6. Three Essential Rituals

6.1 The Importance of Ritual

In 1.3, ritual was defined as a series of formalized actions that are obligatory and standardized. These actions form a pattern of symbols that dramatize shared values and beliefs regarding the natural and social world. A symbol was defined as a motivated entity, such as a word, an action, an image, or an object, that has a complex of meanings shared by a collectivity. And an icon was defined as a representation that stands for an object by virtue of likeness or analogy. Victor Turner (1967: 20) has stated that it is necessary to study ritual symbols in a time series in relation to other “events”; for, in his words, “symbols are essentially involved in social process” (ibid.). I have found that the only method of discovering the meaning of symbols is to ascertain the relationships of symbols to one another within a given context. Meanings unfold as the temporal drama of the ritual unfolds. The construction that results communicates and reaffirms basic concepts to the participants. Also in 1.3 a concept was defined as a self-regulating whole containing attributes (or symbols) existing in polar relationships to one another. It is helpful to think of bundles of symbols constituting concepts, and in ritual contexts these concepts are communicated through the events of the drama ritualized. The end result is a series of symbolic combinations and associations that unambiguously impart specific concepts.

Investigators of symbolic and ritual activities agree that ritual symbols have multiple meanings or referents. Furthermore, rituals everywhere function to remind the individuals who make up a society of the underlying order that is supposed to guide their social activities (Leach 1965: 16). The process of “reminding” or of reinforcing certain values, concepts, and beliefs is often accomplished through the use of dominant symbols that reappear
in different ritual contexts. A superb example of a dominant Andean symbol that has multiple referents but that reappears as a dominant symbol in various rituals is the cross. We have seen the cross as the symbol of death (or the ancestors) in the celebration of the *watan misa* (5.7) and as the icon for the powerful Wamani (2.8). During the *takyachiy puyñu* (5.6.7), the cross is used to symbolize fertility and abundance. Likewise, the cross appears in all rituals and serves to remind participants of the sacredness and seriousness of the events under way. Finally, the constellation of the Southern Cross symbolizes the synthetic union of male and female elements (see chapter 9).

The meanings that emerge from ritual activities are constructed symbol by symbol and connection by connection until fully developed into shared concepts, and these concepts are communicated unambiguously through the process of construction. Just as the cross is understood as the symbol for death and the ancestors in one ritual context, so it carries the meaning of fertility and abundance in others (see chapter 9).

Three rituals illustrate the process of symbolic construction: (1) the Yarqa Aspiy, the cleaning of the irrigation canals in September that signals the beginning of the rainy season and subsequently planting; (2) the harvest ritual on May 3, Santa Cruz, which also ushers in the dry season; and (3) the Herranza, the fertility rite involving branding cattle and sheep accompanied by payments to the Wamanis, in August and February, when Earth Mother is "open." These three rituals were chosen because they survived the reduction of rituals effected by popular vote in 1970, when comuneros decided to abolish the *hatun varayoq* prestige system and not to publicly observe Easter, Lent, or Christmas. The observances of the Yarqa Aspiy and Santa Cruz fall to the prestige system of each barrio; the Herranza for the church's cofradía herds is the responsibility of the *sallqa* prestige system. The first two will be described from my observations during 1967 and 1970. I have not observed the Herranza performed by the *sallqa varayoq*, but I have observed private ceremonies held by individual families. I am indebted to my husband, W. H. Isbell, for the major collection of data on the Herranza; I will also refer to the published study by Ulpiano Quispe (1969) of the Herranza in Choque Huarcaya and Huancasancos. He investigated both familial and cofradía Herranzas. Due to my lack of information on the cofradía Herranza, the data are not comparable to the data on the public celebration of the Yarqa Aspiy and Santa Cruz. However, the same complex of concepts is expressed in familial Herranzas.

6.2 The Yarqa Aspiy, September 1970

This all-important rite, observed in September at the time of the equinox,
is preceded by three days of communal labor supervised by two barrio alcaldes varayoq. The first day is occupied by a total canvass of the barrios to inform all households that they must supply one male for one day's labor for the actual cleaning of the dual irrigation system. Failure to attend one of the three communal work days results in a ten soles fine. The two alcaldes are responsible for supervising the work and collecting fines.

