

TRANSLATION AND THE DISCOVERY OF WESTERN AND ANDEAN EPISTEMOLOGIES IN THE PRACTICES OF ALCOHOL DRINKING

Resumen

América surge como una construcción cultural a partir del “descubrimiento”. Este ensayo examina el impacto de este evento y su incidencia en la articulación de sujetos coloniales andinos a través del consumo alcohólico. Específicamente exploro la relación entre la traducción, la representación y la transgresión y su manifestación en La crónica del Perú (1553), Relación general de la Villa Imperial de Potosí (1585), De procuranda indorum salute (1577), El primer corónica y buen gobierno (1615), y Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes (1776). Conjuntamente con demostrar cómo los cronistas usan el discurso del consumo alcohólico para articular la inferioridad mediante imágenes de diferencia sexual y de género, la tradición oral y la idolatría, también pruebo que la traducción no borra la cultura andina cuya cosmología e identidad logra emerger de las interpretaciones de los cronistas que son producto del carácter universal, normativo y desautorizador de la epistemología occidental al servicio del colonialismo.

Palabras clave: consumo de alcohol, discurso colonial, diferencia cultural, estudios culturales, traducción

Abstract

America became a cultural construction at the moment of the “discovery.” This essay examines the impact of this process in the writing of Andean colonial subjects on the grounds of alcohol drinking. Specifically, I explore the relationship between translation, representation, and deviance and how it manifests itself in La crónica del Perú (1553), Relación general de la Villa Imperial de Potosí (1585), De procuranda indorum salute (1577), El primer corónica y buen gobierno (1615), and Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes (1776). While I demonstrate how Spanish and indigenous informants use the discourse on alcohol drinking to articulate inferiority through images of gender and sexual difference, oral tradition, and idolatry, I also illustrate that translation neither erases nor clothes Andean culture, whose cosmology and identity emerge out of these chroniclers’ interpretations that result from the universal, normative and de-authoritative character of Western epistemology in the service of colonialism.

Keywords: alcohol drinking, colonial discourse, cultural difference, cultural studies, translation

Pero hay que confesar que toda la vida del indio gira en torno a las vasijas del vino. Sus excesos no eran una debilidad más, disculpable y enfermiza, sino algo dignificante a sus ojos, algo de lo que hacían gala públicamente, teniendo las borracheras como signo de hombría, de virilidad y buen tono.

(Lejarza, "Las borracheras y el problema de las conversiones en Indias")¹

Alcohol drinking in the form of *chicha* or corn beer links together many cultural aspects of the Andean region. During the Inca period (1440-1532), it is connected with economic issues of subsistence and agriculture, especially those involving "reciprocity" and the sacred.² Drinking becomes a highly regulated activity of which Andean chroniclers such as Guaman Poma de Ayala provide first-hand information.³ As the conquest introduces the separation of religion and production—a relationship that guarantees *ayllus* wealth, self-sufficiency, and power—native alcohol drinking yields to the sixteenth-century cultural translation: *borrachera*. Spanish mentality interprets this behavior in terms of idolatry, and sexual misconduct that is, moral inferiority.

In this effort that links alcohol drinking to moral "filth" and disorder, it is important to acknowledge the relevance of cultural "translation" as a metaphor for erasure and concealment in the construction of Indians and alcohol as inferior.⁴ As Clifford Geertz argues, interpretations decentralize cultural

¹ Fidel de Lejarza, "Las borracheras y el problema de las conversiones en Indias" *Archivo Iberoamericano*, 1 (1941), p. 229-69.

² The production of *chicha* involved corn mash or chewing that produced alcohol concentration in the beverage—diastase converted starch into dextrin and then into sugar that caused fermentation. See Hugh Cutler, "Chicha, una cerveza sudamericana indígena", in Heather Lechtman (comp.), *La tecnología en el mundo andino*, México, U Autónoma de México, 1981; p. 247-59. *Chicha* mediated rituals, cooperative work and hierarchical relations that supported reciprocity. Steve Stern describes reciprocity as the means through which a community or *ayllu*—that is a group made up of dispersed producers linked by kinship—engages in equal exchanges of labor in the name of economic self-sufficiency, wellbeing, and power. See Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest. Huamanga to 1640*, Wisconsin, U of Wisconsin P, 1982; p. 6-8. For depictions of *chicha* drinking in the context of collective production and social/religious order, see Guaman Poma de Ayala's illustrations in *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno (comp.), México, Siglo Veintiuno editores, 1980; p. 224, 1050, 80, 126, 220, and 268. El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega also describes *chicha* in the latter context in *Comentarios reales*, México, Porrúa, 1990; p. 248, 250 and 253.

³ Guaman Poma portrays *castigos* regarding alcohol consumption. *Op. cit.* 315, 878. On ritual, production, and *chicha* drinking, see Stern, *Op. cit.* 13-19, and Thierry Saignes, *Borrachera y memoria. La experiencia de lo sagrado en los Andes*, La Paz, Lima, Hisbol/lfea, 1993.

