

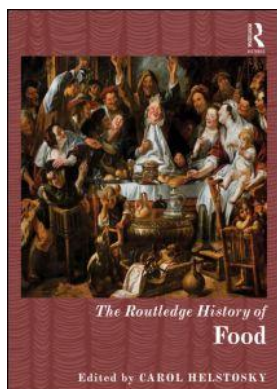
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FOOD PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, AND IDENTITY POLITICS IN TAHUANTINSUYU AND COLONIAL PERÚ

Alison Krögel

The use and application of power frequently enter into changes in a society's food consumption habits. Where this power originates; how it is applied and to what ends; and in what manner people undertake to deal with it, are all part of what happens when food habits change.

Sidney Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom*

When Francisco Pizarro and his small band of Spanish conquistadores first arrived in 1532 on the shores of a land which would soon be known as “Pirú,” they discovered that the inhabitants of the Andean region of South America had developed a stunningly diverse array of agricultural products, many of which serve today as important food staples throughout the world. These agricultural innovations included more than twenty varieties of maize, at least 200 potato cultivars, numerous varieties of squash, beans, peppers, peanuts, cassava and highland tubers, and high altitude grains and legumes such as *quinua*, *cañihua*, *tarwi*, and *kiwicha* (amaranth).¹ Pre-conquest Andean agriculturists carefully tended, selected, and cultivated a wide variety of both highland and lowland fruits including: papaya, pineapple, *chirimoya*, *lúcuma*, avocado, guava, tomato, and tree tomato. Most highland communities enjoyed seasonal access to wild and cultivated greens and seaweeds (either from the ocean or from highland lakes), and protein from wild game, guinea pigs, fish, and alpaca.²

Pizarro's arrival to South American shores precipitated the conquest of one of the world's great empires—the Inca “land of the four *suyus* (or regions)” known in the Quechua language as *Tahuantinsuyu* (see Map 2.1).³ In the sixteenth-century Andes—as in many other regions of the world throughout history—conquistadores, priests, and colonial administrators attempted to realize their respective ambitions through a combination of the military, spiritual, linguistic, and gastronomical colonization of indigenous Andean peoples and their cultures. Spanish colonizers initially encouraged the spread of the Quechua language in order to further their evangelization efforts and to facilitate the collection of tribute payments and other administrative duties. After the indigenous insurrections of the 1780s, however, attempts were made to restrict the dissemination and performance of Quechua theater, songs, and narratives in the hopes of preventing future uprisings.⁴ Although historians and linguists have made important inroads into the study of the sociocultural and political impacts of colonial-era language policies, scholars of the colonial Andes are just beginning to come to understand the important implications of gastronomic



Map 2.1 Map of Tahuantinsuyu, Incan expansion by 1532. From Alison Krögel, *Food, Power, and Resistance in the Andes: Exploring Quechua Verbal and Visual Narratives* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011). Cartographer: Luke Kaim

colonization in the Viceroyalty of Perú.⁵ Food practices, like language, possess important symbolic and pragmatic functions and features—attributes which a colonized or subjugated people must often aggressively defend in the face of the destructive ambitions or homogenizing intentions of a hegemonic power. Similar to their attempts to restrict the use of the Quechua language for purposes not directly linked to the church, Spanish colonial policies also sought to reorient Andean agricultural production practices toward the cultivation of European crops.⁶

The Andean food-landscape—a term I use to refer to the multitude of nuanced details involved in cultivating, preparing, serving, and consuming different foods—became one of the many spaces where Spanish colonial power-holders sought to exercise dominance, while also serving as a medium for both the conquerors and the conquered to express their own cultural, religious, and political identities and loyalties. The term *food-landscape* reinforces the important connection between alimentary and agricultural practices, and in my discussion of food production, consumption, and identity politics in Tahuantinsuyu and

colonial Perú, I use the term to refer to the ways in which both discursive meanings associated with food, as well as pragmatic food practices, were altered or redefined within the colonial context.⁷ During the early years of the conquest and throughout the colonial era, the unbridled chaos and violence, devastating epidemics, cultural trauma, methodical destruction of Andean religious practices, sites and relics, and general plundering of Andean institutions and economic, political, and social structures greatly disrupted the carefully administered and ritually vital food-landscape of Tahuantinsuyu. Moreover, colonial Spanish administrators disturbed intricate cultural and religious aspects of Andean alimentary practices and cycles by disrupting pre-conquest production and distribution systems and by controlling or inhibiting the consumption of certain food items.

Yet indigenous Andeans did not passively accept Spanish attempts to impose changes on their alimentary and agricultural practices and preferences and, indeed, during the colonial period indigenous Andeans often found creative ways to resist efforts to disrupt or stigmatize their food-landscapes. Moreover, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts of the food-landscapes of early colonial Perú written by indigenous, mestizo, and Spanish chroniclers often reveal indigenous Andeans' deep pride and preference for their own food-landscapes, as well as their frustration with Spanish attempts to interfere with Andean food culture. In order to better understand the interplay between food production, consumption, and identity politics in both Tahuantinsuyu and colonial Perú, this chapter explores the deep ambivalence expressed by three colonial-era chroniclers—Felipe Poma de Ayala, El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, and Bernabé Cobo—as they struggle to comprehend and describe the rapidly changing Andean food-landscape in colonial Perú. A close reading of the levels of meaning contained within these writers' descriptions of Andean food-landscapes reveals how their relationships to and assessments of particular foods can provide us with a useful opening for coming to understand how individuals and groups struggled to define and defend their identities and agendas within the context of complex and ever-shifting colonial power hierarchies and social orders. The indigenous author and artist Guaman Poma (writing in the early 1600s until 1615) was both a rigorous critic of Spanish colonialism and a convert to Christianity, while Garcilaso (1539–1616)—a mestizo master of renaissance prose—sought to exalt the Inca culture of his mother while also defending the good name of his conquistador father. The Spanish Jesuit missionary Cobo (1580–1657) was also an exceedingly complex figure. The chronicler resided in the Andes for more than sixty years, spoke at least two Andean languages (Quechua and Aymara), and although he also served as one of the church's "extirpators of idolatries," he also clearly respected many elements of Inca architecture and infrastructure, as well as Andean agricultural, metallurgical, and weaving practices.

Food production and distribution in Tahuantinsuyu and colonial Perú

Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, the Andean exchange economy did not distribute foodstuffs within market spaces.⁸ Instead, Andean economies in pre-Inca, Inca, and even colonial and contemporary times have been organized around systems of reciprocity and redistribution.⁹ Instead of maintaining a system of marketplaces similar to European or Mesoamerican models, Andean communities gained access to the food products of a variety of ecological niches by establishing members from their group in different microclimates.¹⁰ John Murra refers to these ecological niches as part of a "vertical archipelago";

in order to facilitate the exploitation of diverse resources located at disparate elevations, communities established a series of permanent colonies or “periphery communities” at a distance of one to several days’ journey from their primary population centers. The islands of this vertical archipelago, as well as those who worked within the periphery communities, remained functionally linked as part of an integrated system which provided the more densely populated “nucleus community” with a variety of foodstuffs, building materials, wool, guano, wooden dishware, and other necessary products.¹¹

In addition to a carefully planned and regulated system for the planting, irrigating, and harvesting of crops, the Incas also created a remarkably extensive system of roadways which snaked through roughly 15,997 kilometers (9,940 miles) of the treacherous Andean cordillera and provided access to the many storehouses strategically located along its spine.¹² The weatherproofed storage sheds protected agriculture products from fluctuations in wind, sun, altitude, and humidity and could indefinitely house surplus foodstuffs as insurance against a lean year in one particular region or serve as a temporary repository for food in transit to another area of Tahuantinsuyu in need of supplementary sustenance. As Murra points out, this system of *tambu* storehouses was so effective that even in 1547 (fifteen years after Francisco Pizarro captured the Inca ruler Atahualpa), tambus near Jauja, Perú, held enough food to sustain 2,000 Spanish soldiers for a period of seven weeks.¹³ As is the case for any government, the stability of the Incas’ reign depended on their ability to maintain stable socioeconomic and political conditions and to assure their subjects’ reliable access to food. By creating a meticulously regulated system of cultivation, production, and distribution of agricultural and textile products, the Incas succeeded in expanding and sustaining their vast empire.

Although they did not completely dismantle the Andean vertical archipelagos that fueled an economy of reciprocity and redistribution, the Spanish conquistadores delivered a severe blow to the integrity and efficiency of Tahuantinsuyu’s food-landscape.¹⁴ The numerous extirpation campaigns aimed at vigorously rooting out “idolatrous” Andean religious practices, coupled with colonial policies requiring onerous tribute payments in the form of both food and draft labor (*mita* service), as well as the forced resettlement of entire communities, had calamitous effects on indigenous communities seeking to produce enough food to sustain themselves and their deities.

