synonymous with pallas) to make haste so that they can attend the cursed banquet. This conveys the inescapable nature of past acts, which, in Andean cosmology, continually repeat themselves on particular occasions:

To say the anterior worlds are “destroyed” doesn’t mean that they no longer exist; it means that they influence our world by indirect means. They continue to exist, but not “in clarity” (su’ipt) […] They are past-as-potential future, […] waiting for their time to come around again. (Allen 2011:114)

The third line states that comidalan (the food) will be hakalli relieno (stuffed guinea pig), a regional delicacy, while the first line of the sixth verse describes the invitation as Manjarilla blanca invitiación (Invitation of manjar blanco). Manjar blanco is a dessert made from milk and is also a delicacy. The affective –lla in each
example arguably conveys the false enticement. *Manjar blanco* may also be a racial allusion to the Spanish; *blanco* (white) is an ethnic category that is used in Peru to describe the wealthy European-descended landowners, many of whom perpetuated the centuries of discrimination against indigenous Andeans. In the second line, *malalaguerochi kallarqa* (being; it seems, an ill omen), the evidential suffix of possibility, *−chi* (which can be glossed as “perhaps” or “seemingly”), reinforces the sense of doubt, while the lines *Gran Pizzarrantsikpa invitación / Ciudad de Cajamarcollaychaw* (Our Great Pizarro’s invitation / In the city of Cajamarca) reverberate as a haunting reminder of that fateful occasion.

The final verse summarizes the ominous nature of the whole song: *Palaciollantsikpa altaunchaw / Pájaro solitario waqaykallan* (High on top of our palace / A solitary bird is calling.) This links with the simulated whistle of the *waychaw*, which, if seen on the roof of a house, is said to foretell a death in the household. The sinister connotation is reinforced by the polysemy of *waqa*—which means “cry” as well as “call,” by the evidential of certainty, *−m*, by the continuous *−yka* (in *waqa-yka-llan*) which conveys the long duration of the bird’s mournful call, and by the affective *−lla* which conveys regret. These two lines, described as Quechua by locals, again evidence the significant interpenetration of CPQ and Spanish, with *waqa*—the only CPQ root. The sentence as a whole follows Quechua syntax, but the phrase *pájaro solitario* (solitary bird) conforms to Spanish noun-adjective word-order, suggesting that it is adopted wholesale as a single phrase; this may indicate the conceptual unity of the “solitary bird” as an omen of doom. Indeed, another whistle splits the verse in half. In *palaciollantsik* (our palace), the affective *−lla* and inclusive possessive *−ntsik* (our) stress the emotional unity of the group around the Incan ruler.

The concluding sentence falls like a thunderbolt as the clouds of foreboding condense into two final lines: *Malalaguerochi Atawallpa / Wanuylla muertilla hanallantsikchaw* (An evil omen for Atawallpa, it seems, / Death, fatality, looms over us). The facts are starkly laid out: the evil omen affects Atawallpa himself and this means death for everyone. The parallelism of Quechua *wanuy* (death) and its Spanish cognate *muerte* confirms the certainty of impending doom. The notion of death can be interpreted physically (in the case of Atawallpa) and metaphorically (in the case of the Empire), since the death of the Inca represented the end of Andean independence and the beginning of European domination. This is reflected in *hanallantsik* (above us), where the inclusive possessive *−ntsik* (our above) suggests that death is above the whole group, not just the Inca.