⁴ Mary Douglas' ideas on the social implications of religious prohibitions can be applied to the context of Andean alcohol drinking and translation. In her anthropological analysis, dirt is what is disruptive of borders, which constitutes order and system; dirt is "the by-product of a systematic ordering ... of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements." See *Purity and Danger. Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978; p. 35. Colonial discourse uses alcohol drinking as metaphor for social dirt/illness that disrupts imperial cultural homogenization.

experiences by providing diverse explanations that remove them and their participants in space and time from the “social matrix” that brought them forth.⁵ While one of my interests is to depict how translation functions as a barrier to meaning, the other is to illustrate how this native identity emerges out of the conqueror’s condemning writings. Thus, interpreted as a “problem” on the grounds of Spanish religious and cultural purity, Andean drinking is translated into a negative discourse that demands control and “public action” in the form of religious intervention.⁶

Ironically, colonial Spaniards interpreted their advent into the New World as the public intervention Amerindians needed to enter Christianity, which was understood as the only state where they might be able to fulfill their true humanity.⁷ This orthodox spirit pervaded all their textual representations. As shown by the epigraph, historian Fidel de Lejarza emulates the allegorical nature of Spanish chronicles regarding the obstacles Christianity found in America: “toda la vida del indio gira en torno a las vasijas del vino.”⁸ Excessive drinking antagonized religious demands for cultural homogenization. By making specific reference to moral impurity, the epigraph also emulates the reflective approach that some colonial historians followed when recording their impressions. They did not only criticize: “sus excesos” and interpret facts through an alien epistemology: “debilidad” but also provided explanations of native experience: “algo dignificante.” Hence, along with denouncing cultural practices, chroniclers did engage in a process of embracing the “other” through adorned reports and elaborate clarifications of their ways of being.

The discursive dichotomy—that is, the process of embracing and rejecting Andean cultural experience—that results from the subject’s self-awareness in relation to the other’s, brings with it identity crisis. Cultural and racial impurity, as well as self-reflexiveness, are at the core of this identity crisis, in which the conqueror defines his identity by criticizing, interpreting, and de-authorizing that of the native’s. After having expelled the Jew and the *Morisco* from the Spanish Empire, the colonizer identifies in colonization another instance of cultural differentiation that expresses itself in a discourse based on racial

⁵ See his *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology*, New York, Basic Books, 1983; p. 44.

⁶ Although current scientific research has replaced religious authority, the classification of alcohol drinking as deviant behavior has not changed. It is a “social problem ... that should be eradicated or alleviated by public action” on the basis of bodily and mental health. See Joseph Gusfield, *Contested Meanings*, Wisconsin, U of Wisconsin P, 1996; p. 17.

⁷ See Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man. The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1982; p. 20.

⁸ Rolena Adorno argues that chronicles “typically drew moral implications from historical facts or reduced historical events to the status of manifestations of moral forces presumed to direct the universe.” See *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, Austin, U of Texas P, 2000; p. 4. Lejarza articulates deviance on such a premise.

and religious categories and rejection.⁹ In this context, the encounter sets off, as Rolena Adorno explains, the subject's self-recognition of the necessity to fix his own boundaries (164).¹⁰ Similarly to Adorno, it is here argued that the reproduction of Spanish cultural categories in the Andes contributes to this identity crisis. Yet, this identity crisis functions as discursive generator that promotes a discourse that affirms and rejects indigenous culture.¹¹ I will depict how chroniclers use alcohol drinking as a discursive device to express the dual nature of the process of affirming and rejecting indigenous culture.

In so doing, this essay presents a comparative study of Western and Andean epistemologies on the grounds of alcohol drinking. First, I examine the relationship between translation, representation and deviance and how it manifests itself in the works by Pedro Cieza de León, José de Acosta, Luis Capoche, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and Alonso Carrió de la Vandra.¹² The approach to deviance is based on the religious and economic construction of indigenous behavior as aberrant. Specifically, the analysis focuses on the use that these writers make of native alcohol abuse to articulate inferiority, which they depict through images of gender and sexual difference, oral tradition, and idolatry. Second, as I describe these authors' constructions of inferiority, I simultaneously present their portraits of alcohol consumption as reflection of Andean cultural practices by virtue of its connection to the same categories—gender, sexuality, oral tradition, and idolatry. In these texts identity crisis works as a discursive operator that surfaces in a simultaneous process that rejects and embraces Andean legacy.

⁹ I understand rejection through Julia Kristeva's abjection, which she defines as "what does not respect borders, positions, rules Abjection ... is immoral." See *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, Trans. Leon S. Roudiez, New York, Columbia UP, 1982; p. 4.

¹⁰ See "The Colonial Subject and the Cultural Construction of the Other" *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, 17-18 (1990-1991); p. 149-65.

¹¹ The discursive dichotomy of colonial discourse (e.g. rejection and embrace of native values) resembles that of twentieth century writers' fixation with cultural autochthony. The latter, as Carlos Alonso explains in the context of the regional novel, acts as "rhetorical device, a discursive operator that has engendered the variegated collection of texts that constitutes Latin American cultural production." See Carlos Alonso, *The Spanish American Regional Novel. Modernity and Autochthony*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1990; p. 16. Although both time periods ideologically differ, one can argue that the discovery becomes America's introduction to the modern. Moreover, the ubiquitous character of modernity as a result of its "collection of interlocking institutional, cultural, and philosophical strands which emerge and develop at different times and which are often only defined as "modern" retrospectively," promotes the identification of identity crisis. This type of crisis forges rhetorical devices that reflect the writer's critical perspective towards cultural hegemony. See Lawrence Cahoon cited in Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity*. Cambridge, Harvard UP, 1995; p. 12.

¹² See Cieza de León's, *La crónica del Perú* (1553), Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1962, Acosta's *De procuranda indorum salute* (1577), L. Pereña (comp.) Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984, Luis Capoche's *Relación general de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* (1585) Ed. Lewis Hanke, Madrid, Atlas, 1959, Guaman Poma's *op. cit.* (1615), and Carrió de la Vandra's *El lazarrillo de ciegos caminantes* (1776), Juan Perez de Tudela (comp.), Madrid, Atlas, 1959.