On the first day, the vara members of each barrio ascended to their respective ñawin taytacha, the puna springs, in the sallqa and began the actual cleaning of the dual irrigation system with the men of each barrio. They continued the cleaning until the entire length of the major canals, as well as the smaller feeder canals, had been cleared of debris, sedimentation, and weeds. The three days of cleaning took place in a very sober atmosphere, with no drinking allowed. However, coca and cigarettes were provided by the municipal government. These were distributed to the two alcaldes by an official appointed for the occasion, the inspector of water. He represents the municipal government during the cleaning, and the moiety alcaldes are directly responsible to him. Map 6 is a sketch of the dual irrigation system. Upper Barrio's irrigation canals (yarqas) are fed by Lake Matuma, situated north of the village at an altitude of 4,000 meters; Lower Barrio's canals originate at the puna spring, Ñawin Sullcaray, northeast, also at about 4,000 meters. Each source is considered the residence of powerful Wamanis, and ritual payments are made at Lake Matuma and Ñawin Sullcaray during the Yarqa Aspiy. Ñawi signifies eye, ñawin, the best, principal, or initial. It is an abstract notion. The springs are called ñawin taytacha. Taytacha means god; therefore the term signifies "god eye" or "god initial." The hierarchy of the resident Wamanis is described in 6.4.1.

The irrigation canals are generally utilized only twice a year, before and immediately after planting. For the rest of the growing season, there is usually adequate rainfall. Should a drought occur, the irrigation canals provide the necessary water. Another interesting aspect of the Yarqa Aspiy is that a much smaller work force could keep the canals free of rocks and debris. Yet both barrios demand full representation of one male from every household for the actual cleaning. The cleaning appears to be more essential in its ceremonial context than in its economic one; nevertheless, irrigation does insure early planting.

On the first day of the ritual, the vara members of each moiety assembled, dressed in new clothing, with women's carrying-cloths (llikllas) tied to their backs to symbolize their burden of office. The carrying-cloths were given to the regidores by the alcaldes, and the regidores in turn provided the garments for the lowest officials, the alguaciles, the young, single boys newly initiated into the vara system. For the varayoq of each barrio, the Yarqa
MAP 6
Aspiy is the most important responsibility of the year, and successful completion of their duties gives them higher status. The exchange of garments symbolizes the increase of status and prestige.

The vara members of each barrio climbed to the sallqa, following the newly cleaned canals. They took with them coca, trago, and chicha to leave as offerings for the Wamanis of the ñawin taytacha, and of course great quantities for themselves. The varayoq of Upper Barrio assembled at Lake Matuma and those of Lower Barrio at Ñawin Sullcaray. They descended toward the village by the major trails of their respective barrios, stopping at every chapel, where the varayoq made offerings of coca and chicha. Their descent was a festive occasion with music from paired wooden reed instruments called chirisuya. Musicians always play in pairs, and for this festivity they were contracted by the regidores. At each chapel marking boundaries between zones or subzones (see map 5 in 2.3), the processions stopped and repeated the offerings of chicha and coca. Great quantities of chicha were consumed at each of these stops. The chicha is carried and served by the masas and the womenfolk of the varayoq (see chapter 7). Outside the village boundary, in two corn fields in the qichwa zones of each barrio, designated Chilla Pampa and Rosas Pampa (see map 6), the varayoq members were met by a group of women bringing a special potato dish called picante de papa. It is the same meal that the bride’s family serves the groom’s when his sisters arrive to lead the girl to her new affinal home, during the pani ceremony. Interestingly, the meal consists of root crops and is served to the varas as they leave the lower sallqa and enter the corn-producing qichwa. Also, the meal can be interpreted as the ritual meal served by the bride’s uterine kin to the groom’s family. In this case, the bride is Earth Mother, Mama Pacha, and the groom is the Wamani who resides in Lake Matuma for Upper Barrio and the Wamani residing in Ñawin Sullcaray for Lower Barrio. Mama Pacha has, in this ritual instance, two grooms—one from each moiety. (See plate 9.)

During the meal, the alcaldes selected men to act out the following dramatization on the last day of the celebration: the naqaq, the dreaded supernatural being that extracts one’s body fat, castrates men, and eats small children; the chunchus, the Chuschinos’ characterization of lowland tropical Indians; and the hamites, the long-distance herb traders from Lake Titicaca. The roles of the priest and his idiot sacristan were played by men from Lower Barrio, for they believe that the church “belongs” to that barrio. An army officer was depicted by a man from Upper Barrio, for the bureaucratic government is situated there. These characters are traditional actors in the final day of the Yarqa Aspiy, the greatest communal
Plate 9. Yarqa Aspiy. A payment of chicha to Mama Pacha (Earth Mother) at one of the sacred localities delimiting the productive zones.
celebration of the year. The characterizations burlesque the outside world as the village conceives of it. The priest dramatizes religious domination, and his idiot sacristan is the comunero who has been duped into servitude to the church. The army officer brandishes a whip and threatens everyone in his portrayal of political domination. The lowland Indians and herbalists from Lake Titicaca are the comuneros' depiction of indigenous outsiders with whom they have had contact in the past. Herbalists from Lake Titicaca reached Chuschi in the near past, but I am sure that most of the comuneros have never seen a lowland Indian.