Following the arrival in 1569 of Francisco de Toledo, the fifth viceroy of Perú, colonial administrators began to impose the Crown’s policy of the forced and often violent resettlement of indigenous Andeans into villages known as *reducciones de indios*.¹⁵ The *reducciones* were intended to facilitate the assimilation, indoctrination, and taxation of indigenous subjects. Moreover, as far as the state and the church were concerned, the resettlement policy also provided the additional benefit of permitting “abandoned” indigenous lands to be expropriated by the colonial state.¹⁶ While colonial sources suggest that most indigenous Andeans (particularly in the southern Andes) preferred their own diet to the new European foodstuffs and were reluctant to cultivate new crops or cede their pasture lands to cattle, horses, and sheep, the pressures of forced draft labor, the disorientation following resettlement onto *reducciones*, and the obligation to pay onerous tributes in food often impeded the production of Andean crops within indigenous communities.¹⁷

Beginning with the reign of Viceroy Toledo, the Crown levied tribute on all “able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and fifty” and collected these payments twice a year.¹⁸ These tribute assessments were vigorously opposed by Andeans, for although indigenous communities were already accustomed to paying tributes under Inca rule,

unlike the Spaniards, Inca rulers had demanded tribute in labor on fields designated for the production of state crops and levied these taxes on communities, not individuals. Thus if harvests were poor in a particular year the state absorbed the loss; communities were never asked to pay tribute in food produced on lands designated for their own subsistence.¹⁹ However, following the conquest, many Andeans as members of *ayllus* (kinship lineages which foment reciprocity, collective labor efforts, and the redistribution of goods) found themselves obliged to alter their agricultural practices by cultivating European crops such as wheat, not for their own consumption, but for tribute payment.²⁰ Yet it is interesting to note that evidence from colonial era documents suggests that after the conquest, *ayllus* continued to designate a portion of their land for state tribute payments (now handed over to the Spanish), while cultivating largely Andean crops on lands allocated for *ayllu* subsistence.²¹

The discovery of silver in Potosí in 1545 (and to a lesser extent, the mercury deposits found in Huancavelica in 1560) also rapidly transformed the Andean highlands into an active, international marketplace and led to the displacement of between one-sixth and one-seventh of the adult male indigenous population who were drafted to work in the mines for six-month periods of service.²² By the late 1500s, well over 100,000 people lived and worked in Potosí, a number that rivaled the population of sixteenth-century European metropolises such as London and Amsterdam.²³ Potosí's demand for both imported and local goods and services led to the insertion of the southern Andean region into the global political economy just a few decades after the arrival of Pizarro.²⁴ The Spanish colonial chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León describes the Potosí market as "the richest market in the world," claiming that "during the time when the mines were prosperous, each day twenty-five and thirty thousand pesos of gold [worth of goods] were sold ... and I think that no other fair in the world equaled the trade of this market."²⁵ He describes Potosí's central plaza as a marketplace divided into areas for selling coca (deemed "the most important treasure of these parts"), finely woven cloth, shirts, blankets and mountains of maize, dried potatoes, and other foods.²⁶ Quechua farmers from the Cusco region produced and transported many of the food crops and textiles purchased in the Potosí marketplace and these merchant farmers quickly became adept participants in the inter-regional mercantile economy of the early colonial era.²⁷

In order to avoid unfavorable market conditions, Quechua men and women often became shrewd participants in colonial markets as transportation providers and vendors of foodstuffs, prepared meals and beverages, raw materials, and finished textiles.²⁸ While some indigenous Andeans living in rural villages permanently moved to urban centers in the early colonial era in order to escape family or *ayllu* tensions (or to seek a more comfortable and economically secure existence), participation in the mercantilist market economy did not necessarily mean that Quechua entrepreneurs abandoned the organizational and subsistence strategies of their *ayllus*. On the contrary, market participation often served as a tactic by which Quechua families managed to accumulate enough currency to satisfy Spanish tribute requirements without having to pay with their own agricultural products.²⁹ Thus, ironically, indigenous Andeans' participation in the mercantilist economy instituted by the Spaniards seems to have oftentimes alleviated further outside interference in their *ayllus'* economic, political, and cultural practices.

The rise of food markets and prepared food stalls in the Andes parallels the emergence of large concentrations of transient populations in colonial mining and commercial centers such as Potosí, Huancavelica, and Cusco in the late sixteenth century. The indigenous and

Spanish workers living in these cities were unlikely to have the time or the knowledge to prepare their own meals, and as Cieza de León disapprovingly remarks, many of the indigenous men working in Potosí spent their daily wages by indulging their cravings for any number of dishes sold by the Quechua cooks in the plaza: “And since they earned daily wages, and since these Indians are such friends of food and drink ... they spent all their wages on the [foods] which were brought to market.”³⁰ Although the emerging market economy in colonial Latin America encouraged the exploitation of indigenous labor, it also created economic opportunities for indigenous women who worked as independent sellers, market women, cooks, owners of dry goods stores, or even long-distance traders.³¹ Indeed, the economic and social opportunities and relative freedom of movement that often accompanied an indigenous woman’s employment in colonial maize beer taverns (*chicherías*), market food stalls, and restaurants, remained beyond the reach of higher-class women whose social position precluded them from working in public spaces.³²

Food consumption and status hierarchies in Tahuantinsuyu and colonial Perú

Evidence gleaned from archeological research and testimonial evidence compiled in early colonial chronicles indicate that the intricate agricultural production and distribution systems maintained throughout Tahuantinsuyu allowed most Inca subjects to enjoy a rich variety of nutritious foodstuffs throughout the year.³³ Hans Horkheimer, one of the first scholars to thoroughly study Andean foods and cooking practices, praises pre-conquest Andean agronomists as brilliant observers of all of the possibilities offered by the flora of their environment:

taking advantage of wild or cultivated [plants] to eat or drink, for their fibers or wood, as a stimulant or medicine, as a colorant or auxiliary technology, or simply as an adornment. Rarely has a people utilized its flora so intensively, in so many ways and across such an expanse.³⁴

Thus, thanks to carefully maintained networks of redistribution and reciprocity along Andean vertical archipelagos, most ayllus in pre-Inca and Inca times enjoyed access to a highly varied and nutritious diet.

Two of the most important staple foods in Tahuantinsuyu (and still today in rural, Andean communities) included potatoes and maize. Undoubtedly the most economically, socially, and nutritionally significant of these foodstuffs in the pre-conquest, colonial, and contemporary Andes is the potato (called *papa* in Quechua and Latin American Spanish). More than 30,000 tons of potatoes were produced annually in the pre-Inca Andean city of Tiahuanaco near Lake Titicaca before it collapsed more than 1,000 years ago, and by the time the Spaniards arrived in Perú, more than 200 varieties of potato were cultivated—a few at altitudes of 4,500 meters (approximately 14,760 feet).³⁵ Centuries before European populations came to depend on the nutritional richness of the potato, it had long served as an essential staple in the Andes and a key to the success of Inca armies fighting battles and seizing new territory throughout western South America. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the tuber had become a vital food source not only for indigenous Quechua families, but also for Spaniards living in the Andes.³⁶ Moreover, the potato’s resistance to cold, as well as its nutritional density, eventually made it an indispensable staple food for millions of people across the globe.³⁷

In his *Historia del nuevo mundo* [completed in 1653, selections of which have been translated as *History of the Inca Empire* and *Inca Religion and Customs*], the Jesuit priest, missionary, and ethnographer Bernabé Cobo reveals the importance of the potato in Tahuantinsuyu by describing how the tubers served as a standard for measuring time throughout the pre-colonial Andes:

the time then, that it takes to cook the potatoes, they use to measure the duration of the things that are done quickly, responding that they have spent doing this or that thing the amount of time necessary to cook a pot of potatoes.³⁸

In his *Comentarios Reales* [1609, translated as *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas*], the mestizo chronicler El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega attempts to describe high-altitude crops for a European audience unfamiliar with such foods and explains: “when the land is very cold, it cannot produce maize, [but] much *quinua* is harvested, which is like rice, and other seeds and fruits that become fruitful below ground and among them there is one that they call *papa*: it is round and very humid.”³⁹ Indeed, the potato was capable of sustaining large population centers and extensive armies of soldiers throughout the Andes thanks to two unique features: its tolerance of extreme temperatures and altitudes and its nutritional value—it is one of the world’s few foodstuffs which, if eaten in sufficient quantities, provides all of the nutrients required by the human body.⁴⁰