ALCOHOL DRINKING AND COLONIAL DEVIANCE

In their ethnographic accounts of the Andean world, Spanish chroniclers turned to the cultural construction of deviance to depict Amerindian alterity. As Roberto González Echevarría puts it: “how could this new story be told in a language burdened by old stories?” Spaniards saw America as a text whose reading and interpretation depended on epistemological categories that preceded the encounter.¹³ For example, motivated by the ethics of Spain Counter Reformation (religious/racial purity and honor), the conquerors had no difficulty in extracting, as Irene Silverblatt explains, a narrative of heresy from Andean rituals.¹⁴ Take for example, the portraits on the pagan done by the Jesuit ethnographer and theologian, José de Acosta (1540-1600): “Contra los hechiceros habrá que luchar más duramente en demostrar sus engaños y fraudes, demostrar su ignorancia” (375). Their understanding of indigenous behavior was also guided by the synthesis of ancient philosophy—Aristotle’s works (384 B.C.)—and Christian theology accomplished by Thomas Aquinas (1225-74). In Aquinas’ view human behavior subordinates itself to divine order/reason. However, the knowledge of and abiding to such rule was unavailable to those whose behavior was dominated by passions. Aquinas states that man was created as a union of body and soul, and in which the latter controlled the former through reason. Man’s fall from grace destroyed the balance inherent to that duality and favored his incapability to fight pleasure and discern truth. Thus, alcohol drinking and sexual desire deviated natives from divine order, and made them inferior and subject to appetites and passions. Alcohol intoxication according to the *Tercero catecismo* (1585) epitomized the transgression of the mind over body that guaranteed social order and superiority.¹⁵ In addition, sixteenth-century legal and philosophical debates on the nature of natives also promoted this soul/body dualism in order to justify colonization. Francisco de Vitoria, and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda whose views found in the writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas its main adversary, relied on the Aristotelian notion of inferior that facilitated that of slavery: “[it] is better for ... all inferiors that they should be under the rule of a master ... For he who participates in rational principle enough to apprehend, but not to have ... is a slave by nature.”¹⁶ In this manner, Amerindian representation revolved around barbarism, idolatry, irrationality, and drunkenness.¹⁷ Doubtlessly, these depictions pursued the covert aim of the

¹³ *Op. cit.*; p. 43.

¹⁴ See *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1987; p. 175.

¹⁵ See Adorno’s *Guaman Poma*; p. 67.

¹⁶ See Aristotle, *Politics*. Trans. Benjamin Jowett, New York, Random House, 1943; p. 59.

¹⁷ On idealized feminizing and child-like descriptions of the Indians—which is another trope of Amerindian representation, of which Columbus’ diary is a good example—see Margarita Zamora’s *Reading Columbus*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, U of California, 1993; p. 152-179.

bulls of donation granted to Ferdinand and Isabel in 1493 by Alexander VI: the right not only to conquer and evangelize but also to enslave the Indians.¹⁸

The soldier and historian Pedro Cieza de León (1518-60), who visited Cuzco in 1550, and wrote the first history of Peruvian peoples and lands from the Spanish arrival in Inca territory through 1557, offers in *La crónica del Perú* (1553), a long but valuable description of indulgent and inferior bodies that transgress Christian homogenizing ideals and behaviors:

Son riquísimos de oro, porque tenían ... dél ... muy lindos vasos con que bebían el vino que ellos hacen del maíz, tan recio que bebiendo mucho priva el sentido a los que beben. Son tan viciosos en beber, que se bebe un indio, de una sentada, una arroba y más ... Y teniendo el vientre lleno deste brebaje, provocan a vómito y lanzan lo que quieren, y muchos tienen con la una mano la vasija con que están bebiendo y con la otra el miembro con que orinan ... y esto del beber es vicio envejecido en costumbre, que generalmente tienen todos los indios que hasta agora se han descubierto en estas Indias. (85)

In this passage the indigenous body that is out of control—ruled by pleasure and body functions—illustrates the binary oppositions inherent to Western epistemology and upon which knowledge of the “other” is constructed. As expected, the illustration focuses on the body ruling over mind and spirit, which Cieza depicts through native alcohol abuse. The passage also links the native body to impurity, sinfulness, nature, and reproduction, which since Greek times epitomizes femaleness. Drunken Indians are slaves to their body functions and look like pregnant women: “teniendo el vientre lleno deste brebaje,” and the fluid/urine that leaves their body could be compared to “water” that in Andean thought, symbolizes the “feminine.”¹⁹ Undoubtedly, Cieza links the male body to female images involved in reproduction, which according to Aquinas “excludes” women from the manifestations of reason.²⁰ It is no coincidence then that Cieza sees alcohol intoxication and its consequences as a means to depict gendered inferior identities in need of tutelage. Certainly, his depiction of the “other” suggests that vision, as W. Mitchell explains, is “not without a purpose ... the innocent eye is blind [for the] world is already clothed in our systems of representation.”²¹ Cieza’s vision, in MacCormack’s words, was influenced by Greek and Roman historians, sixteenth-century Spanish ideas, and the study of notes about the subject done by his contemporaries.²² There-

¹⁸ Pagden, *op. cit.*; p. 29.

¹⁹ See Constance Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*, Salt Lake City: U of Utah P, 1993; p. 13.

²⁰ Cited in Genevieve Lloyd, *The Man of Reason. “Male” & “Female” in Western Philosophy*. Minneapolis, U of Minnesota P, 1993; p. 36-7.

²¹ See Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1986; p. 38.