The dual processions continued their entry into the civilized village. Both groups stopped at the chapels delineating the village's outer boundaries to distribute coca and chicha to the gathering crowds. Then they proceeded to their respective matrix chapels within their barrios and again distributed coca and chicha. After pausing at their chapels, the processions continued to the village plaza, where the groups paraded around the plaza in opposite directions, the varas marching in reverse hierarchical order, followed by their womenfolk, who were singing the following song:

Matuma (Sullcaray) patamantan pusakamuni
Chuyay warmita pawsa lliklla
Wachakichayoqta, wachakichayoqta.

I have been led from high Matuma (Sullcaray)
A clean (pure) woman, pawsa lliklla
Owner of a beautiful shawl, owner of a beautiful shawl.

Lliklla is the name of the multicolored alpaca shawl worn by women; it also serves as a carrying-cloth. Pawsa refers to a particular design that is considered the most beautiful, a double scroll—the universal symbol of fertility. Therefore, pawsa lliklla is a shawl with this design. Kimsa pawsa is the name given to the ceremonial bundle of ritual paraphernalia used in the ritual propitiation of the Wamani. The term also refers to a gathering of Wamanis (Quispe 1969: 22).

The women are purified and ready for conception; Earth Mother, Mama Pacha, is open, cleansed, and awaiting the final act of union with the masculine energy, the moving force of water from the puna-dwelling Wamanis. We might even think of the irrigation water as the semen of the Wamanis. Certainly it is apparent that the Yarqa Aspiy is more important to the comuneros of Chuschi as a conception ritual for Mama Pacha than as a functional act to repair and clean their irrigation canals. The final act of conception, the union of the male and female elements, occurred on the last day of the Yarqa Aspiy.
The last day of the Yarqa Aspiy was the most elaborate celebration of the year. The villagers gathered in the streets dressed in their finest and often newest clothing with their hats decorated with angoripa, an upper sallqa plant that is used to symbolize ancestors. The vara members entertained their respective barrio residents in front of their matrix chapels with abundant amounts of chicha provided by the two alcaldes and antics from the costumed naqaq, chunchus, hamites, army officers, priest, and sacristan. The naqaq threatened castration; the chunchus attacked with bows and arrows; the hamites paraded their wares; the army officers attacked with their whips and swaggered in high top boots and sunglasses; and the priest performed mock marriages and baptisms and sprinkled everyone with "holy water" (which was actually ten-day-old urine). These antics represent the end of one time sequence and the beginning of a new one in the annual cycle. The Yarqa Aspiy is the rite of renewal, conception, and gestation.

After the residents of each barrio drank with their respective alcaldes, they descended to the chapel in Lower Barrio marking the boundary of the village and the qichwa. This chapel is called qonopa. The villagers say this term signifies the locality where everyone gathers to drink. And indeed, the entire village gathered at the qonopa and drank until the sun went down. The last official act of the ritual takes place the following week, when the young single boys, the alguaciles, of each barrio return all of the crosses, brought into the village decorated with produce during Santa Cruz, to their respective places marking zonal boundaries (see 6.3). The crosses are said to guard the fields, in gestation during the rainy season.

The qonopa chapel delineates the boundary between the civilized zone of the village and the corn-producing qichwa. It is also located at a point between the convergence of the irrigation canals near the cemetery. The irrigation canal that drains all of the canals of the village into the Pampas River is called hatun yarqa, great canal. This point of convergence is ritually important, for it is the site of the pichqa, the rite of washing a deceased's clothing, traditionally five (pichqa) days after his death. The residents of Upper Barrio perform the same rite for their deceased at a place below Chilla Pampa where the canals converge to form amaru yarqa, which runs the length of the village boundaries. The word amaru has several distinct meanings: it is a general term for snake, it means the rooting of a pig and the violent movement of water or earth, and it refers to a bull. Amaru yarqa becomes hatun yarqa at the qonopa, the site of the great communal celebration commemorating the impregnation of Earth Mother. Now the fields can be planted. With the rains in November, Earth Mother begins the long period of gestation until the harvest festival in May, Santa
Cruz, the Feast of the Crosses, when the crosses accompany the produce into the civilized center.