**The Carcas Entrada**

The Pacllón Tambo, we have seen, portrays an unequal dualism between immoral Europeans and trusting, morally superior, Incas; the latter, inhabiting an innocent Garden of Eden, cannot quite believe that the European newcomers could be so underhanded. In the next song, from Carcas, the indigenous personages are fully aware of the nefarious actions of the Spanish and resolve to fight them in a kind of moral crusade, hence the song’s title, *Entrada* (Entrance [into battle]). The battle is simulated during the festival, where people throw caramels at each other—perhaps an ironic allusion to the fact that such sweet enticements have a distinctly hard edge, in view of the Europeans’ duplicity!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>¡Vamos vamos a la guerra!</td>
<td>Let’s go, let’s go to war!</td>
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<tr>
<td>¡Vamos vamos a la guerra!</td>
<td>Let’s go, let’s go to war!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Por esta calle silenciosa</td>
<td>Along this silent street</td>
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<tr>
<td>Por esa calle de amargura</td>
<td>Along this bitter street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incallaata perdillaatsu</td>
<td>I will not lose my Inca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coronallanta perdillaatsu</td>
<td>I will not lose his crown</td>
</tr>
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<td>Diamantinta perdillaatsu</td>
<td>I will not lose his diamond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remangallanta perdillaatsu</td>
<td>I will not lose his robe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambicioso Gran Pizarro</td>
<td>Ambitious Great Pizarro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Codicioso Gran Pizarro</td>
<td>Greedy Great Pizarro</td>
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<tr>
<td>¿De qué ciudad has venido</td>
<td>From what city have you come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Con la codicia de oro y fina?</td>
<td>With greed for gold and finery?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucharemos en la guerra</td>
<td>We will fight in the war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defendiendo Atahualpa</td>
<td>Defending Atawallpa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Defendiendo la riqueza</td>
<td>Defending the riches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defendiendo oro y plata</td>
<td>Defending gold and silver</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
El valiente Atahualpa
Brave Atawallpa
El valiente Atahualpa
Brave Atawallpa
Pelearemos con Gran Pizarro
We will fight against
Defendiendo la riqueza
Great Pizarro
Defending the riches

Ambicioso Gran Pizarro
Ambitious Great Pizarro
Hina hina apakullay
Just take it
Corollantanta apakullay
Take the crown
Inkallaata dejarillay
Leave my Inca

Invasores del imperio
Invaders of the Empire
Fue Gran Pizarro y sus tropas
Were Great Pizarro and his troops
Dando muerte a Atahualpa
Dealing death to Atawallpa
Apoderando de oro y plata
Grasping gold and silver

The first verse throws us straight into the action: Vamos vamos a la guerra (Let’s go, let’s go to war!) This is repeated for emphasis, and conveys the tone of the whole festival which, like the Pacllón version, is defined by the deep antagonism between the Inca and the Europeans. The third line Por esta calle silenciosa (Through this silent street) conveys an eerie stillness, perhaps suggesting that the locals have fled or been killed by the invading army. The unease is reiterated in the fourth line: Por esa calle de amargura (Along this street of bitterness). The parallelism of por esa calle foregrounds the two modifiers silenciosa and de amargura and, thereby, also the sense of destruction wrought by the Europeans.

In the second verse, the Inca’s subjects resolve to defend the Inca and his wealth; the resolution is conveyed by the repetition of perdillaatsu (I will not lose) in every line. The first-person singular possessive suffix in Inkallaata (to my Inca) (realized through vowel-lengthening) appropriates the Inca as “my Inca”; this, plus the affective -lla, reinforces the personal bond between the Inca and his subjects, and the sense of an Incan community grounded on affect and mutual respect. Each of the Inca’s objects is accompanied by the third-person possessive suffix -n, indicating that the object belongs to the Inca; the verbal suffix, by contrast, remains first-person. Thus, the Inca’s subjects assume responsibility for the Inca’s possessions, illustrating the intimate intertwining of their personal identity with their social responsibility as citizens. The shift in tone from the first verse (a cry to battle and thus a focus on the outside) to the second (a determination to preserve what one holds dear, in other words, a focus on the inside) coincides with a shift from Spanish to CPQ, indicating that here CPQ is deployed as an in-group language. The juxtaposition of Spanish and Quechua reinforces the irreconcilable dualism between the two parties.