Although planting, tending, harvesting, and protecting maize from the elements and from pests and pilferers requires much more intensive labor than potato cultivation, maize was also an important staple and key ritual element of the pre-conquest Andean food-landscape. In Tahuantinsuyu, the relative prestige or ritual value of a particular food appears to have been linked to the identity of the elite and specially trained cooks who prepared it, or to the location in which it was cultivated. For instance, maize harvested at improbable elevations of more than 3,800 meters (approximately 12,500 feet) on the sacred Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca, or select batches of the prized beverage known as *chicha*—fermented from top-quality maize by the Incas’ “chosen women” or *aqllakuna*—were considered sacred and reserved for consumption by the Inca and his court.⁴¹

Although *chicha*—known as *aqi* in Quechua—can be made from fermented maize, *quinua*, the highland grain *cañihua*, dehydrated potatoes known as *ch’wñu*, peanuts, carob, or even the seeds of the *molle* bush, the Incas preferred maize *chicha* which, when brewed by the *aqllakuna*, could be offered to the gods as a deferential sacrifice.⁴² Father Bernabé Cobo claims that the *aqllakuna* were responsible for using maize to brew “much fine *Chicha* for offering to the gods and so that their priests might drink it, and they cooked each day the delicacies that they offered in sacrifice saying: ‘Eat, Sun, this which your women have cooked for you’.”⁴³ *Chicha* brewed by the *aqllakuna* was considered a sacred food to be enjoyed exclusively by Inca leaders, and although its preparation and consumption by commoners was highly regulated by Inca administrators, in the years following the conquest *chicha* consumption and production became increasingly widespread—a trend generally criticized by Spanish, mestizo, and indigenous chroniclers alike.⁴⁴

For thousands of years and even in the most inhospitable of environments, tubers such as the potato have faithfully provided life-sustaining energy to the Quechua families who cultivate them. Yet they are rarely fermented into alcohol for use during religious celebrations or offered as sacrifices to placate the gods. Indeed, Quechua speakers in contemporary Cusco use the phrase “*ch’wñullata mihuq*” (“he who eats only *ch’wñu*”) as a

disparaging insult. The early colonial Huarochirí manuscript [1608] mentions a similar phrase as a derogatory description for a man who “lives eating miserably, only roasted potatoes” (“*huacchalla micuspapas huatyacuspalla causaptinsi*”).⁴⁵ Similarly, in his nearly 1,200-page chronicle entitled *El Primer nueva corónica i buen gobierno* [completed in 1615], the indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala describes the Andeans living in the Collasuyo—the southeastern quadrant of Tahuantinsuyu—as weak and lazy due to their uncouth diet, “large bodied and fat, greasy because they eat only *chuiño* [dehydrated potato] and they drink *chuiño* beer.”⁴⁶ While these descriptions and insults seem to reflect the potato’s lack of status within the Andean food-landscape, evidence from both colonial dictionaries and contemporary interviews reveal that it is not the potato itself that is disparaged in these phrases, but the status of someone who *only* has access to one type of food. For instance, Diego González Holguín’s colonial Quechua dictionary [1608] explains that Quechua speakers consider the consumption of a variety of foods as a sign of a fine (“*misqui*”) meal, while the words “*Miccurcarini*” or “*miccurcayani*” indicate “To eat many foods and braises together, or splendidly.”⁴⁷

While potato plants are astonishingly forgiving with regards to altitude, soil type, and the amount of precipitation they require, maize seedlings are much more exigent and, perhaps as a result, more prized by Andean farmers, cooks, and diners. Although maize plants cannot usually withstand the frost of high-altitude valleys and tablelands and require levels of humidity which most highland regions cannot provide, the Incas fastidiously tended their maize fields even though they realized that limited highland yields could never provide them with the nutritional value offered by the humble, dependable potato.⁴⁸

The sheer number of words that exist in the Quechua lexicon to describe the maize plant’s numerous varieties and preparations suggests its importance in Andean culture. Bernabé Cobo notes the Andean practice of carefully naming each different variety and preparation of a plant food, “being so curious and intelligent in agriculture and their knowledge of plants, they have given a name even to the herbs which seem the smallest and most neglected.”⁴⁹ Indeed, González Holguín’s Quechua dictionary lists nineteen entries for different maize varieties, dishes made from maize, useful parts of the plant, terms for describing diseases which may afflict maize plants, and unusual cob forms which may signal death omens.⁵⁰ Guaman Poma’s references to maize reveal a similarly rich vocabulary associated with the difficulties of cultivating the crop, for example: “*ch’usu sara*” (“empty maize”), “*hut’u sara*” (“wormy maize”), “*ismu sara*” (“rotten maize”), “*chuullo sua*” (“cob thief”), “*sara q’uwiq*” (“he who pulls up maize”).⁵¹

Although the Quechua language reflects the importance of both potatoes and maize in highland culture, in his essay “*Maíz, tubérculos y ritos agrícolas*,” (“Maize, Tubers and Agricultural Rites”), Murra notes that colonial chroniclers provide very little information regarding potato cultivation and that the rituals, calendars, and ceremonies they recount almost exclusively describe maize.⁵² He insists, however, that we should not assume that the Incas did not dedicate some ceremonies to their indispensable tuber crops. Instead, he argues, we should recall that most of the chroniclers’ informants were descendants of the recently vanquished Inca elite and were thus more focused on presenting impressive state mechanisms (such as the sophisticated terracing and irrigation required for the cultivation of maize), while ignoring the subsistence agriculture which cultivated crops such as the potato at the level of local ayllus.⁵³

It also seems likely that the Incas accorded more ritual attention to maize due to its close association with the sun god *Inti*. In contrast to the subterranean, earthen-colored potato,

the maize cob with its golden kernels and protective blond tassels matures above ground, clutching onto a stalk that seems to stretch continually skywards. Since maize cultivation in the Andes was an arduous, uncertain undertaking, the fruits of this labor could not be depended upon as a staple food source, yet when the Inca state did harvest a successful crop, each cob was all the more esteemed. Just as Quechua hostesses today serve their guests the finest dishes they can offer, the Incas sought to present their gods with their most prized, luxury foodstuff through the ceremonial use of maize.

Like the Inca ritual specialists, Spaniards in colonial Perú also preferred maize to the potato, and often referred to the grain as “the wheat of the Indies” (“*trigo de las Indias*”).⁵⁴ Bernabé Cobo compares the Spaniards’ preeminent grain to maize since “all of the lands hospitable to wheat are also hospitable to *maize*, and those that are so cold as to preclude the production of wheat, are also not suitable for maize cultivation.”⁵⁵ The Inca Garcilaso describes the laborious process carried out by indigenous Peruvians in order to process Andean maize crops and prepare bread for the Spaniards. Apparently, Spaniards required their indigenous cooks to remove the thin outer peel of each kernel and then carefully sift the grounded meal.⁵⁶ Garcilaso scoffs at such finicky tastes, asserting that no one had bothered with such an unnecessary process before the arrival of the Spaniards, since the Incas “were not so fastidious so that the maize bran offended them, the bran isn’t even so rough that it is necessary to remove it, especially that of fresh maize.”⁵⁷ Thus, while maize held the preeminent position within the status hierarchy of staple foods in Tahuantinsuyu, the potato was less highly regarded within both Tahuantinsuyu and colonial Perú as a foodstuff, tribute item, or religious offering. Yet chroniclers of colonial Perú suggest that in both pre-conquest and colonial Andean society, the consumption and cultivation of Andean foods such as maize and the potato served to mark regional and cultural identities as well as an individual or family’s relative access to a varied or high-status food supply.

Monstrous radishes and gold-eating Spaniards: food metaphors in the chronicles of the Inca Garcilaso and Guaman Poma de Ayala

In *Comentarios reales*—the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega’s most well-known text—the author refutes, critiques, and corrects the works of Spanish chroniclers writing during the conquest of Perú and the early colonial era, prior to the arrival of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1569.⁵⁸ Born in the former Inca capital city of Cusco just seven years after Pizarro’s arrival in Perú, Garcilaso is a self-conscious narrator and throughout the *Comentarios* he repeatedly asserts that his unique family tree, with its maternal branches of Inca royalty and paternal roots in Extremadura, provides him with singular qualifications “as an Inca Indian” for accurately describing Inca rites and customs.⁵⁹

Writing from Córdoba some twenty-five years after having left his homeland for Spain at the age of twenty-two, in his account of Inca history and society, Garcilaso takes great care to present the inhabitants of Tahuantinsuyu as intelligent, hardworking, and benevolent people living in a society more sophisticated, in many aspects, than that of Renaissance Europe. Interestingly, in many instances throughout *Comentarios reales*, descriptions of the Andean food-landscape serve as a narrative device for introducing Garcilaso’s European readers to positive aspects of Tahuantinsuyu, and to unseemly traits of the Spanish. In this way, the intricately crafted representations of food in *Comentarios reales* serve as a valuable window into the complex and often devastating

sociopolitical, economic, and cultural aftershocks felt throughout the Andes in the years following the conquest of the Incas.