6.3 Santa Cruz: The Harvest Festival

Santa Cruz occurs the first three days of May, and there are two major activities that occupy the villagers: one is the harvest festival, when all of the crosses are decorated with produce from the zone of their locality and brought into the village, and the second is the installation of new taksa varayoq for each barrio. The following description is based on my observations of Santa Cruz during 1967.

In addition to the participation of the taksa varayoq, there are thirteen mayordomos, or sponsors, one for every chapel cross belonging to the two barrios. Comuneros stated that in order to assume the office of mayordomo of one of the thirteen crosses, a man must own land and be of age. I interpret “being of age” as being married, in that according to informants one becomes of age upon marriage and not before. The mayordomos also pay the village priest a small fee (usually ten soles) for the privilege of sponsoring one of the crosses.

Santa Cruz is initiated with all-night vigils at the chapels marking the boundary between the lower sallqa and upper qichwa zones of Upper and Lower Barrios. In Upper Barrio, after meeting in the alcalde’s house to receive a portion of coca and trago for each member, as well as kerosene for the lanterns carried by the alguaces, the varayoq proceeded to the chapel on the boundary between the lower sallqa and upper qichwa, with the alguaces and regidores leading and providing light for the others. The alcalde brought up the rear. They entered the chapel in this order, but the alguaces and regidores waited until the alcalde entered and took his seat in the center of the chapel. The regidores sat at his left and right, “like his arms,” and the alguaces remained standing after placing the lanterns in the wall niches. The alcalde of Upper Barrio had died during the year, and his eldest son was officiating in his stead. He was a young single man not yet twenty years of age, but all the respect accorded the alcalde was shown him.

Three sallqa crosses were brought by their mayordomos. One large, nine-foot cross that usually graces the top of one of the highest passes and a smaller trail cross were brought down to the chapel by the alguaces. Two fathers of alguaces were performing the duties of their sons, and the other four were young single boys.

Formal drinking began with each of the mayordomos stepping forward and raising his cup to the alcalde, who in turn drank with the regidores, who
then turned and drank with one of the alguaciles. The latter drank with the wives of the mayordomos, who squatted on the floor. Coca was distributed by the mayordomos. This ritualized hierarchical drinking and coca-chewing continued until dawn, accompanied by blasts from pairs of waqrapukus, trumpets fashioned from coiled cattle horns. These musicians were hired by the mayordomos.

The procedures among the varayoq of Lower Barrio were identical, with the exception of the number of crosses united at the boundary chapel between the upper sallqa and lower qichwa on the trail to Calcabamba (see map 5). Calcabamba is above Chuschi geographically, but there are areas of the region where corn can be grown as well as root crops. The herding area, Sullcaray, is beyond and above Calcabamba in altitude. The varayoq members of Lower Barrio met with one mayordomo at the sallqa chapel on the path of Calcabamba, where they were in vigil all night observing the entering, seating, and drinking order described for the officials of Lower Barrio. Early the next morning, the sallqa cross from Sullcaray and the cross from the chapel of Calcabamba were brought by their mayordomos to the chapel where the varayoq were waiting. The alguaciles climbed to the tops of two passes to bring the large calvarios, as the nine- to twelve-foot crosses are called. They also returned with one small cross that protects one of the lower foot trails.

During the night, both Upper and Lower Barrio varayoq observed a ritual that is a display of authority the alcaldes manifest to their subordinates. It is called the albadukay, which is not a Quechua word but one from an unknown Spanish term—perhaps obedecer, to obey. The alcaldes knelt in front of a table and grasped the whip that had been placed there. Each regidor knelt to the alcalde’s right and kissed the silver cross on the staff held by the alcalde. Then the alguaciles one by one followed suit. Finally the outgoing mayordomos present knelt in the same manner followed by the mayordomos for the coming year. The mayordomos for the chapels not represented on the first night’s vigil observed the same ritual with the alcalde at their chapel during the formal visitation that takes place on the next night’s watch. During this ritual of authority and subordination, the alcalde may castigate his underlings for not performing their duties appropriately during their year of office. He has the authority to whip them in the presence of the gathering. As each participant knelt with the alcalde, they each begged forgiveness for any wrong committed during their tenure of service together. The ritual closed with each man embracing the alcalde in a formal embrace. After the albadukay, a relaxed informal atmosphere prevailed, with increased drinking and coca chewing as well as joking and laughing, until the morning meal was served by the wife and the llumchus.
of the mayordomo. In Upper Barrio, I was told that the mayordomo should have furnished a traditional *pachamanca*, a ritual meal of corn, meat, and potatoes and other root crops cooked in the ground. However, only boiled potatoes and *ocas*, another tuber, were offered. In Lower Barrio, the mayordomo served the traditional *pachamanca*.