The third verse directly addresses Pizarro and therefore switches to Spanish. Pizarro is defined as ambicioso (ambitious) and codicioso (covetous, greedy), whereby non-reciprocity is depicted as a cardinal sin. This recalls Mannheim’s comments on reciprocity (1991) cited above, and also Canessa’s study of the Aymara concept of the kharisiri, a supernatural being which kills people by extracting their body-fat:

The non-Indian identity of kharisiri is of particular significance. Outsiders are defined by their lack of reciprocal relations with other people: they lack the kinds of relations among people, and between people and the tellurian spirits, that define humanity. Not only do outsiders, Q’aras, refuse to engage in these kinds of relationships, but they steal the creative force that these relations engender. If Andean moral relationships are defined by reciprocity . . . , the kharisiri is clearly antithetical to these relationships: stealing is non-reciprocity par excellence. (Canessa 2000:713)

The otherness and moral irreconcilability of the newcomers is reinforced in the third line, ¿De qué ciudad has venido?/ Con la codicia de oro y fina (From which city have you come / With greed for gold and finery?). As with the kharisiri, the Europeans are depicted as thieves, sapping vital power in the manner of parasites that lead to ultimate destruction.

The fourth verse reinforces the determination to unite in opposition to the Europeans: Lucharemos en la guerra / Defendiendo Atahualpa / Defendiendo la riqueza / Defendiendo oro y plata (We will fight in the war / Defending Atawallpa / Defending the riches / De-
fending gold and silver). The three repetitions of defendiendo (defending) echoes the four repetitions of perdillaatsu (I will not lose) in the second verse, stressing the just unity of a group against immoral outsiders. This, together with the twofold repetition of valiente Atahualpa (brave Atawallpa) in the next verse, serves to reinforce the moral superiority of the Incas and also recalls a war chant that focuses minds on a common cognitive orientation with the goal of resistance. The allusion to Incan riches also suggests that indigenous Andeans are naturally wealthy in contrast to the Europeans who are obliged to seek wealth from elsewhere. Thus, the song serves to turn contemporary inequality on its head, reversing the dualism between wealthy Hispanics and poor Andeans. This plausibly serves to create a more positive self-understanding for marginalized groups.

In the sixth verse, Ambicioso Gran Pizarro (Ambitious Great Pizarro), repeated twice, stands in stark opposition to the twofold mention of El valiente Atahualpa in the same position in the previous verse. The parallelism emphasizes their contrast in moral character and reinforces the antagonism between them. The following lines are addressed to Pizarro: Hina hina apakullay / Coronallanta apakullay / Inkallaata dejarillay (Just take it / Take the crown / Leave my Inca).

Pizarro is told to take the treasure since this cannot be avoided, but he is imploré to leave the Inca alone. The phrase hina hina (all the same, in any case) indicates resignation to the inevitable, while the affective –lla indicates a change of tone, this time beseeching Pizarro to have pity now that the battle has been lost. The imploration to spare the Inca conveys an intimate association with the monarch, heightened by his appropriation through the affective –lla and first-person singular possessive vowel-lengthening “my Inca.” From the point of view of this song, this suggests that the Inca is much more than a political figurehead. Rather, he is the synthesizing factor of Andean communality. Moreover, the fact that the Inca’s life is valued over wealth reinforces the moral gulf between the two peoples. The use of CPQ, in spite of Pizarro’s ignorance of this language, can be interpreted as a stoic demonstration of solidarity, a reminder that, though the Empire is lost, Andean culture cannot be extinguished. Thus, the communicative function of the words seems to be subordinate to their phatic, enactive, purpose of reinforcing group-identity.

In the final verse, the Spanish third person preterite fue (was) indexes a shift to the past tense. Thus, the events are recounted from the standpoint of the present day, looking back. We are no longer part of the action. This allows the verse to adopt an overall perspective and summarize the facts, as well as provide a final moral evaluation of the Europeans. The use of Spanish, the language of officialdom, is consistent with the declamatory tone. Pizarro and his troops are classed as Invasores del Imperio (Invaders of the Empire). The term invasores could not be a stronger refutation of an out-group. These invaders are described as Dando muerte a Atawallpa / Apoderando de oro y plata (Dealing death to Atawallpa / Taking control of gold and silver). Thus, the Europeans are described as ruthless villains who murdered in order to steal the Empire’s riches. Veiled in a dramatization of the distant past is an implied critique of the injustice that many indigenous people still perceive in contemporary society. This perceived injustice rests on the racial and class divisions between indigenous Andeans and the descendants of the European newcomers, divisions that still resonate today.