Throughout the *Comentarios reales*, Garcilaso uses his representations of food as a tool for presenting Inca rulers as capable administrators and benevolent conquerors, while indirectly presenting Spanish conquistadores as inept and irrational in their attempts to disrupt pre-conquest methods for administrating the Andean food-landscape. For instance, when chronicling pre-conquest military practices, Garcilaso explains that Inca soldiers often overtook their poorly equipped adversaries quite easily. In order to spare their wives and children from the threat of death or starvation, the ill-prepared and vanquished enemy would often quickly surrender. Always eager to present the Incas as benevolent colonizers in contrast to the brutishness of Spanish conquistadores, Garcilaso asserts that once enemy soldiers laid down their arms, “The Incas ... gave them gifts and soothed them and fed them.”⁶⁰

In the fifth book of the *Comentarios reales*, Garcilaso explains that as soon as a new territory had been conquered, the Inca ruler would dispatch engineers from Cusco to begin the construction of irrigation canals.⁶¹ Census takers would appear soon afterwards in order to determine the new province’s population. An Inca ruler and his provincial administrators could then use this demographic data to make decisions regarding the quantity and type of agricultural infrastructure required in the region, as well as the number of manual laborers needed to complete the arduous process of creating arable, mountain terraces.⁶² While Inca rulers *did* require subjects to divide agricultural plots into three sections belonging to the sun god Inti, the Inca ruler, and the local population, Garcilaso insists that this practice was always carried out with careful attention to the needs of each ayllu:

so that they would have a surplus rather than be in want. And when the people of the town or province increased in number, they [the rulers] would take away the Sun’s portion and the Inca’s portion for the [benefit of the] vassals; in this way the King did not take anything for himself, nor for the Sun except for the lands that would have remained deserted, without an owner.⁶³

As in many parts of the *Comentarios*, here too Garcilaso leaves unsaid what may have been his principal point: that, in contrast to Inca policies, Spanish colonial agricultural administration and taxation practices often left many indigenous Andeans in want, while the Spanish king (and his administrators) profited handsomely from the land and labor of Andean vassals.

Garcilaso dedicates chapters IX–XVI of the *Comentarios*’ Book Eight to a description of the varieties of fruits, vegetables, grains, and livestock native to Perú. He carefully describes each foodstuff, notes any medicinal value it may possess, and details the necessary steps for preparing each item. Garcilaso scoffs at the careless manner in which the Spanish desecrated the original names of various foods to the extent that “nothing remains but a corruption of all the other names they have given them.”⁶⁴ He also chastises himself when he cannot recall the names of certain fruits, “because of the distance of the place and the absence of my people I will not be able to find out the answer very easily.”⁶⁵ Garcilaso enthusiastically praises Andean foodstuffs such as llama meat and the *uchu* pepper as finer than similar foods available in Europe; even the Spaniards, he tells us, realize that the Peruvian *uchu* is superior to the “oriental varieties.”⁶⁶

Garcilaso dedicates several chapters of the *Comentarios reales* to outlining the competition between Andean foods and those brought from Europe.⁶⁷ He sardonically relates the

“anxiety” which plagued the Spaniards until they were able to cultivate their own Iberian fruits, vegetables, and grains.⁶⁸ In order to illustrate his portrayal of Spanish colonizers’ dreams of achieving a large-scale agricultural and gastronomical transformation in the Andes, Garcilaso cites a royal decree in which Carlos V offers two silver bars of 300 ducats each to the first Spaniard who could successfully produce “*medio cahíz*” (approximately 9.5 bushels) of wheat or barley, or “*cuatro arrobas*” (approximately 12 gallons) of olive oil or wine:

The Catholic Monarchs [Ferdinand and Isabella] and the Emperor Carlos V had declared that the first who, in any town of Spaniards, could reap a certain quantity of new Spanish fruits such as wheat, barley, wine or oil would be given from the royal treasury [a jewel and two bars of silver worth three-hundred ducats each].⁶⁹

While the Inca Garcilaso admits that the new Spanish crops initially impressed indigenous Andeans, he primarily emphasizes the Europeans’ amazement at the astonishing abundance and high quality of the Iberian crops which they soon began to harvest in Perú.

The introduction of Spanish seeds into Andean soils, however, could also wreak havoc on native species. Garcilaso laments that many Spanish flowers and herbs proliferated to such an extent that:

now there is such abundance that many of them are now very damaging ... they have spread so much in some valleys that they have defeated human force and diligence, everything possible has been done to pull them out, and they have prevailed to such an extent that they have erased the name of the valleys and forcing them to be called by their name, such as the Valley of Mint [*yerbabuena*] on the seacoast which used to be called *Rucma*, and other [valleys are] the same.⁷⁰

Immediately following this tale of botanical and appellative assault, in which the Spaniard’s *yerbabuena* mint plant supplants both the valley’s native name and crop (the fruit called *rucma* or *lúcuma*), Garcilaso relates the shocking case of a disproportionately large radish. He describes the root as being “of such strange greatness that in the shade of its leaves five horses were tied up ... a monstrous thing.”⁷¹ Garcilaso corroborates his report by citing the testimony of a “gentleman” named Don Martín de Contreras, “nephew of the famous Governor of Nicaragua Francisco de Contreras” who declared to the chronicler, “I am an eyewitness to the greatness of this radish from the valley of Cuzapa.”⁷² Garcilaso’s witness even suggests that such gigantic vegetables are not particularly unusual in colonial Perú, affirming that he once “ate from a head of lettuce that weighed seven and a half pounds” and that in the Ica valley he once witnessed a melon so huge that its size was recorded by a notary “in order to document such a monstrous thing.”⁷³

As Roberto González Echevarría points out, in *Comentarios reales*, Garcilaso almost always uses the adjective “monstrous” to refer to inordinate size.⁷⁴ Yet his use of the adjective also reflects the negative, “unnatural” connotations which have been associated with the word since Roman times and which are evident in the definition of monster provided by Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco’s early seventeenth-century Spanish dictionary (*Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*), published just five years before the death of Garcilaso in 1616. In his dictionary, Covarrubias defines “*monstro*” as: “Any birth which goes against natural law and order.”⁷⁵ While one may argue that Garcilaso’s descriptions of the “strange

greatness” (“*extraña grandeza*”) of these giant cultivars may be interpreted as an example of his admiration of the great scale of Spanish cultivars harvested in Perú, this seems unlikely given that his testimonies of the unnatural births of these monstrous vegetables immediately follow his account of the “damaging” abundance of many Iberian plants which “have vanquished human strength and diligence in spite of all efforts to uproot them.”⁷⁶ Moreover, the juxtaposition of the noun “greatness” with the adjective “monstrous” in this chapter creates the clever effect of linking these two qualities in the reader’s mind in order to suggest that at some point, the enormous sizes of these vegetables leads one to deem them as “frightening and incredible” (“*espantables e increíbles*”).⁷⁷

Julio Ortega refers to these same passages as part of Garcilaso’s “discourse of abundance,” arguing that descriptions of the “abundance of Spanish transplants” (gigantic radishes, lettuces, and Spanish herbs) growing in the Andes reflect the chronicler’s attempts to present “more proof of historic providentialism” resulting from a fertile mixture of European seeds and Andean soils.⁷⁸ According to Ortega’s analysis, gigantic vegetables and rapidly spreading herbs signal a new “abundance” which resulted from a mixture of the “new” (world) and the “old,” and that Garcilaso’s descriptions of vegetable abundance serve as a natural model for hybrid cultural processes and reinforce his argument that the mixing or *mestizaje* of plants, humans, and cultures can breed positive results.⁷⁹ I would argue that Garcilaso—keenly aware of the censorial powers of the Inquisition—took advantage of these pages of seemingly innocuous alimentary descriptions in his *Comentarios* to laud the virtues of the Andean food-landscape, and to condemn the monstrous invasion of foreign seeds (and soldiers) that decimated indigenous Andeans, as well as their flora and fauna. It seems quite plausible that in these passages of the *Comentarios*’ “Book Nine,” monstrous radishes and lettuce, and the insatiable spreading of mint plants, serve as a metaphor for the greedy appetites of Spanish conquistadores and colonists whose plants caused great destruction to the food-landscape of many regions throughout the colonial Andes. Like other Golden Age writers such as Calderón de la Barca, Garcilaso’s use of the adjective monstrous to describe Spanish cultivars likely signifies the chaos and confusion of the sociohistorical context in which the plants took root. Moreover, Garcilaso’s hyperbolic descriptions of these foods are intended to shock and surprise his audience into realizing both the startling fertility of his Andean homeland, as well as the unnatural consequences of Spanish transplants onto (and into) New World soil.⁸⁰

As in the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Comentarios reales*, many passages of Guaman Poma’s *Nueva crónica* also feature alimentary descriptions that critique the greedy excesses of Spanish colonial policies and practices. The indigenous chronicler Guaman Poma praises the stunning variety of crops cultivated in the Andes and denounces the Spaniards’ callous destruction of the Inca alimentary infrastructure in a much more direct and caustic tone than that used by Garcilaso. One of the key critiques of Spanish colonialism advanced by Guaman Poma centers around his denunciation of what he perceives as the Iberians’ excessive greed and dishonorable treatment of indigenous Andeans and their pre-conquest way of life. Often times, Guaman Poma uses descriptions of food to illustrate Spanish injustices perpetuated against and prejudices toward indigenous Andeans.

