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Chaskiykuy kay qillqata Valicha  
yuyaykikun chaymi kayta  
haywarimuykiku  
huk takipi wiñaypaq kananpaq.  
Qampaqmi kay ancha yupaychasqayku  
Valicha  
Iliw Valichakunapaqpas,  
llaqtanchiskunapi ñaÿakunapaq  
pachantinpi warmikunapaqpas  
kunan pacha warmikuna takispa hina  
qarikuna saruchawasqanchista  
chika chikanmanta  
upayachiqkunapaqpas.

Valicha, receive these letters  
as an offering to your memory  
immortalized in a song.

With gratitude to you,  
to all the Valichas,  
to my sisters in the Andes  
and all the women in the world,  
the warmis who, singing together, clash  
against the patriarchy.

Valicha, receive these lines  
as an offering to your memory  
immortalized in a song.  
With gratitude to you,  
to all the Valichas,  
to my sisters in the Andes,  
and all the women in the world,  
the warmis who, singing together, clash  
against the patriarchy.

# ***Valicha Betrayed: Singing Patriarchy in the Peruvian Andes***

*Katherin Patricia Tairo-Quispe*

An Offering to Valicha  
Valeriana Huillca Condori (1913-2014)

*Valeriana Huillca Condori, known as Valicha, was born and raised in Acopia district, Acomayo province in Cusco region of southern Peru. I dedicate this work to her, to her memory that was immortalized in a song. It is a song that instead of pretending to honor the female figure represented in Valeriana perpetuates the patriarchal rhetoric about Andean women.*

## **Abstract**

**A**s a Quechua activist and scholar, I focus on an antipatriarchal analysis of the commercialized musical composition "Valicha." In the Quechua language, Valicha refers to a diminutive name for Valeriana. The narrative of this song—originally composed in 1945 by Miguel Angel Hurtado Delgado in Cusco, Peru—centers on Valeriana Huillca Condori (Valicha), a Quechua woman, as a "muse" of the male composer. As an icon in the musical repertoire of Cusco, "Valicha" is considered the hymn of the Peruvian Andes and frequently identified as the second anthem of the Cusco region. Over the years, the original lyrics and musical arrangements have undergone variations according to different genres such as *huayno*<sup>1</sup>, *cumbia*, and opera. In the process, how-

ever, sexism and misogyny have changed the lyrics in these contrasting musical expressions. As a Quechua woman in a “killjoy” role, I use an Indigenous antipatriarchal approach to analyze the sexist filters shaping this popular song.<sup>2</sup> My analysis places the original lyrics, sung by the actual Valeriana until recent decades, vis-à-vis the commercialized version of huayno (sung by mostly men). By carefully analyzing the contemporary patriarchal lyrics, I expose the ways in which this popular song reproduces different expressions of gender inequality affecting the lives of Quechua girls and women living in the Peruvian Andes.

The Quechua women of the Peruvian Andes historically have been—and continue to be—subject to patriarchal domination and hierarchical representation by the settler or, in the Peruvian context, by the criollo (*misti*).<sup>3</sup> This patriarchal relationship perpetuates the continuum of dominance over Indigenous women and reinforces binaries such as:

*haciendado* (hacienda owner) / Indigenous female  
*gamonal* (authoritarian boss) / servant (female)  
*llaqtatayta* (elite) / *runa* (Indigenous person)  
and in the case of Valeriana: *haciendado*’s son / *p’asña-chola*,  
in a pejorative sense.<sup>4</sup>

In this critical essay, I am thinking of all the Valichas, my sisters, the *warmis* or Quechua women and our long and continuous liberatory struggle. I particularly offer these pages to Valeriana Huillca Condori, a Quechua woman whose portrayal of “muse” in the musical composition “Valicha” connotes patriarchal domination and denigration rather than flattery. Therefore, I consider it necessary to vindicate Valeriana who, since the age of sixteen years old, has been seen as that Indigenous female figure of possession. Her image was further commodified through the commercialization of the “Valicha” song in its different musical genres.