After the morning meal on May 2, when all of the crosses were present, the mayordomos provided produce from the *sallqa* zones, such as potatoes, cheese, *ocas*, *ullocos*, and *mashuas*, and the alguaciles tied the produce together to fashion necklaces for the crosses. The alguaciles also decorated the chapels with *angoripa*. They called the branches *mallki*, which is a general term for sapling or young tree ready for transplanting. The verb *mallkiy* means to transplant. However, the noun *mallki* is a general term for ancestor as well as sapling. As with the symbolism associated with water discussed in 6.2, we see that *mallki* is utilized in a semantically bipolar fashion to signify renewal as well as continuation through the generations.

The mayordomos drunkenly took up their crosses, the alguaciles took turns carrying the large path crosses, and the entourage began its descent into the village. As the crosses were removed from the chapel at the border between the root-crop-producing lower *sallqa* and the corn-producing *qichwa*, garlands of corn and flowers were added to the crosses. People waited along the paths and added necklaces of newly harvested produce to the crosses. The crosses were deposited at the chapel marking the outer boundary of the village, and the groups adjourned to the alcaldes' houses to drink a few more "*copitas*," little cups of trago and chicha provided by the alcaldes. Drinking continued in both alcaldes' houses until midafternoon, when the participants literally stumbled home for a few hours of sleep before the vespers procession around six o'clock in the evening.

As the church bells tolled vespers, each mayordomo carried his cross into the church (see plate 10). Women brought their household crosses decorated with garlands of flowers and produce. Two additional crosses appeared—the cross from the Church's cofradía herds carried by the *sallqa* alcalde along with the *hatun* alcalde and the cross kept in his house during his year of office. (The offices of the *hatun varayoq* were not abolished until 1970.) The caretaker of the bridge (*chaka*) brought the cross that guards the suspension bridge over the Pampas River. The crosses were carried through the streets draped with white cloth covering the face of Christ, accompanied by the music from flutes, drums, and *waqrapukus*. All of the crosses were deposited on the altar of the church, the household crosses in the center, the crosses of Upper Barrio with the *sallqa* and *hatun* alcaldes' crosses on the left as one faces the altar, and those of Lower Barrio and the *chaka*, suspension bridge, on the right. The *varayoq* did not enter the church;
Plate 10. Santa Cruz. The varayquluna, holding their staffs of office, bring the produce-decorated crosses to the church.
they waited outside with their high staffs until mass was over. The barrio crosses were taken to the two matrix chapels; the hatun and sallqa alcaldes took their crosses to their houses, as did the caretaker of the bridge.

The vigil of May 2 was dedicated to the two matrix chapels, and their mayordomos were expected to treat the visitors who came to revere all of the chapel crosses deposited there. Upper Barrio’s mayordomo served coca, cigarettes, trago, and chicha, making sure that someone was there all night to receive visitors. The mayordomo of the matrix chapel of Lower Barrio had died during the year after sponsoring the same cross for six previous years, and his family chose not to fulfill his ritual obligations. They remained in the sallqa during the three-day celebration. As the procession from Lower Barrio entered the chapel, the alcalde demanded that someone find the mayordomo, meaning that someone from the immediate family should be found to assume the duties. However, his alguaciles and regidores returned stating that no one was in the house and that the chapel was without a mayordomo. The gathered throng left the chapel grumbling that the family was stingy, mean, and not good comuneros, for they had failed in their responsibilities. The loudest complainer was the young man from Upper Barrio who was fulfilling the duties of his father, the dead alcalde. He kept saying that Upper Barrio was fortunate to have such responsible people as himself and his family who saw to it that custom was upheld. I was told that every chapel must be visited and drunk to by all the varayoq, including the sallqa and hatun alcaldes as well as the devotees wishing to observe the customary all-night visitation.