One of the more humorous of the 398 illustrations included in Guaman Poma’s *Nueva crónica* depicts an encounter which the author imagines as having taken place between the Inca ruler Huayna Capac (father of Húascar and Atahualpa) and a Spanish explorer who preceded Pizarro’s arrival. Through both words and image, Guaman Poma highlights Huayna Capac’s observation of the Spaniards’ insatiable interest in gold. In Guaman Poma’s

representation of the exchange, the words of the Inca ruler reveal his assumption that the strange, bearded man's voracious appetite for the gleaming metal can only be explained by the fact that he can, in fact, *eat* gold. This hypothesis leads the dignified looking Inca to ask the Spaniard kneeling before him, "Do you eat this gold?" ("*Kay quritachu mikhunki?*"). The oafishly depicted Spaniard replies with a vacant expression, "We eat this gold" ("*este oro comemos*") (see Figure 2.1).⁸¹ Huayna Capac's logic reflects the fact that in Tahuantinsuyu—a civilization whose strength and well-being depended heavily on abundant, reliable harvests and healthy herds—food, not gold, was the most prized commodity.⁸²

Yet clearly, Guaman Poma also seeks to demonstrate that the Spaniards were interested in pillaging more than just the precious metals of Tahuantinsuyu. The chronicler denounces, in great detail, the manner in which the Spaniards abused the Inca system of *tambu* storehouses and he enumerates all of the goods and services nabbed from the indigenous custodians of these food depositories:

Said Spanish travelers, even if they are priests who pass along the royal roads and *tanbo*, how they arrive angrily at said *tanbos*, seize the Indian custodians of the *tanbos* ... and ask for Indians whom they might force into servitude (*mitayos*) and much *camarico* (a coveted product), and so on with maize and potatoes and llamas and chickens and eggs ... and *ch'uñu* (preserved potato), quinoa (highland seed), *chiche* (small fish) and *chicha* (maize beer) and blankets of *chuci* and pots.⁸³

In this and similar passages, Guaman Poma creates a rhythmic mesodiplosis (the repetitive use of a word in the middle of successive sentences) by preceding the name of each food item seized by the Spaniards with the conjunction "and." This technique serves to emphasize the extent of the exploitation inflicted upon indigenous Peruvians within the reader's mind, while simultaneously demonstrating the rich diversity of the Quechua food-landscape.⁸⁴ As Julio Ortega has pointed out, these critiques of the disorder and abuses propagated by colonial officials serve as a primary image and symbol of colonial violence and pillaging.⁸⁵ In this way, Guaman Poma's descriptions of food become one of his central metaphors and serve as a "powerful version of the violence, and of the irrationality of colonial practices which destroy other knowledges and instead, disseminate want."⁸⁶ Thus, Garcilaso and Guaman Poma, two of the most well-known chroniclers of colonial Perú and Tahuantinsuyu, both utilize the trope of food to critique Spanish colonial excesses, as well as the colonizers' destruction of Andean alimentary infrastructures and the subsequent disease, destitution, and death that afflicted indigenous Andeans throughout the Viceroyalty of Perú.

"Filthy" chicha, "clean" chicha: discourses of purity in historical chronicles of corn beer preparation

In his *Historia del nuevo mundo*, Bernabé Cobo offers detailed botanical, zoological, and ethnographic descriptions of the plants, animals, and people he came across during his long residence in the Viceroyalty of Perú between 1599 and 1657.⁸⁷ Cobo's peripatetic life in the New World included stints living and working as a priest, missionary, and educator in and near Lima, Lake Titicaca, Potosí, Cochabamba, Oruro, La Paz, Arequipa, and Pisco, as well as many trips on the Inca roads between Lima and Cusco and across most of central and southern Perú.⁸⁸ Cobo's wide-ranging travels and experiences throughout the

CONQUISTA GUALMACAPACADIA INGA ESPAÑOL



Figure 2.1 “An Inca asks a Spaniard what he eats, he replies ‘Gold’” by Guaman Poma (1526–1613). © Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

Viceroyalty of Perú, as well as his precise descriptions of the customs, interactions, and preferences of both indigenous Andeans and Spanish colonists, make his *Historia* an important source of information regarding life in the Andean region during the first half of the seventeenth century. In general, Cobo's descriptions of Andean victuals and agricultural practices are quite laudatory; it is clear that the chronicler admired indigenous Andeans' vast and intimate knowledge of the challenging ecosystem from which they coaxed a wide variety of crops toward harvest. Yet Cobo's description of the fermented corn beverage *chicha* provides perhaps the most interesting example of the writer's ambivalent relationship to Andean cultures and their food-landscapes in his role as a Spanish colonial ethnographer, naturalist, and Jesuit missionary. Indeed, the attitudes of Cobo and Guaman Poma toward particular varieties of *chicha* provide an intriguing example of the ways in which colonial-era food discourses—and in particular, discourses on the relative purity or acceptability of certain foods—were used to legitimate dominant subject positions within colonial power hierarchies and to make claims of cultural, and by extension, political authority. In the case of Cobo, the chronicler alternately praises and scorns *chicha* as he describes the two principal methods for preparing it, while also blaming the preparation and consumption of the beverage for inhibiting the conversion of indigenous Andeans to the Spaniards' "Sacred Faith."

Interestingly, in his references to *chicha* as an obstruction to Spanish evangelization efforts, Bernabé Cobo seems more concerned with the beverage's tendency to cause widespread inebriation amongst potential indigenous converts, than with its important role in pre-colonial Andean religious rituals and celebrations. Cobo's description of *chicha*—in which he alternately employs past and present tenses to refer to indigenous Andeans' consumption of the beverage—is worth quoting at length, as it reveals his contradictory attitude toward *chicha*:

This name *chicha* covers all of the beverages that the natives of this New World used instead of wine and with which they very frequently become inebriated; a vice to which they are so inclined that they have not even taken advantage of having converted to our Sacred Faith ... nor have their dealings and communication with the Spaniards, nor the punishments meted out by the priests and justices been able to pull them away from it ...

Chicha is made from many things, each nation adapts itself to the most abundant seeds and fruits produced in their land and they make *chicha* from these. Some *chichas* are made from *ocas*, *yucas* and other roots; others, from *quinua* and the fruit of the *molle* [*Schinus molle*, Peruvian peppertree] ... but the finest *chicha* which is the kind one generally drinks in this land and which, like precious wine, occupies the premiere place before all of the Indians' other beverages, is the one that is made from maize.⁸⁹

While on the one hand Cobo denounces *chicha* as filthy and unchristian, further on in the text he concedes that Spaniards enjoy and approve of certain varieties of *chicha*; though he takes care to assert that when the Spaniards prepare the beverage they do so in a manner that is cleaner and more carefully executed than the process used by Andean brewers:

Most commonly the Indians of Perú drink the sort [of *chicha*] made from chewed maize; which is seen not only in their own towns, but in many of the Spaniards'

[towns] where there is a congregation of Indians, as in Potosí, Oruro and others. Gathering in small groups in the plazas old Indian women and young men sit together chewing *maize*, just seeing this inspires not a little disgust amongst the Spaniards ... The Spaniards are also accustomed to making *maize chicha* for special occasions, but they make it with more cleanliness and care than the Indians.⁹⁰

Cobo's denunciation of chicha as an "unclean" beverage stems from one of the techniques sometimes used to accelerate the fermentation process. A chicha brewer or *chichera* may elaborate the beverage following one of two methods: *wiñapu chicha* is made from fermented grains that have been soaked and then allowed to germinate for several days, while *muqu chicha* is produced from grains that have been chewed and then expectorated, allowing for the residual saliva to facilitate the fermentation process.