## History of the song and patriarchal interference

The musical composition of the huayno “Valicha” is attributed to the Peruvian Miguel Ángel Hurtado Delgado, who like Valeriana, was born in the Acopia district, Acomayo province in the Cusco region. It was there, in 1945, that he composed this musical theme in the Quechua language.<sup>5</sup> Over time, however, musical reproductions of this song focused on the narrative representation of Vale-

riana as the composer's muse. I understand this representation of muse and inspiration as justification for the sexist content of this song as a 'patriarchal interference', meaning that it bursts gender issues.<sup>6</sup>

While the bibliographical analysis of the musical theme of "Valicha" is limited, I found a reference made by the Cusquenian anthropologist Rossano Calvo regarding this composition. The author, researching mestizaje in Cusco, states that the "Valicha" song "...seems to speak of the longing for love towards the protagonist... with this song, he recalls a peasant from his land" (Calvo 2002, 16). In the same way, Calvo (1995) taking the commercialized version as a reference, points out that this huayno "...represents a beautiful emigrant who became 'mestiza' working in the chicherías of the Qosqo city, a condition that exposed her to the siege of mestizos, gentlemen and 'mozos.'" (20). As we generally see, the analysis of this song focuses on the representation of Indigenous women as an inspiration for this musical composition. Likewise, the harassment against Valicha is normalized and hints at his behavior in a masculine scenario like the one represented by chicherías. Therefore, her agency—ability to make decisions about her life—is placed in doubt and patriarchal suspicion becomes evident, thus disregarding the critical analysis of sexism in the content. This patriarchal interference reinforces the dominance exercised by the male figure over Valicha.

In my analysis, I do not seek to focus on the composer and his sources of inspiration. Instead, I offer a critical perspective with an Indigenous antipatriarchal approach to the content of the contemporary sexist lyrics of the musical composition, "Valicha". It is essential to note that this composition is considered a second anthem of the Cusco region. However, its constant variation of content in different musical genres merits an analysis beyond regionalist sentiment, which reveals its sexist content and patriarchal interference.

### Peruvian songs without consciousness

The melodies of the *quena*, *charango*, and guitar give you goosebumps and rouse nostalgia for many people. Whoever listens or sings is acoustically transported to the huayno, that musical genre umbilically linked to the Quechuas, however, a source of shame for many of them. The popularity of the huayno is generally located in Indigenous spheres. Many individuals outside of that sphere will

surely hesitate to affirm that their favorite music is huayno. However, before this historical racial border that the huayno represents, there is a musical composition that has been, and continues to be, iconic in the musical repertoire, a reason for regionalist pride: the song "Valicha".

"Valicha" song inevitably takes over the majority of protocol events like an anthem of the Peruvian Andes. In these spaces, I recall humming and even enjoying the beautiful melody offered by the wind instruments, all together. So enveloping and pleasant is the composition, that one gets lost in the melody, overlooking the textual content of this song. But what makes this huayno so special and symbol of pride? What do its lyrics say? Is Valeriana's memory still betrayed by singing this song? In order to address these questions, I focus on two central points. First, the distortion of the original version sung by Valeriana Huillca Condori vis-à-vis the contemporary commercialized version. Second, I focus on what I call "patriarchal interference," which does not allow any criticism to sexist lyrics.<sup>7</sup> This process takes place in a regionalist patriarchal misti-criollo scenario. Both manifest in the following ways:

#### *Distortion of the original version*

Since the composition of the huayno version of "Valicha" in 1945, many composers and singers of the huayno, cumbia, and opera have adapted the content of original version. These variations are not only visible in the modification of words of the Quechua language in its Ayacucho-Chanka and Cusco-Collao variants, but also in the additions of patriarchal suspicion that question Valeriana's agency. For instance, in the commercialized version of huayno lies the phrase "Valicha lisa p'asñari" (Valicha daring girl) while in the version sung by Valeriana it has "Valicha Acopiawan" (Valicha from Acopia). In the same way, "puesto punkukunapis niñachay de veras guardiawan sinsishan" (at the gates of the police post... my real little girl flirting with cops) while in Valeriana's version she says "Qollqemarkapiñama niñachay de veras k'antita k'antishan" (In Qollqemarca my real little girl is twisting threads) as reference to the action of spinning. On the one hand, the commercialized version suggests flirting as questionable and reprehensible in a masculinized scenario such as the police entity. On the other hand, Valeriana's version does not mention flirtation neither police, on the contrary, it focuses on spinning as a daily activity of Andean women. These and other adaptations that I address later show the patriarchal manipulation of the original lyrics.

### *Patriarchal interference*

Without doubt, the sequence of sounds creates a unique and beautiful melody. However, the patriarchal textual adaptations abruptly interrupt the original version of “Valicha”. This composition at once connotes joy and regionalist pride, however, it does not allow us to think critically about the various misogynistic filters in contemporary versions of this huayno. This interference also allows the song’s commodification within the patriarchal culture. It reinforces the sense of huayno commercialization and increases the musical receptivity among mass audiences.