The major activity of May 3 was the installation of new taksa varayoq. It was said that eligible men came forward to take up the eighteen staffs with good faith voluntarily—con buena voluntad. However, on the morning of the third when the priest read the list of taksa varayoq prepared by the municipal officials, only two men came forward and knelt, kissed their staffs, and received the blessing of the priest. The man who had been named alcalde for Lower Barrio was forcibly brought before the table where the waiting staffs and priest were positioned in front of the door of the church. He was accompanied by his wife, and they both were struggling with the hatun regidores, who were restraining the woman as they dragged the man forward. In front of the ritual table a general fracas ensued, with the priest receiving a heavy blow to the side of the face, to which he retaliated with a hearty whack on the top of the reluctant man’s head. The obstinant man’s poncho was forcibly removed, and three men pushed him to his knees, holding his arms behind his back. The priest pushed his face to the staff, obliging him to kiss the cross on the staff. Then he was released as the crowd clapped, cheered, and joked.
Together he and his wife delivered an angry oration, calling the priest and the *hatun varayoq* men, as well as the municipal officials, several vulgar names. The gist of their protest was that he had just completed *taksa regidor* and that they were now too poor to fulfill another year of service to the community. Their surplus of produce was expended, and their relatives would not help them. The answer of the gathered villagers was that he had enough and now he had to accept, for he had kissed the staff and it was his. Indeed, the man fulfilled his duties satisfactorily and did not shirk his obligations. Another man was similarly impressed into service, totaling only four out of eighteen positions to be filled. They had until the end of the month to find men for the remaining positions. The usual remedy—jailing a reluctant man for a few days until he changed his mind and accepted the staff of office, or the threat thereof—worked: at the end of the month, all of the offices were occupied. In 1970, after the abolition of the *hatun varayoq* structure, eight of the possible eighteen came forward willingly and accepted their staffs of office for the barrio authorities. There was no undue pressure, and the positions were filled within two weeks after Santa Cruz. One informant voluntarily accepted the staff of regidor and said, “Everything is up to us now. We must serve without complaint.” He felt that expenses would be less, but my research during 1970 showed that the expenditures of one of the alcaldes were comparable to those of other years (see chapter 7).

After the installation ceremony, mass was observed, with the *hatun* officials attending and taking up their positions at the front of the altar. The *taksa varayoq* members waited outside until mass ended. They are not associated with the church, and it is not obligatory that they attend festive masses. This obligation was one of the duties of the *hatun varayoq*. After mass, the priest collected several of the garlands of produce decorating the crosses for his own consumption. A procession counterclockwise around the plaza took place after the mass, with the priest flanked on the left and right by the barrio crosses carried by the mayordomos, followed by women with their individual house crosses. Leading the procession were the outgoing regidores, carrying the staffs of office. After the procession, which was accompanied by flutes, drums, and *waqrapukus*, the barrio crosses were returned to the two matrix chapels, where they remained until the Yarqa Aspiy (6.2). During the Yarqa Aspiy, the incoming alguaciles return the crosses to their respective chapels to guard and protect the planted fields. The large *calvarios* and path crosses are returned in the month of May by the incoming alguaciles. This act initiates the young boys into the *varayoq* structure. The presence of the chapel crosses within the boundaries of the village signals the arrival of the harvest into the
village. In June, the herds are brought down from the high *sallqa* to graze on the harvested fields and to fertilize the fields for the next planting after the Yarqa Aspiy. Before the ritual cleaning of the irrigation canals in September, the powerful mountain deities, the Wamanis, are propitiated in August with the Herranza.

6.4 The Herranza: Ritual Payments to the Powerful Wamanis

6.4.1 The Wamanis

The Wamanis control life-giving water and are appeased during the Yarqa Aspiy, the ritual cleaning of the irrigation canals (6.2). However, the most elaborate offerings are prepared during the Herranza, the branding of cattle in August and marking of sheep in February. We have been told that the Herranza is still performed for alpacas and llamas, but we have witnessed only the ritual branding of cattle in August. Small stone effigies of cattle, sheep, and horses called *illas* are manufactured today to be used in the Herranza, and prehistoric miniature figurines of llamas and alpacas have been identified by Chuschinos as *illas* also. *Illas* are said to be the animals belonging to the Wamanis, who are believed to be the owners of all animals and material possessions.

In 2.8 it was mentioned that the Wamanis operate within a hierarchical organization likened to the bureaucratic governmental structures of the national, departmental, and local governments. Some informants maintain that the Wamanis carry staffs of office of gold and silver and have positions as alcaldes, regidores, and alguaciles. However, Wamanis do not progress up through the hierarchy; rather, their status is fixed according to the height of their residing place, either a lake or a mountain peak. Others say that the Wamanis are like doctors, lawyers, and políticos. A peak outside of the department capital is called El Médico, and the resident Wamani is believed to have special curing powers. There are three superior Wamanis in the region: (1) a snow-covered mountain near Ayacucho, Rasuwillka; (2) a peak east of Lucanas in the southern portion of the department; and (3) a mountain in the south toward Cuzco. These three mountains and Wamanis are compared to the modern capitals of Ayacucho, Ica, and Lima. They are said to delegate duties and responsibilities to subordinate mountain deities below them. (See plate 11.)