Colonial chroniclers like Cobo and Guaman Poma express their disapproval of chicha, although they find less fault with the *wiñapu* (or *sura*) variety made from germinated maize. Guaman Poma offers advice for colonial authorities to this effect:

That the Indians should not drink chicha chewed with the mouth that they call *moco* (chewed maize for chicha) ... because it is a dirty, filthy thing, instead they should drink a chicha from sprouted maize which they call *sura asua* (chicha of germinated maize) so that the Christians drink it and approve.⁹¹

Guaman Poma and other chroniclers' descriptions of chicha in terms of "clean" and "dirty" varieties of the beverage can be usefully interrogated through the lens of colonial discourses of purity since designations of "purity" and "impurity" in any given society are mutable and contingent contrivances that reflect localized power relations and social controls. Given that in colonial Perú, *muqu chicha* was perceived to be contaminated with the saliva of the socially denigrated, unclean Other, the "impure" beverage threatened to breach the colonizer/other divide and pollute the body of any Spaniard who imbibed it. Thus, for European colonizers, as well as mestizo and indigenous converts to Christianity (such as Guaman Poma), *muqu chicha* came to represent a "filthy" alimentary abjection and a sign of colonial disorder; not so much because of its ostensible uncleanness, but because its production method (transferring indigenous saliva to Christian bodies) failed to respect "borders, positions, rules."⁹² Since, as Robbie Duschinsky demonstrates, the category of impurity is often "mobilised to structure the boundaries that separate the acceptable human from the subhuman," declarations regarding the relative acceptability or purity of certain preparation methods of chicha served to reinforce and legitimate dominant subject-positions within the paradigm of Spanish colonial rule.⁹³ In this way, the designation of *muqu chicha* as an unclean (pagan) pollutant of Christian bodies became an analogy for the colonial social order and the colonizing, Christianizing project.⁹⁴

Interestingly, unlike Cobo and Guaman Poma, Garcilaso does not mention the contentious *muqu* variety of *chicha*, though he does describe the brewing process for sprouted or "*wiñapu*" chicha which he refers to as an "extremely strong brew."⁹⁵ In keeping with his tendency to praise the careful, discerning Inca administration of Tahuantinsuyu and to use food descriptions as a means of indirectly criticizing the incompetent and short-sighted Spanish administration of colonial Perú, Garcilaso points out that the Incas astutely prohibited the consumption of chicha since it led to "violent inebriation," and that only in colonial times did the consumption of the beverage become a problem for "some

debauched individuals.”⁹⁶ Garcilaso also asserts that even when wine became prevalent and relatively cheap in the Andes, “[the Indians] contented themselves with their old brew made from *zara* [the Quechua word for maize] and water”; yet he never suggests that this preference may have reflected the beverage’s important role in many Andean religious rituals.⁹⁷ Like the Spaniards’ wine, chicha was (and is) a beverage consumed in both ritual and profane contexts, so that the acceptance of at least one variety of chicha by indigenous and mestizo converts to Christianity, Spanish colonizers, and even religious extirpators such as Cobo, serves as a good example of the instability and permeability of colonizer/other, believer/infidel divides within colonial Perú.

Indeed, both Garcilaso’s descriptions of “monstrous” vegetables and Cobo and Guaman Poma’s attitudes toward “clean” and “dirty” varieties of chicha illustrate how food practices and preferences in the Viceroyalty of Perú came to reflect indigenous, mestizo, and Spanish actors’ ambivalence toward the new food choices which became available in post-conquest Perú. As a renaissance humanist whose works frequently refer to the magnitude of a chronicler’s attention to word choice, Garcilaso would certainly have recognized that given the twin connotations of “unnaturalness” and “excessive size” associated with the word *monstrous*, the vegetable “greatness” he describes in his *Comentarios* might be alternately feared or celebrated, depending upon the context in which it arose and the agenda of the person perceiving it. Similarly, the acceptance of the “clean,” wiñapu variety of chicha and the vehement denigration of “filthy” muqu chicha by Spaniards, as well as indigenous converts to Christianity, also highlights the complex and contradictory meanings associated with food production, consumption, and identity politics in colonial Perú.

This chapter’s consideration of the manner in which the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and Bernabé Cobo describe particular aspects of the Andean food-landscape within colonial Peruvian society reveals the numerous ways in which food (and descriptions of food) became a medium for expressing cultural, ethnic, and religious identities and loyalties, while also serving as a tool for denouncing the perceived shortcomings (or abuses) of other groups. In the incredibly tumultuous context of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century colonial Andes, food preferences, practices, and policies became a multivalent discursive space wherein Spanish attempts to devalue and dismantle the cultural, religious, and community identities associated with indigenous Andean food-landscapes were continually contested.

Notes

- 1 F. Cabieses, *Cien siglos de pan*, Lima: Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, 1995, p. 78.
- 2 Cabieses, *Cien siglos de pan*, pp. 95–122, 193–6, 217–22. For a fine sociohistorical and botanical survey of a wide variety of Andean cultivars see Cabieses, *Cien siglos de pan*. For an investigation of the symbolic aspects of various Andean foods and dishes see J. Ossio, “Aspectos simbólicos de las comidas andinas: una nueva versión,” in *Cultura, identidad y cocina en el Perú*, ed. R. Olivas Weston, Lima: Universidad San Martín de Porres, 1992. For an historical, sociocultural, and gastronomic introduction to the potato, including a consideration of the tuber’s role in societies as far ranging as pre-Inca, Inca, and contemporary Andean cultures, as well as European, African, and Asian societies beginning in the sixteenth century see S. Guardia, *La flor morada de los Andes: historia y recetas de la papa y otros tubérculos*, Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porraes, 2004.
- 3 The rapid political and territorial expansion of the Incas during the fifteenth century is one of the great imperial success stories in world history. Expanding out from its political center in the city of Cusco, *Tahuantinsuyu* came to encompass parts of present-day Ecuador, Bolivia, northern Chile, southern Colombia, and northwestern Argentina. Inca Tahuantinsuyu

- eventually extended more than 350,000 square miles (906,500 square kilometers) and included such varied terrains as high altitude grassy plateaus (*pumas*), low-lying jungles, deserts, coastlines, and fertile river valleys (J. Murra, *La organización económica del estado Inca*, México D.F.: Siglo veintiuno editores, 1983, pp. 57–82).
- 4 B. Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991, p. 71.
 - 5 For important studies of Quechua language policies, restrictions, dialects, and uses within the Viceroyalty of Peru see: A. Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007; C. Itier, *Del siglo de oro al siglo de las luces: lenguaje y sociedad en los Andes del siglo XVIII*, Cusco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos “Bartolomé de Las casas,” 1995; and Itier, “Lengua general y comunicación escrita: cinco cartas en quechua de Cotahuasi-1616,” *Revista Andina*, 9.1, 1991; G. Taylor, *Introducción a la Lengua General (Quechua)*, Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2001; R. Cerrón-Palomino, “El contacto inicial quechua-castellano: la conquista del Perú con dos palabras,” *Lexis*, 34.2, 2010; and Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka*.
 - 6 G. Kubler, “The Quechua in the Colonial World,” in *Handbook of South American Indians: The Andean Civilizations*, vol. 2, ed. J.H. Steward, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1946, p. 355; and N. Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Perú through Indian Eyes, 1530–1570*, trans. Ben and Siân Reynolds, New York: Harper & Row, 1977, p. 143.
 - 7 For a discussion of the notion of the Andean food-landscape as it relates to Quechua verbal and visual art see: A. Krögel, *Food, Power, and Resistance in the Andes*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011.
 - 8 For a discussion of the few scholars who suggest that pre-Colombian markets existed in the Andes, see J. Murra, *El mundo andino: población, medio ambiente y economía*, Lima: Instituto de Estudio Peruanos, 2002, pp. 237–47.
 - 9 J. Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press Inc., 1980; J. Hyslop, *The Incan Road System*, New York: Institute of Andean Research Academic Press, 1984; J.A. Flores Ochoa, “Interaction and Complementarity in Three Zones of Cuzco,” in *Andean Ecology and Civilization: An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Andean Ecological Complementarity*, ed. S. Masuda, I. Shimada and C. Morris, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1985; and K. Spalding, *Huarochiri: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984.
 - 10 Murra, *El mundo andino*, pp. 132–3.
 - 11 Murra, *El mundo andino*, pp. 93–4.
 - 12 Hyslop, *The Incan Road System*.
 - 13 Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*, p. 123.
 - 14 The association between the Spanish military conquest and the Spaniards’ subsequent efforts at gastronomical colonization were so inextricably linked in the minds of many indigenous Andeans that one of the central prohibitions for participants of *Taqui Onqoy*—the indigenous rebel movement which swept through the Andes in the 1560s—included a pledge to shun any foods of Castilian origin (S. Castro-Klarén, “Dancing and the Sacred in the Andes: from Taqui-Oncoy to Rasu-Ñiti,” in *New World Encounters*, ed. S. Greenblatt, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 168–9). As one sixteenth-century informant explained, the new “sect” of Taqui Onqoy taught its followers that: “if the Indians did not want sicknesses to befall them or death but health and the increase of their goods they had to repudiate Christianity ... and they were not to use Christian names nor eat nor dress things of Castilla” (cited in S.E. Ramirez, *To Feed and be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005, p. 107). Thus, followers of Taqui Onqoy believed that if Andean *huacas*—regional or local guardian deities—were properly fed and venerated with sacrificial food and drink, the Spanish invaders would be driven out, catastrophic infection rates would plummet, and Andean crops would flourish once again (S. MacCormick, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Perú*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 184–5; Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished*, p. 181; K. Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 52).
 - 15 Spalding, *Huarochiri*, p. 158; and S. MacCormick, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Perú*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 140–1.