### **Commodifying “Valicha”: Traded song lyrics**

In order to carry out an analysis from an Indigenous antipatriarchal approach to “Valicha,” I consider the original version sung by Vale-riana until recent decades vis-à-vis the commercialized version.<sup>8</sup> It is important to mention that the circulation of the original musical composition in Quechua language is limited.<sup>9</sup> Below I present an analysis of the contemporary version in the huayno musical genre, which I consider the most popular in the Andean context. To do so, I translate from Quechua to English (literally), which approximates the meaning due to complexity of interpreting an Indigenous language to Indo-European languages.

Quechua	English
Valicha lisa p'asñari	Valicha daring girl
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
maypiraq tupanki	where are you going to be
Qosqo uraykunapi	surely, she is already in the foothills of Cusco
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
maqt'ata suwashan.	stealing boys <i>cholos</i> .
Qosqoman chayaruspari	Arriving to Cusco
niñachay de veras	my real little girl

imatas ruwanqa what is she going to do?  
Aqha wasikunapis surely in the *chicherías*  
niñachay de veras my real little girl  
sarata kutanqa. she will grind corn.

Chaykunallataraqchus It's not just that  
niñachay de veras my real little girl  
Valicha ruwanman what Valicha would do  
cuartel punkukunapis at the gates of the barracks  
niñachay de veras my real little girl  
sonqota suwanqa. she will steal hearts.

Chaykunallataraqchus It's not just that  
niñachay de veras my real little girl  
Valicha ruwanman what Valicha would do  
puesto punkukunapis at the gates of the police post  
niñachay de veras, my real little girl  
guardiawan sinsishan. flirting with cops.

Saracha parway parwaycha Flower, little flower, little flower of  
parwaycha the little corn  
trigucha eray eraycha eraycha harvest, little harvest, little  
harvest of the little wheat.

Saracha parway parwaycha Flower, little flower, little flower of  
parwaycha the little corn  
trigucha eray eraycha eraycha harvest, little harvest, little  
harvest of the little wheat.

Chaypa chawpichanpim qusqayki In the middle of that little flower,  
I will give you

warma sunquchayta qusqayki I will give you my tender little  
heart

chaypa chawpichanpim qusqayki In the middle of that little flower,  
I will give you

warma sunquchayta qusqayki I will give you my tender little  
heart

### Valicha's voice: Exposing patriarchal journalism

In more than one interview, Valeriana Huillca Condori greets by saying *¿Imaynallan weraqocha?* to ask, "How are you, sir?" The interview begins in Quechua and the interviewer translates it into Spanish; Valeriana is monolingual, her knowledge of Spanish is limited. Despite the limitation of the interviewer's translation into Spanish, and his sarcasm and linguistic manipulation, Valeriana tells the details of the origin of this composition. This is an interview conducted by a Peruvian television program broadcasting Andean music.<sup>10</sup> Below, I present a transcription and translation from the fragment of minute 2:20 to 3:36. The interviewer engages with both, Valeriana and the viewers, simultaneously; the dialogue with the public is identified with an asterisk [\*]:

**Interviewer:** A ver takichaykuy mamá linda, a ver chay Valicha takichata, ¿pitaq chay qhariyki karan?  
/ Let's sing mamá linda, let's check out that Valicha song, who was that, your husband

**Valeriana:** Manan qhariychu karan  
/ No, he was not my husband

**Interviewer [\*]:** (Laughs) Le estoy diciendo ¿quién era el primero, el primero?  
/ I am telling her who was the first one, the first one?

**Valeriana:** Miguel Ángel Hurtado wasi vecino kargan  
/ Miguel Angel Hurtado was my neighbor

**Interviewer:** Y ¿chaymantaqa?  
/ And then?

**Valeriana:** Chaypa huaynunmi kay huayno, pay tukaq karqan  
noqataq takiq karqani chunka soqtayuq watayuq  
/ This is his huayno, he was the one who played,  
and I was who sang when I was 16 years old

**Interviewer:** ¿Chaynachu karan?  
/ Was it so?

**Valeriana:** Chhaynan weraqocha  
/ That is how it was sir

**Interviewer:** ¿Chaymantaqa?  
/ And then?

**Valeriana:** Chaymi chunka suqtayuq wataymanta takirqani  
chay takita may timpuña  
/ That is why I have been singing that song since  
I was 16, a long time ago