²² See *Religion in the Andes. Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton, Princeton UP, 1991; p. 81, 89.

fore, it conveys this idea of “concealment,” that is found in all metaphors of reading and writing when they are applied to signifying places and peoples.²³ Furthermore, Cieza’s agenda and translation fit the label of cultural construction that is inherent to ethnographic writings: “something made or fashioned” that is classified as “partial truth” or as “systems, or economies, of truth” through which power and history works.²⁴

Notwithstanding, Cieza’s articulation of inferiority through deviance and the transference of meaning does not entirely suppress his attempt to record cultural practices before destruction. Fortunately, his reflective approach to record Andean reality, allows one to go beyond his imaginative construction: “esto del beber es vicio envejecido en costumbre” to find important elements of Andean cosmology. For instance, take his description of the relationship between alcohol and memory: “Tienen gran cuidado de hacer sus areitos o cantares ordenadamente ... recontando en sus cantares ... las cosas pasadas y siempre bebiendo hasta quedar muy embriagados; y como están sin sentido, algunos toman las mujeres que quieren ... usan con ellas sus lujurias, sin tenerlo por cosa fea, porque ni ... miran mucho en la honra” (136). By explaining the context and rational in which drinking occurs, Cieza does not only generate an alternative interpretation that establishes alcohol drinking and inebriation as avenues to Andean past and memory but he also provides one with the tools to dig out Andean identity. From his interpretation of rituals, one can extract a narrative of Andean identity, in which fecundity and pleasure function as some of the main components of native cosmology. Yet, Cieza’s fixation with fluids (*chicha*, urination, and vomit) also suggests the need to think of the relationship between fecundity and production, and the implication of irrigation for a state in which political control depends on efficient agricultural procedures.²⁵ Therefore, by articulating the “other” through social impurity and abjection, this historian extols an important aspect of Inca control and survival: water.

In all agricultural states, as it was the case of the Inca Empire, the political control was connected to the production of “systematic surpluses beyond the subsistence needs of the peasantry” with which the Inca would provide the conquered population.²⁶ Robert Randall indicates that the successful distribution of water in a land whose cultivable soil was, if not two per cent, of unprecedented

²³ See Brian Stock, “Reading, Community and a Sense of Place”, in James Duncan (comp.), *Place/Culture/Representation*, London, New York, Routledge, 1993; p. 318.

²⁴ See James Clifford and George E. Marcus. “Introduction” *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, U of California P, 1986; p. 6-7.

²⁵ “Body fluids, like rivers, must be properly controlled so that they integrate the structure of the body (the land) without disintegrating it.” See Classen, *op. cit.*; p. 15. Water becomes male when it is seen as semen fertilizing the earth. *Ibid.*; p. 13.

²⁶ See John V. Murra, “Rite and Crop in the Inca State” in Stanley Diamond (comp.), *Culture in History*, New York, Columbia UP, 1960. 399.

value.²⁷ Andean cosmology connected alcohol drinking, the body, and sexuality to nature and fertility. This cosmology portrayed the human body and the earth as similar entities regarding the circulation of water. Randall explains that *borracheras*—as Cieza depicts them (85)—reproduce the vital circulation of fluids upon which fertility and fecundity depend.²⁸ The excessive drinking of *chicha* during agricultural ritual, accompanied by urination or “seminal water,” did not only represent water-recycling and copious irrigation but also symbolized energy and fertility (84, 88).²⁹ In Inca thought, male bodies are connected to nature and cycles of reproduction the same way as female bodies. However, they function as complementary opposites, in which one is essential to the existence of the other and their cooperation insures the continuity of the species, production, and cosmos. As Constance Classen puts it: “no normal adult body is complete without a partner of the opposite sex” in Andean cosmology.³⁰

Conversely, this ideal heterosexual cooperation on the grounds of mutual obligations, translated into sexual misconduct. Spaniards equated excessive drinking and sexuality with weakness, vice, and lack of chastity.³¹ In the eyes of the newcomers, *borracheras* perpetuated idolatry, laziness, and sexual aberrance—*amancebamientos*, adultery, sodomy, and incest.³² The Jesuit intellectual, José de Acosta, who traveled to Peru in 1571 when Viceroy Francisco de Toledo was re-organizing the state, depicts this topic in the first “moral history” of Andeans.³³ In *De procuranda indorum salute* (1577) that served as manual for the ministry of Indians, Acosta shows how Western epistemology exercises imperial power over Amerindians through deviant sexual labels:

²⁷ Robert Randall, “Del tiempo del río: El ciclo de la historia y la energía en la cosmología incaica” *Boletín de Lima* 54 (1987), 69-95.

²⁸ *Ibid.*; p. 85.

²⁹ R. Tom Zuidema links the drunk body to fertility; the body is viewed as a human river that impregnates the earth and also women, and from whom fluids—urine and vomit—emerge. See Zuidema cited in Carolyn Dean, “Andean Androgeny and the Making of Men” in Cecelia F. Klein (comp.), *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 2001; p. 172.

³⁰ See *op. cit.*; p. 13. Guaman Poma illustrates agricultural tasks involving men and women, who symbolize the principles of fecundity, fertility and the complementarity of the sexes. See Irene Silverblatt’s *op. cit.* (1987).

³¹ See Solange Alberro and Serge Gruzinski, *Introducción a la historia de las mentalidades*. México, Seminario de historia de las mentalidades y religión en el México colonial, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1979; p. 168.

³² Lopez de Gómara argues that unorthodox sexual practices were common among Peruvians who “in general were guilty of sodomy.” See him cited in Richard Trexler, *Sex and Conquest. Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas*. Ithaca, New York, 1995; p. 106. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco (1539-1613) defines *borracheras* as *embriaguez*, and makes reference to such deviant behavior as he links them to *descompostura* and *vocería*. See his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Felipe C.R. Maldonado (comp.) Madrid, Editorial Castalia, 1994; p. 200.