- 16 C.S. Assadourian, "La despoblación indígena en Perú y Nueva España durante el siglo XVI y la formación de la economía colonial," *Historia Mexicana*, 38.3, 1989, 436–7.
- 17 I. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), *Comentarios reales*, intro. J. de la Riva-Agüero (1998), México D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, p. 416; Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," p. 346; M. Jiménez de la Espada (1881–97), 3 vols, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias: Perú, 1577–86*, ed. J.U. Martínez Carreras (1965), Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, vol. 1, p. 234; Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished*, pp. 142–4. As Wachtel points out, the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias* (RGI) remains one of the best sources for information on what Andean and Iberian foodstuffs were being consumed (and by whom) in late sixteenth-century Perú. Compiled between 1577 and 1586 on the order of Felipe II, the RGI is comprised of replies by local officials working throughout New Spain, Perú, and the Philippines to fifty standardized and wide-ranging questions drafted by imperial bureaucrats in Madrid. The questions related to numerous topics, including: political geography and toponymic features; food, language, and housing types; historical, religious, and cultural traditions and beliefs; as well as botanical, zoological, and mineral resources (H. Cline, "The Relaciones Geográficas of the Spanish Indies, 1577–86," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 44.3, 1964, 347–8, 365–71). Of particular interest for students of Spanish–Andean alimentary encounters in early colonial Perú, are colonial officials' answers to questions 24, 25, and 27, which respectively request that officials: "Mention the grains and seeds and other plants and vegetables which have served or serve as subsistence for the natives"; "State what plants have been introduced there from Spain and whether wheat, barley, wines and the olive flourish; in what quantity they are harvested"; "Describe the native animals, birds of prey and domestic fowl and those introduced from Spain and state how well they breed and multiply" (trans. in Cline, "The Relaciones Geográficas," p. 368).
- 18 Spalding, *Huarochirí*, pp. 161–2.
- 19 Spalding, *Huarochirí*, pp. 159–63. Since colonial officials assigned mita service based on the population of eligible males native to any given province, a migrant living in a province where he did not have access to *ayllu* (community) lands and resources was exempt from service. Thus, the mita draft led to tremendous upheaval not only because of repeated, six-month tours of service carried out by male *ayllu* members, but also due to the widespread practice of abandoning one's *ayllu* and home province with the goal of dodging the mita draft (Spalding, *Huarochirí*, p. 166).
- 20 Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished*, p. 143.
- 21 S. Stern, "The Variety and Ambiguity of Native Andean Intervention in Markets," in *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology*, ed. B. Larson and O. Harris, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995, pp. 81–2. While El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega affirms that indigenous Andean men and women were initially quite curious to try new European foodstuffs, he also suggests that after the novelty waned, they were likely to return to the foods they were most accustomed to cultivating and preparing (Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, pp. 423–4; Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," pp. 354–9; Spalding, *Huarochirí*, p. 158).
- 22 Spalding, *Huarochirí*, p. 164.
- 23 Stern, "The Variety and Ambiguity of Native Andean Intervention in Markets," p. 73; J. Mangan, *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005, p. 1.
- 24 Stern, "The Variety and Ambiguity of Native Andean Intervention in Markets."
- 25 P. Cieza de León (1550), *Crónica del Perú: el señorío de los Incas*, ed. F. Pease, Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2005, p. 273. Translations from the Spanish are my own unless otherwise indicated.
- 26 Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú*.
- 27 Stern, "The Variety and Ambiguity of Native Andean Intervention in Markets," p. 76.
- 28 C.S. Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial: el mercado interior, regiones y espacio económico*, México D.F.: Editorial Nueva Imagen, 1983, pp. 289–93, 315–19; Mangan, *Trading Roles*, pp. 76–92; Stern, "The Variety and Ambiguity of Native Andean Intervention in Markets," pp. 76–8, 90–2.
- 29 Stern, "The Variety and Ambiguity of Native Andean Intervention in Markets," p. 90.
- 30 Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú*.
- 31 S.M. Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 41.

- 32 Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, p. 114.
- 33 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, pp. 346–60; Guardia, *La flor morada*, pp. 15–17; J. Super, *Food, Conquest and Colonization in Sixteenth Century Spanish America*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998, pp. 14–17, 20–3.
- 34 H. Horkheimer, *Alimentación y obtención de alimentos en el Perú prehispánico*, Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1973, p. 106.
- 35 F. Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables: A History of Food*, New York: The Free Press, 2002, p. 100; Cabieses, *Cien siglos de pan*, p. 80; A. Brack Egg, *Perú: diez mil años de domesticación*, Lima: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 2003, p. 119; Guardia, *La flor morada*, p. 14.
- 36 R.N. Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato*, ed. J.G. Hawkes, London: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 70–1.
- 37 Although the potato enjoyed almost immediate success in Great Britain after its introduction in the late sixteenth century (particularly in the newly established colony of Ireland), in continental Europe, it did not receive such an enthusiastic welcome (Guardia, *La flor morada*, pp. 75–6; Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables*, p. 99). Its entirely subterranean development, its dubious status as a relative of the poisonous *Solanaceae* (Nightshade) genus, and its lack of odor all contributed to the wary European public's initial suspicion and rejection of the potato (Cabieses, *Cien siglos de pan*, p. 78; R. Harrison, *Signs, Songs, and Memory in the Andes: Translating Quechua Language and Culture*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989, pp. 177–8; M. Michelet, *La bruja: un estudio de las supersticiones en la Edad Media*, trans. R. Lajo and V. Frígola, Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1987, pp. 123–4).
- 38 Cited in Murra, *La organización económica del estado Inca*, p. 33.
- 39 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 175. For an English language translation of selections of the chronicle see: H.V. Livermore (trans.) and K. Spalding (ed.), *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Perú*, by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales* (1609), Indianapolis: Hackett Pub Co., 2006.
- 40 Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables*, p. 99; Centro Internacional de la Papa (CIP), “Potato, Nutrition,” *Quality and Nutrition Lab*, 2012, available at: <http://cipotato.org/potato/nutrition> (accessed December 13, 2012); USDA, “Potato,” *National Nutrient Database*, 2012, available at: <http://ndb.nal.usda.gov/> (accessed December 13, 2012).
- 41 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 138.
- 42 Often referred to as “the virgins of the Sun,” aqllakuna were beautiful maidens chosen from a young age to attend to the ritual needs of Tahuantinsuyu and to serve as Inca rulers' prized servants. The most elite of these “chosen women” lived in a stately residence (known as the *aqllawasi*) located adjacent to the Inca's personal quarters in Cusco and spent their days weaving and preparing special ritual meals for the Inca ruler. For detailed discussions of this fascinating Inca institution, see I. Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Perú*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987, pp. 81–108; P. Gose, “El estado incaico como una ‘mujer escogida’ (aqlla): consumo, tributo en el trabajo y la regulación del matrimonio en el incanato,” in *Más allá del silencio: las fronteras del género en los andes*, ed. D. Arnold, La Paz: ILCA, 1997, pp. 458–73; and T. Zuidema, *Inca Civilization in Cuzco*, trans. J.-J. Decoster, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990, pp. 55–66, 77–8.
- 43 B. Cobo (1653), *Historia del nuevo mundo*, ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada, vol. I (1890) and vol. IV, Sevilla: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces, 1893, pp. 147–8 (vol. 4).
- 44 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 347; Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, vol. 1, p. 347; F. Guaman Poma de Ayala (1615), *El Primer Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, vols I–III, ed. J. Murra and R. Adorno, trans. J.L. Urioste, México D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980, p. 827 (vol. 2); Super, *Food, Conquest and Colonization*, pp. 74–5. For descriptions of chicha production processes, see H. Cutler and M. Cárdenas, “Chicha, una cerveza sudamericana indígena,” in *La tecnología en el mundo andino: Runakunap kawsayninkupaq ruraraqankunaqa*, ed. H. Lechtman and A.M. Soldi, México D.F.: UNAM, 1981 and E. Llosa, “Comer en una picantería Cusqueña,” in *Cultura identidad y cocina en el Perú*, ed. R. Olivas Weston, Lima: Universidad San Martín de Porres, 1992. For a discussion of the economic, political, and religious significance of chicha consumption in the pre-colonial Andes, see C. Morris, “Maize Beer in the Economics, Politics, and Religion of the Inca Empire,” in *Fermented Food Beverages in Nutrition*, ed. C. Gastineau, W. Darby, and T. Turner,