**Interviewer [‡]:** Desde los 16 años cantaba con el supuesto  
enamorado, con el supuesto hombre que lo [sic]  
robó, pero era un músico  
/ Since she was 16 years old she sang with the  
so-called lover, with the so-called man who stole  
her [literally, “who stole her,” meaning “who kid-  
napped her”] but he was a musician

**Interviewer:** ¿Chaymantaq'a?  
/ And then?

**Valeriana:** Dieciséis agostomanta chay huayno qallarikur-  
qan hasta que iskay chunka pisqayuq marzo killa  
kama  
/ From August 16th that *huayno* began until  
March 25th

**Interviewer [\*]:** Un 16 de agosto empezó ese tema, empezó a  
pronunciarse ese tema  
/ On August 16th that song began, that song be-  
came popular

**Interviewer:** ¿Chaymantaka?  
/ And then?

**Valeriana:** Chaymantan noqa karkani chunka suqtayuq wa-  
tayuq paytaqmi chay weraqochataqmi karqan 20  
añosniyuq weraqochapuniña  
/ And I was 16 years old and that man was 20  
years old, he was older

**Interviewer:** Haa ¿weraq'ocha mañosochaña, mañosochaña?  
(...)  
/ Haa that man was nasty, nasty (...)

While Valeriana focuses on describing the history of the origin of the musical composition, the interviewer's intention is clearly to link Valeriana with the figure of domination that the composer represents in this interview. The question *¿pitay chay qhariyki karan?* (who was that, your husband?), as well as other statements during this seven-minute interview, illustrate the patriarchal interference and aggression against Valeriana. The interviewer's tone of voice and affect during the conversation is incisive and tendentious, clearly misogynistic.

In this interview Valeriana is asked to sing the song. This *huayno* sang by the actual Valeriana ["her" version] does not include qualifiers nor content that sully Valeriana's conduct. Therefore, the patriarchal interference is diluted in her version. In this way, her version challenges the misogynistic suspicion that seeks to condemn and violate her representation as an Indigenous woman from the Andes. Below is the translation of the *huayno* "Valicha" sung in the voice of Valeriana Huillca Condori.

Quechua	English
Valicha Acopiawan	Valicha from Acopia
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
maypiñas kashanman	where will she be?
Valicha Acopiari	And Valicha from Acopia
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
maypiñas kashanman	where will she be?
Iskay qocha chawpinpis	It says that in the middle of two lagoons
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
Valicha kasharqan	Valicha was already there.
Iskay qocha chawpinpis	It says that in the middle of two lagoons
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
Valicha kasharqan	Valicha was already there.
¿Chayrapiraqchus kashanman	Will she still be there?
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
Valicha cholari?	<i>chola</i> Valicha?
¿Chayrapiraqchus kashanman	Will she still be there?
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
Valicha cholari?	<i>chola</i> Valicha?
Aqoranapiñama	She is already in Aqorana
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
pushkata pushkashan	spinning threads.

¿Chaykunallapiraqchus	Do you think that still in those places
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
Valicha kashanman?	is Valicha?
¿Chaykunallapiraqchus	Do you think that still in those places
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
Valicha kashanman?	is Valicha?
Qollqemarkapiñama	In Qollqemarca
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
K'antita k'antishan	is twisting threads
Qollqemarkapiñama	In Qollqemarca
niñachay de veras	my real little girl
K'antita k'antishan	is twisting threads.
Saracha parway parwaychay parwaychay	Flower, little flower, little flower of the little corn
Trigucha sisay sisaycha sisaycha	Flower, little flower, little flower of the wheat.
Baulchapipas kakushay cajonchapipas kakushay	Even be in a trunk even be in a casket
munanki mana munanki sibrinutawan kawsanki	whether you want or not you are going to live <i>sibrino</i> .
Baulchapipas kakushay cajonchapipas kakushay	Even be in a trunk even be in a casket
munanki mana munanki sibrinutawan kawsanki	whether you want or not you are going to live <i>sibrino</i> . <sup>11</sup>

From the perspective of Quechua thought, the last stanza—presented twice—refers to life and death in connection to *kawsay* to think and feel beyond the idea of “*vivir en plenitud*” or “to live fully,” to think and feel beyond the material and the spiritual. The reference she made to “even be in a trunk, even be in a casket” could be an invitation to think that despite the death of the material body (which you can place in a trunk or even in a casket), there will always be life, you will always live. The word that I heard as “sibrino” could be any of the following interpretations: either a Quechua word that went through a process of Hispanization, or a Quechua dialect no longer used at the time Valicha sang it for the last time in 2014, precisely the year she passed away.