The subordinate Wamanis of the Pampas River region include the mountain peak Comañawi, the most powerful of the region, and his underlings around the various districts and population centers. For the district of Chuschi, the local commanding Wamani lives in the high puna lake,
Plate 11. A Powerful Wamani. It is surrounded by stone monuments.
Yanaqocha, near communal lands of the village of Chicllarazo. He is said to be the owner of all of the church's cattle and sheep, and an annual payment is made to him for the protection and fecundity of the herds. The ritual is sponsored by the local church. The Wamani of Yanaqocha receives orders from those above him and meets periodically with his subordinates to relay the chain of command. Under this maximum Wamani of the district of Chuschi there are two minor deities who are revered by individual families in the village of Chuschi; one resides in the puna lake, Tapaqocha, and the other in the mountain peak, Ontoqarqa. Each family "owns" a particular place of payment called a caja, a depository or safe. U. Quispe (1969: 35) states that among the villagers of nearby Huarcaya the youngest son inherits his father's place of payment. As mentioned in 6.1, my concentration was not on the Herranza nor on activities in the sallqa, and my data are not complete. Nor did I investigate the inheritance of ritual payment localities; however, each household has a ceremonial bundle of ritual paraphernalia necessary for the Herranza, inherited by the person who inherits the house. It is probable, in my opinion, that the place of payment to the particular Wamani is also associated with a house, and the offspring who inherits the house acquires not only the ceremonial paraphernalia but the place of payment or caja as well. It is possible, therefore, that the Wamanis are deities generally inherited and shared by the agnatic line of a kindred. In 5.7, a description was given of the ritual restructuring of the ayllu at the one-year anniversary of the death of the head of the kindred. The youngest living son was instituted as the new head of the kindred, and the duties and privileges inherited included the ceremonial Herranza paraphernalia. Unfortunately, I neglected to ask about the ritual place of payment, the caja. Also, we do not know if all of the agnatic members of a kindred make their ritual payments at the same place to the same Wamani. If this is the case, the kindred has an agnatic lineal focus functioning in the sallqa associated with herding.

The potency of the Wamanis is evident in the stories told about encounters with them. They are both benevolent and malevolent, and a person never knows their moods or inclinations. The following stories will illustrate their capriciousness.

A Huarcaino fell asleep at Pichqa Pukyu (the five springs considered the residence of the five principal Wamanis of Huarcaya). He had coca in his mouth, a cigarette, and a portion of tuqra (the lime prepared from quinua chewed with coca) in his hand. Upon waking, he heard the Cerros Wamanis calling one another. One said, "You should have taken his heart to punish him." The other replied, "No, I couldn't. His mouth
stinks, he has fire, and he is chewing rock.” Upon hearing all of this, the man grabbed his testicles, thinking that he had lost them, but nothing had happened. He jumped up and ran from the place. (U. Quispe 1969: 39)

The Wamanis can also be benevolent. A story told to my husband and myself by a resident of Quispillaqta:

One night I was sleeping in my hut beside my corral in the puna. As I slept, I dreamed I got up and checked the animals in the corral. Accidentally, I entered the spring, which is the house of the Wamani. The house was of pure glass, and the Wamani was there. A woman brought a gold plate and a piece of wool. Then the Wamani called me by name and showed me the gold plate. He gave me the piece of wool to keep and told me to go. I awoke in my hut and feared that something had happened—perhaps someone was stealing my animals. I went out to look, but it was so dark that I could see nothing—only that there were still animals in the corral. I went back and went to sleep again. In the morning, I went to see my animals and found among them four tiny lambs. They were gifts from the Wamani, and I call them illa (the name of the Wamanis’ animals). They have been wonderful producers, and my flock has grown. As payment, I make offerings to the mountain: fruit, wine, cigarettes, coca, candles, and perfume.

The above gifts are the prescribed gifts preferred by the Wamanis, as reaffirmed in a tale related to us by a resident of Chuschi:

As a boy, I attended an Herranza for sheep in the puna of Quispillaqta. At the end of the ceremony, the offering was prepared for the Wamani. However, certain fruits that were not easily available were omitted from the offering basket. The hole or tunnel (the caja) at the edge of the spring was dug out—the spring is the resting place of the Wamani—and the owner of the herd placed the basket with offerings into the ground. While the man’s arm was in the hole, the Wamani grabbed him by the wrist and would not let go. I began to pull, and so did the others, and finally we got him free. As we returned to the corrals, a voice cried out from the spring. After we entered the herder’s hut beside the corral, the man became violently sick, vomiting straw and earth—he had not eaten either. The man almost died; his life was barely saved by a curandero (curer). If a man owns animals and does not pay the Wamani, he will die.