³³ See Pagden, *op. cit.*; 149.

las mayores obscenidades y los crímenes más nefandos ... durante ... la embriaguez, son tenidos entre los indios en mucho honor. Cantan ... se juntan personas de toda edad, sexo y parentesco. Beben a porfía, cubas enteras se vacían sin dar tiempo a respirar. Se arman ... de baile ... y danzan hasta que Baco los tumba por el suelo ... Todo está permitido ... en ... las leyes de la borrachera. De ahí surgen las aberraciones ... no se perdona a las doncellas ... ni a la madre. No hay diferencia ninguna entre los cónyuges. La pasión hace furor incluso ... hombres con hombres cometen las mayores torpezas. (559-61)

Acosta makes reference to sodomy, honor, incest, mythology, Christian marriage, and *pudor* that merge into a complex discourse that is alien to Andean thought and helps provide justification for conquest and evangelization. Deviance becomes a reflection of unwanted social behaviors that link the indigenous body to what is morally unwanted and socially filthy. Indian behaviors transgress the boundaries of the symbolic system constructed by sixteenth-century religion. In so doing, Acosta's as well as other chroniclers' "othering" discourse responds to the need to differentiate the other from the self. As Rolena Adorno explains: "The discourses created about, and by, these colonial subjects did not come into being only because of the desire to know the other; their origin had to do with the necessity of differentiating hierarchically the subject from the other and deciding one's relationship to the other."³⁴ It is through this particular reflection of reality that native experience is articulated in a different language and epistemology. Thus, in this instance of interpreting and incorporating alien realities into Spanish knowledge, translation stands as a metaphor of exclusion and concealment. In this case, in Acosta's references, one finds the extension of the conqueror's rationality; translation integrates Indians into the Christian kingdom through the rhetoric of lust and sodomy.

However, Andeans saw sin and sexuality differently from Spaniards. Their views go back again to their main activity: agriculture. By dancing and drinking *chicha* abundantly to complete drunkenness, as Acosta describes (561), Andeans would celebrate agricultural rituals related to irrigation and the sowing of fields twice a year. The latter metaphorically caused the forces of masculinity and femininity represented by fertility and fecundity, which were most of the time separated, to get together: "planting was a metaphor for sexual intercourse and its creative potential."³⁵ The participants who celebrated the union of these forces, also engaged in sexual rituals or as the Spaniards put it *orgías*.³⁶ By means of the "open" expression of sexuality and desire, which emulated nature's productivity, they tried, in turn, to promote nature's fertility and optimize agricultural and cattle production. Randall argues: "la licencia sexual durante las dos veces del año cuando Pacha Mama está abierta tiene

³⁴ *Op. cit.* "The Colonial Subject"; p. 164.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*; p. 160.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*; p. 561.

el propósito de inseminarla. Así, del mismo modo que las “borracheras” y las “orgías” andinas permiten garantizar la fertilidad de las mieses y estimular el flujo del agua seminal por el cosmos” (88).³⁷ Andean traditions of sexual behavior, as Silverblatt indicates, encouraged mainly the notion of “being fruitful,” which prevailed over peninsular ideas regarding premarital chastity and *pudor*.³⁸ Andean rituals did not only encourage the expression and practice of Andean sexuality and drinking in order to insure the principle of continuity regarding lineage and material well being of the community, but also encouraged continuity in the field of social memory.

ORAL AND VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF SOCIAL MEMORY

Along with being a space for performing the rituals that would guarantee Andeans the regeneration of natural resources, the celebration context, as Cieza de León and Acosta indicate, contributed to the preservation of Andean social memory. Despite of the heretical narrative of discrimination that ritual and alcohol drinking generated, Cieza presents clues (e.g. fluids and sexuality) that translate the indigenous/autochthonous element into a language of cultural identity. As chroniclers record, *cantares* and drinking are at the core of celebrations and Cieza de León presents *cantares* as narratives or clues to the understanding of native past. While *cantares* help in the preservation of tradition, Cieza is interested in showing how alcohol mediates such a survival:

Cuando salían a sus fiestas y placeres ... juntábanse todos los indios, y dos dellos, con dos atambores, hacían son, donde ... comienzan a danzar y bailar; al cual todos siguen, y llevando cada uno la vasija del vino en la mano; porque beber, bailar, cantar, todo lo hacen en un tiempo. Sus cantares son recitar a su uso los trabajos presentes y recontar los sucesos pasados de sus mayores. No tienen creencia ninguna. Hablan con el demonio de la manera que los demás. (88)

Similarly, Luis Capoche, who dedicated his *Relación general de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* (1585) to Hernando de Torres y Portugal, Count of Villar and Viceroy of Perú in order to present him with a detailed description of the natural resources and their economic implications, accounts for such tradition: “Acostumbran estos a beber en público juntándose mucha gente, así hombres y mujeres, los cuales hacen grandes bailes en que usan de ritos y ceremonias antiguas, trayendo a la memoria en sus cantares la gentilidad pasada” (141). Alonso Carrió de la Vandra, who was appointed a government official to inspect the system of mail and posts between Buenos Aires and Lima by

³⁷ See his article, “Los dos vasos. Cosmovisión y política de la embriaguez desde el inkanato hasta la colonia” in Thierry Saignes (comp.), *Borracheras y memoria La experiencia de lo sagrado en los Andes*. La Paz, Lima, Hisbol/Ifea, 1993; p. 73-112.