On the one hand, there is the version sung by Valeriana that describes the activities of a woman who leaves her town and carries out weaving and spinning work in different towns near hers. Additionally, we observe relationships to the land between human and non-human beings (for example, lagoons, flowers, corn, wheat, etc.). On the other hand, the more contemporary commercialized versions have disrupted the original composition by including sexist content that harasses Valicha and differs significantly from the original version. Contemporary adaptations were incorporated into musical genres such as huayno, cumbia, as well as the operatic interpretation of “Valicha” performed by a Peruvian tenor, thus, evidencing modification of most of its original content.

## **Musical patriarchies and Peruvian national pride**

The patriarchal interference is evident in most sentences of the contemporary adapted version. These phrases connote mistrust, prohibition, and patriarchal suspicion, demonstrating violence against Indigenous women instead of representing courtship. This narrative is replicated in the huayno, cumbia, and operatic productions, generally under the domain of the Peruvian *criollaje* (*misti, tayta, weraqocha*) and Cusquenian elite. As a proof of this, “Valicha” is considered the second anthem, hence, massively reproduced in regional and national protocol celebrations under an “institutional” spectrum. Paradoxically, while this contemporary composition is recognized nationally, it does not have the same audience receptivity in Indigenous spaces. In other words, “Valicha” will surely not be the central musical theme in celebrations of Quechua communities in Peru.

Going back to the analysis of phrases that illustrate the patriarchal interference, I focus on the following:

**"lisa p'asñari" / daring girl:** In reference to the non-docile Quechua women, is evident the claim of not being able to control these women.

**"maqt'ata suwashan" / stealing boys cholos:** Relating to the "stealing" action as a normalization of violence and ownership historically exercised against Indigenous girls and women. But in this case the meaning is satirically reversed by suggesting that women cannot "steal" a man.

**"imatas ruwanqa" / what is she doing?:** It shows distrust and patriarchal suspicion about the actions carried out by women after migrating to towns far from their places of origin and outside of male control.

**"Aqha wasikunapis" / for sure, at the chicherías:** The chicherías are spaces of encounter and sale of *chicha*, a traditional drink made by corn.<sup>12</sup> This phrase in the musical composition warns of the prohibition of attendance to social and public spaces that are not intended for women. The chicherías were frequented by "not decent" people (de la Cadena 2000).<sup>13</sup> The non-decent were represented by the "*indios, cholos*" who migrated to the city and were distinguished from the *mistis* or *llaqtataytas* who represented the Cusquenian intelligentsia and elites.

**"Chaykunallataraqchus" / It's not just that:** The patriarchal suspicion about the women's actions is reiterated. It suggests that she could be doing some other things that, as a woman, she should not.

**"cuartel punkukunapis" / at the gates of the barracks,**

**"puesto punkukunapis" / at the gates of the police post,**

**"guardiawan sinsishan" / flirting with cops:** These phrases warn of the "moral" prohibition of women in male dominated spaces as represented by the barracks (military entity) and police post. Likewise, they suggest reprehensible behaviors in a patriarchal culture.

## A Quechua "killjoy"

This critical essay, from an Indigenous antipatriarchal approach, leads me to interrupt the misogynistic hubbub offered by this song; by doing so I embrace the commitment to oppose to the normalized patriarchal attitude against us as Quechua women.

When reading this essay, one might question my interposition to the patriarchal Cusquenian/Peruvian regionalist sentiment—*cusqueñismo*—where I come from, overlooking power relations and historically domination by the *criollo/misti* over Indigenous women. However, I assume the role of being the “killjoy” to reflect and vindicate not only Valeriana Huillca Condori but all the Valichas of the Andes amidst the path of revelry and pride represented in this song.