The Raquia Verso del Inca

The following verse from one of the Pallas songs of Raquia explicitly conflates the Incan Empire with the modern State:

- Señor Rey Inca poderoso: Powerful Inca, Lord and King
- Emperador del Perú: Emperor of Peru
- Tome su descanso a su silla: Rest on your chair
- Tan brillante y tocante: That is so brilliant and radiant.

The second line defines the Inca as Emperador del Perú. The belief that Peru is the continuation of the Incan Empire was common in interview-responses that I obtained earlier in my study. Indeed, many people told me that Quechua is the only Peruvian language because it was spoken by the Incas. This serves to define indigenous Andeans as the only true Peruvians, which is congruent with the depiction of the Europeans as outsiders throughout this article. Weber similarly argues that, for Peruvian Quechua-speaking groups, the “concept of an Andean nation doesn’t exist. Their concept is ‘being Peruvian’” (Weber 1987:16, my translation). The conflation of the Incan Empire with Peru relies on a process of ideological erasure.
This “is the process in which ideology, in simplifying the [sociological] field, renders some persons or activities [. . .] invisible. Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away” (Irvine and Gal 2000:38).

The conflation of Incas with Peruvians ignores, for example, various factors: the Incan Empire stretched over six modern countries (not just Peru), the very formation of Peru as a political entity emerged during the colonial period, and the vast majority of Peruvians are of mixed European and indigenous descent. The ideological purpose of this conflation is arguably resistance to discrimination. By defining Peru as the continuation of the Incan Empire, participants in the festival are able to reject discrimination as emanating from those who are not Peruvian and re-appropriate a sense of legitimate control and agency that has been largely denied the indigenous population since the European invasion.

The irony is that the whole song is in Spanish because, according to Doña Julia who recited the verse, los jóvenes ya no quieren escuchar en quechua (young people now do not want to listen to it in Quechua). This recalls Gugenberger’s findings among Quechua-speaking migrants in Arequipa, whereby the “stigmatization of their identity or parts of it produces a conflict within individuals who are members of subaltern groups” (Gugenberger 1999:259, my translation). The result is that the “individual, not knowing where and to whom(s)he belongs, feels attracted to different, often incompatible, identities” (ibid). In our case, I suggest that, while people feel comfortable displaying indigenous affiliation in abstract terms (the Incas, despite the text, are, after all, a far cry from contemporary praxis in Raquia), they are not comfortable becoming too closely associated with this label in practice. Performing in such rituals allows people to define their Andeaness—which they have to come to terms with since this is their inalienable origin—in positive terms at particular moments and yet submit to the far more powerful and almost unassailable pre-eminence of Creole (Hispanic-derived) society outside these defined periods.

Moreover, while use of Quechua may still carry connotations of marginalization (particularly in Raquia, which is on the main road between the national capital, Lima, and the departmental cap-

ital, Huaraz, and so in relatively close contact with the mainstream Hispanic society), the Incas are far enough removed for people to safely associate with them. Thus, indigenous affiliation is contained in such a way that it bolsters, rather than threatens, self-esteem. Indeed, were the participants entirely confident in their identity, it is unlikely that the festivals would have to reinforce their Andeaness quite so energetically. The remaining lines of this verse display the wealth, power, and radiance of the Inca, defining him as poderoso (powerful), and as sitting on a throne that is brillante (brilliant) and reluciente (shining). This is an allusion to the Incan origin myth that defined each ruler as the son of the sun and moon. Therefore, the Inca is presented in almost divine terms and, indeed, the Pallas festivals are also a homage to the local patron saint. By defining themselves as the inheritors of a divinely sanctioned, omnipotent, and supremely wealthy dynasty, participants are able to transform themselves from members of a marginalized underclass to dignitaries in the ancient retinue of the Incas, wrongfully removed from the glorious destiny that would naturally await them.