³⁸ *Honor, Sex, and Civilizing Missions in Making of Seventeenth-Century Peru*. Maryland, U of Maryland at College Park, 1994; p. 16-17.

the second half of the eighteenth century (1771-73), also links, in his travelogue, *Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* (1776), celebration to *cantares* and oral tradition: “por medio de los cantares y cuentos conservan muchas idolatrías y fantásticas grandezas de sus antepasados” (372). In these rituals, alcohol and *cantares* allowed group members to awaken their knowledge of the values that joined them as a community. Anthropologist Thierry Saignes indicates that ritual drinking unites Andeans with gods and the dead (17).³⁹ By remembering in common, they perform a meaningful and habitual act that by virtue of repetition or “recontar,” gains persuasive and persistent force to the building up of social memory.⁴⁰ These chroniclers present rituals as symbolic spaces where cultural values are re-created through *cantares* and drinking. Along with accompanying oral accounts, drinking, dancing and singing also help natives resist colonial repression. These practices promote knowledge and cohesion through shared history and kinship. Resistance surfaces in Cieza’s concluding remark about their communication with gods/native tradition through the channels of alcohol intoxication.⁴¹ Ironically, the demonic image, which he uses to end his interpretation of the ritual, is another example of chroniclers’ attempt to “bridging the gap between peoples,” to make familiar the unfamiliar, i.e., his use of “translation” as it has been traditionally viewed since antiquity.⁴²

Interestingly, Cieza also makes reference to clothing attire as another clue or cultural practice that was instrumental in the preservation of identity: “Y cuando celebran sus ... bailes y areitos, en los cuales no se gastaba poca cantidad de su vino, hecho de maíz ... Todos andan vestidos con mantas y camisetas ricas, y traen por señal en la cabeza, para ser conocidos dellos unas hondas, y otros uno cordones a manera de cinta no muy ancha (214). *Mantas*, *camisetas*, *hondas* and *cordones* seem to speak louder than words in trying to ethnically differentiate people. As visible expressions of rituals and native culture, they promote cultural continuity. Mary Douglas points out that the visible expression of rituals allows a particular community to reconstruct a non-existing reality; it facilitates participants to know their society.⁴³ Hence, Cieza presents garments and oral accounts as instruments of knowledge to access the past and the memory that has been disrupted by crisis. So, the space of the ritual that

³⁹ Thierry Saignes, “‘Estar en otra cabeza:’ tomar en los Andes.” in *op. cit.*; p. 11-21.

⁴⁰ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge UP, 1989; p. 88.

⁴¹ Alcohol intoxication due to its close connection to ritual posed a major challenge for the extirpators of idolatries throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the connections between alcohol and religious deviance, see Barnard and Gruzinski, especially sections entitled: “Extirpaciones” and “Luces,” in *De la idolatría. Una arqueología de las ciencias religiosas*. México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992, as well as Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies. Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. Princeton, Princeton UP, 1997.

⁴² See Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context*. Berkeley, U of California P, 1992; p. 47.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*; p. 62, 128.

involves drinking, oral accounts, and visible expressions of culture implies activity and performance, i.e., “ritualisation.” Through the latter, performance becomes the arena in which the affirmation of identity takes place.⁴⁴ Cieza does not only link ritual and native performance to cultural continuity but also shows that “resistance hides and dwells in the rites of religion.”⁴⁵ It follows that alcohol drinking facilitates the workings of resistance—language, oral tradition, clothing attire, and religious beliefs—in the Indian world.

INFERIOR IDENTITIES

By closely depicting a group who relies on cultural practices that are mediated by *cantares* and alcohol consumption to preserve cultural legacy and identity, Cieza, as well as Capoche demean Andeans on the basis of oral tradition. In the pyramidal system of Western knowledge, oral tradition denotes ignorance as opposed to alphabetic writing, which scholars such as Ángel Rama define as symbol of order, power, permanence, and rigidity that counteracts the signs of insecurity and precariousness posed by the *palabra hablada*.⁴⁶ Its absence according to Walter Mignolo, reinforces indigenous articulations based on difference and questions the validity of oral narratives.⁴⁷ Thus, the absence of the written word in the Amerindian world mistakenly translates as lack of history and truth. These deficiencies equate ignorance with inferiority; even Bartolomé de las Casas considered natives as barbarians due to their lack of “literary language.”⁴⁸ According to Mignolo, de las Casas’ example illustrated “the tyranny of the alphabet [whose implications connected] civilization [to] alphabetic writing.”⁴⁹ In Cieza’s, Capoche’s and Carrio’s discourse, oral tradition and the absence of the written word stand out as metaphors for cultural difference: “usan de una manera de romances o cantares, con los cuales les queda memoria de sus acaecimientos, sin se les olvidar, aunque carecen de letras” (Cieza 259).

Alongside the lack of alphabetic writing, ritual alcohol drinking represented a disadvantage to the civilization/colonial project. *Borracheras*, as previously described, favored the occurrence of unaccepted behavior: idolatry and sexual misconduct. They kept indigenous peoples from overcoming their old ways of being. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, who was an Inca noble and chronicler,

⁴⁴ See Felicia Hughes-Freeland and Mary M. Crain, “Introduction” *Recasting Ritual: Performance, Media, Identity*. London and New York, Routledge: 1998; p. 3.

⁴⁵ Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. London and New York, Routledge, 1994; p. 16.

⁴⁶ Ángel Rama, *La ciudad letrada*, Hanover, Ediciones del Norte, 1984; p. 9, 23.

⁴⁷ Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance. Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*. Ann Arbor, The U of Michigan P, 1995; p. 127.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; p. 127-29.