- New York: Academic Press, 1979, pp. 21–35; for essays focusing on the significance of chicha in contemporary and pre-colonial Andean contexts, see J. Jennings and B. Bowser (eds), *Drink, Power, and Society in the Andes*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009.
- 45 F. Ávila (ed.) (1598?) *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí*, trans. José María Arguedas, Lima: Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Jesuitas, 2007, p. 27.
 - 46 Guaman Poma, *Primera nueva corónica*, p. 308 (vol. 1); also cited in Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*, p. 8.
 - 47 D. González Holguín (1608), *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamado Lengua Qquichua o del Inca*, ed. R. Porras Barrenechea, Lima: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1952, p. 239.
 - 48 Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*, pp. 8–9.
 - 49 Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, p. 330 (vol. 1).
 - 50 González Holguín, *Vocabulario*, p. 576.
 - 51 Guaman Poma, *Primera nueva corónica*, pp. 1034, 1037, 1040 (vol. 3).
 - 52 Murra, *El mundo andino*, pp. 147–9.
 - 53 Murra, *El mundo andino*, pp. 148–51.
 - 54 Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, p. 340 (vol. 1).
 - 55 Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, p. 341.
 - 56 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, pp. 346–7.
 - 57 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 347.
 - 58 See A. Miró-Quesada (ed.), “Prólogo,” in Garcilaso de la Vega, I (1609), *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1985, p. xx. Scores of scholarly studies examine the life, work, and intellectual and historical milieu of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. See for example: M. Zamora, *Language, Authority, and Indigenous History in the Comentarios reales de los incas*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988; J.A. Mazzotti, *Coros mestizos del Inca Garcilaso: resonancias andinas*, Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996; F. Pease G.Y., “El Tahuantinsuyu del Inca Garcilaso,” in *Las crónicas y los Andes*, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1995; D.A. Brading, “The Incas and the Renaissance: The Royal Commentaries of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 18.1, 1986 and Miró Quesada, “Prólogo.” For an English language biography of Garcilaso and a description of his four publications—*Diálogos de amor, La Florida del Inca, Comentarios reales*, and *Historia general del Perú*—see D.G. Castanien, *El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969.
 - 59 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, pp. 4–6, 13.
 - 60 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 237; also pp. 37–8.
 - 61 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 169.
 - 62 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, pp. 169–70.
 - 63 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 170.
 - 64 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 350.
 - 65 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 349.
 - 66 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, pp. 351, 357.
 - 67 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, pp. 406–24; see also J. Ortega, “Discourse of Abundance,” trans. Nicolás Wey Gómez, in *American Literary History*, 4.3, 1992, 374–81; and Ortega, *Transatlantic Translations: Dialogues in Latin American Literature*, London: Reaktion Books, 2006, pp. 57–8.
 - 68 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 416.
 - 69 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 417.
 - 70 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 420.
 - 71 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 421.
 - 72 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*.
 - 73 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*.
 - 74 R. González Echevarría, *Celestina’s Brood: Continuities of the Baroque in Spanish and Latin American Literature*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993, pp. 101–2.
 - 75 S. de Covarrubias Orozco (1611), *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*. Madrid: Google e-book (accessed June 6, 2013), p. 554r; see also González Echevarría, *Celestina’s Brood*, pp. 96–7.
 - 76 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 420.
 - 77 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 422.

- 78 Ortega, “Leer y describir: el Inca Garcilaso y el sujeto de la abundancia,” in *El hombre y los Andes: homenaje a Franklin Pease G.Y.*, vol. 1, ed. J. Flores Espinoza and R. Varón Gabai, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 2000, p. 402; and Ortega, *Transatlantic Translations*, p. 56.
- 79 Ortega, “Leer y describir,” p. 402; “Discourse of Abundance,” p. 377; and *Transatlantic Translations*, pp. 56–7.
- 80 I am indebted to González Echevarría for this reading of Garcilaso’s representation of vegetable abundance in Perú. In chapter four of his book *Celestina’s Brood: Continuities of the Baroque in Spanish and Latin American Literature*, González Echevarría demonstrates how the figure of the monster in Calderón’s play *La vida es sueño* (1635) becomes an emblem of chaos and confusion and a means for the playwright’s conveyance of shock and surprise to his audience (*Celestina’s Brood*, pp. 82–3).
- 81 Guaman Poma, *Primera nueva corónica*, pp. 342–3 (vol. 2).
- 82 See also Ortega, *Transatlantic Translations*, pp. 68–9. The Incas’ appreciation of the aesthetic effects produced by gold and silver ornaments is evident in the descriptions of the gold leaved walls of Qoricancha (the “Temple of the Sun”), as well as the many sacred objects which Inca artisans fashioned from the precious metals. Indeed, the Incas honored their staple foodstuffs by creating golden replicas of each crop within Cusco’s Qoricancha temple (Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 135).
- 83 Guaman Poma, *Primera nueva corónica*, p. 500 (vol. 2).
- 84 As proof that there is “more than enough bread in this kingdom,” Guaman Poma’s “First Chapter of the Christian Indians” includes an even longer and more detailed list of foods cultivated and enjoyed by indigenous Andeans (*Primera nueva corónica*, pp. 840–1, vol. 2). Roland Hamilton suggests that Guaman Poma’s penchant for exhaustive lists such as these may reflect his familiarity with *quipus*, the knotted cords used by the Incas for recording Tahuantinsuyu’s history, as well as its military, political, and agricultural administration (R. Hamilton (trans.), *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615*, by Guaman Poma de Ayala, F. (1615) *El Primer nueva corónica i buen gobierno*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009, p. xix).
- 85 Ortega, “Guaman Poma y el discurso de los alimentos,” *Socialismo y participación*, 63, 1993, p. 33; and *Transatlantic Translations*, pp. 73–6.
- 86 Ortega, “Guaman Poma y el discurso de los alimentos,” p. 33.
- 87 For English translations of selected chapters of Cobo’s *Historia* see: R. Hamilton (trans.), *Inca Religion and Customs*, by B. Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo* (1653), Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990; and Hamilton (trans.), *History of the Inca Empire: An Account of the Indians’ Customs and their Origin, together with a Treatise on Inca Legends, History, and Social Institutions*, by B. Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo* (1653), Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.
- 88 R. Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú (1528–1650) y otros ensayos*, ed. F. Pease G.Y., Lima: Banco de crédito, 1986, p. 509; and R. Hamilton, “Introduction: Father Cobo and the Incas,” in B. Cobo (1653) *Historia del nuevo mundo*, trans. Roland Hamilton, *Inca Religion and Customs*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990, pp. xi–xv.
- 89 Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, p. 347 (vol. 1).
- 90 Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, p. 348 (vol. 1).
- 91 Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, p. 827 (vol. 2).
- 92 Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, pp. 4, 65.
- 93 P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge: Polity, 1984, p. 170; R. Duschinsky, “Ideal and Unsullied: Purity, Subjectivity and Social Power,” *Subjectivity*, 4, 2011, 154–5. Informal discussions with chicha connoisseurs in rural and urban highland Perú suggest that the discourse of purity related to chicha production and consumption continues to reflect relative subject positions within contemporary Andean society. In the city of Cusco, as well as in the highland towns of Chinchero, Pisac, and Urubamba and in various indigenous communities within the district of Chincero, indigenous Quechua men and women attest to muqu chicha’s superior flavor, intensity, and nutritional value and insist that the easier to produce wiñapu variety contains artificial additives. On the other hand, urban mestizos almost always claim to prefer the more “hygienic” wiñapu chicha.

- 94 See also M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, New York: Routledge, 2002, pp. 4–6.
- 95 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 347.
- 96 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*.
- 97 Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales*, p. 416.