The Pallas as a Strategy of Resistance

While records suggest that exchange and diplomacy were major strategies of Incan imperialism (cf. Bauer and Covey 2002), it hardly needs saying that the Incas were not the benign rulers suggested by the Pallas texts, nor was there ever a peaceful Incan community across the Andes. The sixteenth century chroniclers Cieza de León, García de la Vega, and Calancha all note how various tribes initially welcomed the Spanish as liberators from Incan repression, such as the Cañari of Ecuador, whose rebellions were met with brutal Inca reprisals (Hemming 1970:152), or the residents of the area around modern Ica who purged the traces of Inca rule after the Spanish arrived (cf. Rowe 1961:44-45). The indigenous tribes of the Conchucos Valley, not far from modern Bolognesi, engaged in frequent skirmishes with the Incan invaders (Mendieta 1999:41).

Moreover, the Inca origin myth, the dynasty’s celestial birth, was doubtless an instrument of domination:

the orthodoxy of the state religion was more determined by the religious needs of the central elites than by anything else. These religious needs came as a result of centrally experienced fears
and anxieties, such as how to stay in power [...] [T]his hardly corresponded with the religious needs of the peasantry. (Spier 1991:8)

Why, then, should the Incas be portrayed as the benevolent and selfless rulers that they were not? Why should Incan ideology resurface in a contemporary festival long after the Incas’ demise?

Throughout this article, I have argued that the Pallas are motivated not so much by a quest for historical accuracy, but by the desire to counteract a feeling of marginalization. The strategy is to identify with a romantic vision of the distant past. Similarly, Stern notes the importance of Andean nativist ideologies in the attempt to redefine “the local balance of class forces” (Stern 1983:22). This concords with Glassie’s statement that, the “more tense the circumstance, the more likely identity is to rise into articulation” (1994:239), particularly “during the struggles of minorities within nations or the struggles of nations against imperialist invasion, whether military or economic” (ibid., 1994:240).

As well as serving to “poeticize the past as a form of evasion of present realities” and “search for new and better [socio-political] alternatives” (Burga 1998:330, my translation), the utopian discourses in this article seem to be strategies for enhancing psychological resilience where a hegemonic discourse of inequality and irreconcilability may lead to loss of self-esteem and feelings of disempowerment. The strategy of maintaining psychological resilience incorporates Hechter’s (1978) distinction between “interactive group-formation” (stressing resemblance within a given group of people) and “reactive group-formation” (stressing historically-rooted distinctness from other groups). Through ideological erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000), a complex reality is simplified into black-and-white terms because, ultimately, psychological survival is at stake and this requires strong rhetorical armoury.

Demonization of the Europeans also serves to portray the perceived poverty of Andeans and wealth of Europeans as the inverse of reality, since the Europeans only acquired this wealth through stealing. Morally and legalistically, then, Andeans remain supremely wealthy. This, as well as the use of the present tense in the texts, conveys the sense of a hidden Incan reality in almost Kantian terms: a noumenal (underlying) world which is masked by the illusions of the phenomenal (experienced) world. This noumenal reality can only be accessed, cathartically, through a journey of self-realization in the festivals. Thus, it is clear, that the “vision of the past is constantly being reconfigured according to the immediate challenges faced by the indigenous” (Albó 2004b:27).

However, the desire to reinforce the boundaries between Andean Self and Hispanic Other illustrates that this separation is far from self-evident. Rather, the internalization of Hispanic society operates in every aspect of life: in dress, media access, food, economic life, and in the avalanche of Spanish that is evident even in the Pallas songs themselves. After all, if the Other were not part of the Self, there would be no need to reinforce the difference, to prove one’s Andeanness.