⁴⁹ See Mignolo in Jara and Spadaccini, *1492-1992: Re/Discovering Colonial Writing*, Minneapolis, Oxford, U of Minnesota P, 1989; p. 75.

presented King Phillip III of Spain with a denunciatory account of the conquest. In *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* written in Spanish and Quechua (1615), he offered an interesting illustration of the conflict: “Que los dichos yndios estando borracho el más cristiano, aunque sepa leer y escriuir, trayendo rozario y bestido como español cuello parese santo, en la borrachera habla con los demonios y ... [reverencia] a las guacas ýdolos y al sol” (877). Guaman Poma articulates drinking as a mediator of Andean worship, which destabilizes, what Carmen Barnard and Serge Gruzinski brilliantly define as the “colonización de lo imaginario.”⁵⁰ While Guaman Poma depicts how power, that manifests itself in religion and literacy, materializes colonial identity, he also illustrates how *borracheras* de-materialize such an identity. *Borracheras* help natives bring about indigenous memory, language, and beliefs, which invalidate colonial enterprise: “habla con los demonios y ... [reverencia] a las guacas ýdolos y al sol.” Along similar lines, Acosta connects alcohol abuse to idolatry: “Bien mala es, pues, en sí misma y de suyo la embriaguez, que excluye del reino de Dios ... Con razón los Santos Padres la llaman fuente ... de males innumerables” (555). He classifies *borrachera* as sickness and vice, that is, as an obstacle for the colonial project (545). Unequivocally, inebriation prevents Indians from entering the Christian kingdom and later on, modernization.⁵¹

Notwithstanding, the inscription of civilization—religion, clothing, and literacy—into the Indian culture, Guaman Poma reinforces the idea that this culture cannot be disconnected from inferior representations mediated by alcohol, idolatry, and indigenous language: “en la borrachera habla ... y *mocha* [reverencia] a las guacas ýdolos ... *pacaricos* [celebración ritual], *oncoycunamanta uanocmantapas pacaricoc* [velorio con ocasión de enfermedades o una muerte] ... y de otras hechesirias. Hablando de sus antepasados hacen sus ceremonias” (877). In these ceremonies, he presents language as a repository of cultural essence that menaces colonial homogenization. Since colonial times indigenous language has functioned as a metaphor for difference and marginalization. For example, “En los Andes Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa, los autores de Noticias secretas ... [concluyen]: la educación debería mejorar la suerte de los indios, supondría también el abandono [del] quechua, al que se acusa de confinar ... y de impedir la comunicación entre el mundo indígena y el resto de la colonia.”⁵² Consequently, by using the language to list the rituals in which natives engage under the influence of alcohol, Guaman Poma describes how language and alcohol transport natives into the “other’s” site, “the territorio

⁵⁰ Barnard and Gruzinski, *op. cit.*; p. 143.

⁵¹ Similarly, in *Pueblo enfermo* (first published in 1909), Alcides Arguedas (1878-1946) equates alcohol abuse with backwardness, especially among Indians and *mestizos*, whose racial and cultural heterogeneity—drinking, idleness and language—holds them back from entering the imagined community of the modern nation.

⁵² Cited in Barnard, *op. cit.*; p. 187.

enemigo.” In reference to the latter, Rama explains the process of incorporating the indigenous body into the nation through the hegemonic language (Spanish) as one that eradicates the indigenous group from “territorio enemigo.”⁵³ Thus, *borracheras* can be understood through this spatial metaphor that connects language to native idolatrous beliefs. They lead bodies into “territorio enemigo” or the dreadful realm of marginalization and backwardness.

COLONIAL SIGNS OF BACKWARDNESS: DRUNKENNESS, LAZINESS AND ADMINISTRATION

Themes of corruption, laziness, poor production and ineffective administration, which had been already brought to colonial attention since the end of the sixteenth century (e.g. Capoche and Guaman Poma) are paramount in the articulation of identities and also spaces after the mid-eighteenth century. By 1560 the “pillaging” conquest economy that had ruled over the Andes since 1532, put the system of *encomienda* and the colonial state in jeopardy and threatened to end the Spanish project.⁵⁴ In addition, the silver-mining production decline due to labor shortages and lower-grade ores worsened the crisis. Peter Flindell Klarén explains that Potosí “During its first ten years ... produced some 127 million pesos that fueled the Hapsburg war machine and Spanish hegemonic pretensions in Western Europe and the Mediterranean.”⁵⁵ It was a generating source of wealth: “silver began the engine of colonial development.”⁵⁶ From 1569 to 1581, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo was a key figure in the re-organization of the colonial socio-economics. Through a series of reforms, he sought to build a powerful state. He targeted the problems of the silver-mining industry in Potosí, specifically those intensifying the crisis—labor deficit and poor production. The implementation of the *mita* and the amalgamation process (1572) that involved the use of mercury to separate the ore were at the core of his agenda.

Toledo’s program anticipated the Bourbon period. Capoches’ and Carrió de la Vanderas’ accounts strikingly manifest the viceroy and the royal reformist spirits. In their accounts, the construction of indigenous alcohol drinking as deviant shifted from the moral context to that of economy. They scrutinized the new lands and focused on the problems to profit natural and human resources. Their representations of the American landscape and people resembled those of Columbus’ or nineteenth-century explorers’ whose expeditions aimed at “inscription” and “inspection.”⁵⁷ As accounts of inspection, they did not only open up the Amerindian regions to European readers’ understanding but also

⁵³ *Op. cit.*; p. 45-6.

⁵⁴ See Kenneth Andrien. “Spaniards, Andeans, and the Early Colonial State in Peru.” In Kenneth Andrien and Rolena Adorno (comp.), *Transatlantic Encounters. Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley, U of California P, 1991. p. 121-48.