It is important to mention that the critical literature on contemporary and commercialized musical versions of “Valicha” is limited. Contributions analyzing the song’s relevance are generally focused on musicology. Gysella Ayre Orellana (2016) addresses the huayno genealogy from 1980 to 2000, in which she briefly references the recognition of Valeriana Huillca Condori by the Peruvian government as the inspiration for the song declared “anthem of Cusco.”<sup>14</sup> Likewise, she points out the gender subordination of Indigenous women in relation to the denigrating lyrics of the song. Therefore, the Indigenous anti-patriarchal critical analysis of this song is necessary. Undoubtedly, the reflections with a focus on critical women and gender studies, and interdisciplinary studies, contribute to an analysis based on “*the heart with reason*” as an epistemology and to reaffirm the commitment to dismantle the patriarchal continuum in the Andes.<sup>15</sup>

### **Final reflections: Valicha’s feminist vindication**

Non-linear and antipatriarchal Indigenous analysis are crucial approaches to the commercialized musical composition of “Valicha”, as it is iconic among the Cusco musical repertoire, which was declared the second anthem of the region.<sup>16</sup> The narrative that centers Valicha as the mere inspiration of the male composer reveals the contemporary patriarchal filter of the patriarchal culture of the Andes. An analysis of the original version sung by Valeriana Huilla Condori suppresses the patriarchal interference. On the other hand, this suppression contradicts and clashes with the lyrics of suspicion and misogynistic doubt of the contemporary version. This essay is a work in progress and does not come from the field of musicology. Instead, it is an invitation to multidisciplinary debates that allow us to disharmonize collectively with the patriarchy. Finally, it is my way to reclaim the human rights of the Indigenous girls and women in Abiayala and all over the world.

Añay, thank you.

## Notes

1. Huayno is a Quechua musical genre characteristic of the Peruvian Andes.
2. I take the concept of “killjoy” from Sara Ahmed in the book *Living a Feminist Life* as the acquisition of “vitality or energy from a scene of difficulty” (Ahmed 2017, 267).
3. *Misti* related to the mestizo or to the “no Indigenous”.
4. See “Musical patriarchies and Peruvian national pride” section.
5. The record of this composition is found in the National Library of Peru under Item No. 239-1958 (RPP Noticias 2014).
6. I take the concept of “interference” from Luis E. Cárcamo-Huechante in his article Indigenous Interference: Mapuche Use of Radio in Times of Acoustic Colonialism (Cárcamo-Huechante 2013).
7. Interference is understood as “irruption” (Cárcamo-Huechante 2013, 65).
8. Available in an interview conducted by an Andean music broadcast television program. For more information, read Huillca Condori, 2014. Interview available on YouTube under the title “Entrevista a Valicha en provincia de Acomayo [An Interview with Valicha in the province of Acomayo].” The interview is 7 minutes and 49 seconds and was uploaded to Jaime Casquero’s channel on August 15, 2014.
9. The “Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo del Cusco” on its compact disc *Qosqo Takyninchis* (Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo 2016) has the instrumental version of “Valicha”. However, at the time of working on this project, I asked them about the circulation of instrumental and textual compositions, but I was not able to obtain any information.
10. This interview was conducted in 2014, months before Valeriana Huillca Condori passed away. The version of this musical composition sung by Valeriana is limited. In this analysis I consider the song that she provides in this interview as the original version, cited previously (see note 8).
11. I had a consultation with friends and professional networks who are native Quechua speakers regarding the meaning of *sibrino* and I was surprised not to find a translation into Spanish.
12. José María Arguedas in *Los ríos profundos* refers to *chicherías* as an encounter place between the “*indio*” and “*mestizo*”. In this place especially “on Saturdays and Sundays they played harp

and violin in those with the largest clientele, and danced huaynos and marineras" (Arguedas 1995, 207).

13. For a reflection on "no decency," read Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous mestizos*. In a footnote, she cites an anecdote: "A lady of Cuzco who enthusiastically participated in the neoindianist movement told me, 'Bohemian men were choleros, they liked cholitas because they [the men] were eccentric.... We believed in folklore, but we did not go to chicherías.... That was fine for the cholitas but not for señoritas decentes [decent young ladies]" (de la Cadena 2000, 355). Her book *Indígenas mestizos* was published in Spanish in 2004.
14. See Ayre Orellana, Gysella Jessica. 2016. "Mujeres en el huayno social y sus composiciones antes, durante y después del conflicto armado (1980-2000) en Perú." *Cuadernos de Literatura del Caribe e Hispanoamérica*, 117-142.
15. Inspired by Anzalduan thought, Gloria González-López (2022) engages with *un corazón con razón* as a feminist paradigm in her research on sexual violence in the context of family life in Mexico.
16. I take the idea of non-linear from Rivera Cusicanqui (2010).

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