Here, Kinnvall’s concept of the abject-other is illuminating: the abject-other is “the enemy in ourselves, [...] the hidden face of identity [...] it is an unconscious part of the self that has become internalized as an ‘enemy’ in the past, fueling our imagination in times of opposition or conflict” (Kinnvall 2004, paraphrased by Hermans and Dimaggio 2007:40). Given the discourse of irreconcilable dualism between the two categories, I argue that this internalization is experienced as a contradiction so that the Hispanic, being hegemonic, is felt to suffocate the subaltern Andean part of identity. In order to safeguard psychological resilience, that part of the Self that has been formed through appropriation of non-Andean elements is thereby abjected, so that everything else can be bracketed as the true Self. This Self is bolstered through grounding it as part of a consolidated community that stretches back to time immemorial and upwards to divinity. The Incan world is thereby a totem whose universal pretensions allow for the resounding negation of the Hispanic Other that one wishes to abject. This is redolent of neo-Platonism, whereby evil is not something, but nothing, simply the absence of light.

**The Pallas and *Tinku***

Burga argues that the “new rural Andean festival, the festival of utopia, continues to function, in its basic structures, like the old rituals. The symbols change, the messages, but the old Andean order
continues to exist in a subterranean manner” (1998:428, my translation). By “old rituals” Burga refers to the festivals of tinku, cited earlier, whereby oppositions are created through mutual engagement and strategically oriented towards survival. Violence played a part in these festivals, but the violence was an expression of underlying unity, a desire to differentiate so that, out of that difference, complementarity could arise.

To what extent can we apply the notion of tinku to the texts discussed in this article? For a start, we can note that the solution to discrimination is paradoxical in that it perpetuates the very same inequalities that motivated it in the first place. Rather than reconciliation, there is the reinforcement of the divide. The discourse of unequal dualism is merely inverted; instead of Hispanic supremacy over Andeans, there is Andean (Incan) supremacy over the Hispanic. It is only by demonizing the Spanish that the Incas emerge as morally victorious. Thus, the dualistic discourse in Pallas is quite different from the life-enhancing dualism of tinku. In tinku, the separation is realized for pragmatic ends—to maintain complementary difference in order to facilitate a targeted and productive synthesis.

By contrast, the Pallas texts suggest a separation without any fundamental motivation at all. There is simply a discourse of unequal dualism shared by both sides and each negating the other, wishing that there were no difference at all so that one side could be universal. As Mirande states, such discourses “suppose a reformulation of the dualistic vision of the world, in which the notions of taypi [center] and yanantin [complementarity] cannot, in the majority of cases, operate according to the basic principle of reciprocity and equilibrium between opposites” (2005:366, my translation). It is questionable whether two superficially similar structures can be meaningfully equated if their whole raison d’être is different and if the discourses to which they respond are informed by entirely different concerns. In other parts of the Andes, it is possible that, festivals concerning the encounter between Incas and Spanish are more harmonious, but the above songs seem very far removed from the old Andean order cited by Burga.

The paradoxical nature of the strategy—countering discrimination by inverting and thereby perpetuating it—is, however, redolent of tinku, not in the sense of harnessing difference for productive ends, but in the sense of reproducing difference by participating in the same dialogue of difference. Discrimination is answered by counter-discrimination and categories are reinforced in this dialogic process. This mirroring of the original discourse illustrates just how internalized the assumption of inequality has become and how much the Other is, in fact, a relegated part of the Self. Allen’s comments on warfare are apposite (2002:177):

Warfare of any kind expresses a group’s social boundaries and is also a form of communication between the opposing groups. [. . . ] If there were no basic similarity between the combatants, they could not join in battle; but if there were no differences between them, they would not have a reason to fight.

This is why Cornejo-Polar describes the dramatization of Inca versus Spanish as “the formation of a subject which is beginning to understand that its identity is also the destabilizing identity of the other” (1990:195, my translation), an Other which is incorporated in conflictive or harmonious fashion into the Self. Thus, in these festivals,

the representation of incommunication is, in its way, obliquely, an act of communication; but an act of communication that is incomprehensible outside a historical process which includes various temporal dimensions, each with its own rhythm, nor outside a radical and incisive socio-cultural heterogeneity (ibid., 184, my translation).