⁵⁵ See *Peru. Society and Nationhood in the Andes*. Oxford, Oxford UP, 2000; p. 43, 57.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; p. 44.

⁵⁷ James Duncan, *Place/Culture/Representation*, London, New York, Routledge, 1993; p. 49-50.

opened them up economically for the government.

Luis Capoche wrote a thorough update of the economic, political, and social structure of the mining business in Potosí from the time of its discovery to 1585. Technological, administrative and labor difficulties became his main concern: “el remedio más urgente ... para la restauración del Perú era ... beneficiar los metales deste cerro ... con tener el azogue a buen precio ... porque faltando esto, hallaba dificultoso el remedio ... pues no se sabía de minas que por fundición, faltando el azogue, pudiesen sustentar el comercio e interés general” (147). As Toledo did, Capoche insists that *azogue* (mercury) is vital to colonial prosperity (176). In so doing, he also advises the viceroy on administrative and indigenous labor deficiency. By commenting on laziness, work negligence, Capoche successfully links alcohol to dysfunctional management: “También tienen cuidado de castigar sus borracheras los capitanes, pero ellos ... se emborrachan, y fuera bien dar orden que tuvieran ... caballos en que visitaran cada día sus indios y estorbaran este mal. Y también pudieran ayudar mucho los lunes en sacar y recoger los indios a caballo, y que lo hicieran con presteza, que como son gordos y pesados no se pueden menear” (141). Drinking overtly counteracts the introduction of *azogue* as technological improvement. Not only that, it brings about laziness, idleness, and the incipient changes in the conceptualization of time and its relation to production that will later surface with the industrial revolution. Administrators used to drink as much as the laboring body who extended their drinking habits into weekdays. The non-differentiation of idleness and working time is worsened by Capoches’ allusions to gluttony and drinking that portray officers as deviant and for whom idleness prevails over production. It is interesting to see how he articulates inferiority through the religious association between overeating and alcohol intoxication, which fall into the Christian category of the fifth mortal sin: gluttony. Thus, he makes idleness synonymous with sinfulness. This depiction also suggests that *capitanes*, who were of indigenous descent (*caciques*), were incapable of either ruling themselves, their kind or their own resources. On that account, he successfully constructs inferiority through administrative difference: inefficient native labor aborts the reformist and incipient capitalist mentality that had started flourishing with Toledo (Capoche 173-174; Acosta 545). Yet, Capoche supports his depiction of administrative deficiency by articulating his observation through religious discourse.

In a similar way, Carrió de la Vandra connects backwardness with alcohol, poor administration and labor. His travelogue develops at a time in which Spain began to politically and economically modify the colonies: “to serve the interests of the industrializing core” through the Bourbon reforms.⁵⁸ Along with

⁵⁸ See J. Jorge Klor de Alva, “The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience: A Reconsideration of “Colonialism,” “Postcolonialism,” and “Mestizaje” in Gyan Prakash (comp.), *After Colonialism. Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton UP, 1995; p. 268.

compiling observations of the postal system, he thoroughly describes natural resources and people. He suggests the need to re-discover the interior lands and resources, which had been neither fully explored nor exploited. His comments on authority and administration portray incompetence:

Estoy cansado de oír ... ponderar una provincia y llamarla descansada porque ha pagado el *repartimiento* a los tres años ... ¿Qué es lo que adelantan estos pueblos en los dos años siguientes?... lo ... que resultó de haber doblado el trabajo en los tres años antecedentes, por la actividad del corregidor y sus cobradores, no tienen otro objeto que el de la embriaguez, y para mantenerla venden la mula o vaca, y ... los instrumentos de la labor. (369-70)

Undoubtedly, Carrió de la Vandra's remarks overtly link alcohol drinking with a colonial legacy of backwardness (371, 373-74, 378). Alcohol is no longer rejected due to its detrimental effects on indoctrination but because of its influence on production and progress. Indigenous idleness, "no tienen otro objeto que el de la embriaguez", does not only reinforce the incipient capitalist mentality colonial officials faced with the new administration but also illustrates the clash of Spanish and Andean mentalities regarding time, work, and drinking. It is important to consider that the Inca State connected work to ritual and festivity through the practice of offering laborers food, drink, and music while performing their labor. In Andean society, *chicha* drinking synthesized fertility, production, power relations as well as it restored equilibrium to reciprocal relations with the gods—upon whom native welfare depended—and brought together rivals and the complementary of the sexes in the service of the gods.⁵⁹ Unlike Spanish reality, work was performed in a context that strongly integrated economy, politics, and religion rather than personal interest and greed.

FINAL COMMENTS

The encounter between Amerindians and Spaniards gives rise to an identity crisis in which colonial authority zealously seeks to differentiate himself from the "other." In this attempt, identity crisis functions as a discursive generator of chronicles that reject and save Andean cultural values. The articulation of alcohol discourse feeds on this cultural dichotomy that simultaneously articulates indigenous peoples as "others" and extols their local practices. Chroniclers use indigenous drinking to invoke inferiority through connections between the indigenous experience to gender and sexual difference, oral tradition, sexuality, idolatry, and backwardness at different colonial moments. In this manner, translation/writing and power go hand in hand in the building of these representations of alterity that are mediated by alcohol consumption. Although they erase, conceal and clothe the Andean with a "biased" vision—"othering"

⁵⁹ See Stern, *op. cit.*; p. 15-16, 18.

perspective—Andean cosmology and identity emerge out of these Spanish intricate interpretations that result from the universal, normative and de-authoritative character of Western epistemology in the service of colonial rule.

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