Such heterogeneity, however, is not pre-given but is constituted by the discourse within which Self and Other, in-group and out-group, identity and alterity, Andean and Hispanic, arise. This drama of conflict is based on the “indispensable action of the opposites which constitute it” (Cornejo-Polar 1990:194, my translation) and, through discourse, constitute each other as meaningful categories: “The category as such—whether indigenous, Indian or aboriginal—is the result of a history which has created it in opposition to the white, Christian, European, etc.” (Gustafsson 2009:8, my translation). In Howard’s words, the conflict between the two groups “emerges in discursive performances; it does not exist as an objective abstraction and is best understood . . . as a relation
of ‘antagonism’ rather than one of ‘real opposition’ (2009:24-25). The Pallas songs build on a discourse of otherness that has been perpetuated through history and, in so doing, contribute to the further perpetuation of this discourse into the future.

The dissimilarity of the Pallas songs with tinku is, however, evident at this deeper level. Counter-discrimination results, as we have seen, in negation of the Other, in the unwillingness to engage. This means that a discourse of otherness is likely to be reproduced primarily between those people with whom one wishes to engage, divorced from the active participation of the Other. With the separation of the discourse from the other side, the Other may be portrayed in ways that do not, in fact, concord with the predisposition of that Other. It may keep the Other as Other even when discrimination has ceased, or where the initial motivation for disassociation no longer operates. Those initially discriminated against may become the principal discriminators themselves. Indeed, in the Pallas songs the Spanish remain silent and are represented by people with principally Andean, rather than Hispanic, origins, so that in-group and out-group become mutually constitutive as ideas, concepts, or categories, not necessarily as products of real engagement with that putative Other.

Ultimately, identitarian discourse seems to be motivated by a basic biological need for security and is therefore oriented towards survival. We can only develop strategies for survival by interacting with the world around us; but this receptivity to the world—our nature as intersubjective beings—can also open us to influences that may be counter-productive, more harmful to us than beneficial. This is evident in the Pallas songs where the internalization of a discriminating discourse creates an existential hiatus in the Self that is countered by an equally discriminatory discourse. The solution to ethnic conflict, then, is what Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) term ideological clarification, making people aware, through education, of the contingency of their assumptions, so that more inclusive and more fundamental solutions can be found. After all, the concept of tinku has shown us that our capacity for social conflict is also our capacity for social harmony; and that if strategically directed, more open engagement can lead to greater unity within diversity.

Acknowledgement

This research was generously supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, United Kingdom.

Notes

1. The term capitana refers to a female singer who intones the verses of traditional songs that accompany Andean festivals.

2. This phenomenon has also been noted by Muysken (1990:174) in other Andean song genres.

3. This species is also named yukis in Quechua, and zorza in Spanish. See Itier (1992:1031, ft. 32) for more details on the cultural significance of this species, where it appears as yuyuyik in a seventeenth-century Quechua text.

4. Quechua has two categories corresponding to first person plural (‘we’) in English. The first, noqakuna, includes the speaker and other people, but not the addressee. The second, noqantsik, includes the speaker as well as the addressee. Since only noqakuna has true plural endings in Quechua, I prefer to use the term ‘inclusive possessive’ rather than ‘first person plural possessive’ for noqantsik.

5. The Quechua languages denote degrees of epistemic certainty through three evidential suffixes, ranging from more to less certain.

6. The second i in persigui represents CPQ phonological integration of a Spanish word, through [e] > [i] vowel-raising.

7. In reality, though, the conquistadors had still not arrived in Cuzco by the time they met Atawallpa.

8. The u in blanca represents integration into CPQ through [o] > [u] vowel-raising, probably triggered by the CPQ suffix -lla.

9. Again, there is [e] > [i] vowel raising from muerte to muerti.

10. Another Andean language spoken in southern Peru and Bolivia.
11. While this is a large generalization that does not necessarily correspond to reality in all cases, it does reflect the common perception of inequality among the people I worked with. For the purposes of this textual analysis, moreover, it is people's perceptions that matter.

12. In Standard Spanish, the verb would be pluralized, but lack of agreement is common in Andean Spanish.

References


FOREIGN ENCOUNTERS IN THE PALLAS