The most propitious time to make payments to the awesome Wamanis is
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in February and August, when Earth Mother is open and receptive. Ritual offerings are also prepared in late June, usually beginning on June 24, currently the celebration of San Juan, the patron saint of cattle. The sallqa varayoq descend as a group into the village at this time and enact savage and uncivilized acts of incest and impiety. An informant in the village of Sarhua told Salvador Palomino (1970: 120) that “in these days of our little mother and little father (during August and February), the earth opens and the gods are hungry, therefore they receive our gifts readily. But they can also eat the hearts of men who dare to walk alone in the mountains at these times. The rocks talk, the illas walk, the ichu (puna grass) converts itself into rope, the trees move, and the ravines call out.”

The ritual payments are carefully prescribed, and failure to follow the formula can bring death to the herds and family members. Not having seen the actual payment made, since the presence of a foreign woman at the caja or depository was not allowed, I will rely on the description by my husband, W. H. Isbell, who has witnessed one such offering, verbal accounts of informants, and the excellent study by U. Quispe (1969). The payment to the Wamani is the last act of the Herranza, which has three parts: (1) the vespers preparations made the night before, (2) the actual branding of the animals and the “marriage” of a heifer and a young bull, and (3) the payment to the Wamani.

6.4.2 Vespers: Preparation of a Potent Concoction

On the evening before the branding and payment are to take place, the sponsor (or sponsors) of the ritual and members of his family leave the village and climb to their sallqa corral and hut. We participated in an Herranza for cattle during August. A young compadre of ours was acting in behalf of his father, who had died six months before, and his mother took the role of the principal female. His ten-year-old brother assisted him. His wife, who should have attended, remained in the village with their two infant sons but joined the gathering the next morning. We took with us a large quantity of trago, coca, a branding iron, and the ceremonial bundle. On arriving at the sallqa house, the family began the vespers with a round of ceremonial drinking and songs. The sponsor opened the ceremonial cloth bundle and spread out the various contents, which included another tightly tied cloth bundle holding a special powder called llampu in which there were several small stone figures—a cow and sheep of recent manufacture and a bird probably of pre-Columbian origin. Another tied cloth contained a special red llampu called puka (red) llampu in a sea shell. The ceremonial paraphernalia also included two chunks of minerals referred to as “crude
gold” and “crude silver,” another red mineral, a small knife, a bottle of trago, and one of chicha called ñawin, the best or finest. Montaña and tropical forest products were also included, notably coca seeds and several sacks, two of which contained different seeds, one called willka—the term for descendant—and the other called wayluru. The former are dark brown, flat, tear-shaped, bean-like seeds, and the latter are red and black bean-like seeds. Willka (also called vilca in other areas of Peru) was used in divination rites during Inca times, and R. E. Schultes (1972: 29) has identified the seed as the Anadenanthera colubrina used in the manufacture of hallucinogenic snuff. Altschul (1967) has reported on the uses of vilca. Wayluru has been identified by Quispe (1969: 22) as Cytharexylon herrerae.

Llampu is a special concoction that serves as one of the essential elements of the offering. It is a prophylactic against contamination, capture, and illnesses caused by the Wamanis, as well as a purification agent for ritual preparation. A comunero never expends his supply of llampu; the ritual bundle is kept in the eaves of the house from year to year and a new preparation is elaborated only when needed. Our compadre had an ample supply that had belonged to his father, but we persuaded him to prepare the llampu anew for us. He brought into the hut a flat rock and cobble, explaining that the cooking grindstone could not be used. Then he selected ears of corn; the number is unimportant, but there must always be pairs of everything. Each ear must have all of the grains present and only white, large-grained corn can be used. Before beginning, our compadre offered a drink to the Wamani. He poured trago into a sea shell, stepped out of the house, removed his hat, and poured the liquor on the ground. Then everyone present drank from the same shell. He explained that if he did not offer the Wamani a drink, the Wamani would make him sick to his stomach as he ground the llampu. He took a drink of trago and chewed a bit of coca with tuqra.

First, the grains were carefully removed from two ears of corn, while he explained that if any of the grains escape the grindstone, animals will be lost or will die. His mother wrapped a blanket around the edge of the grindstone to prevent grains from skittering off onto the dark floor. As the grains of corn were coarsely ground, his mother played the small ceremonial drum used by women, the tinya. He added two wayluru and then two willka seeds, and his mother intoned the following song:

Wayluru and little willka
They say that you are very manly
Wayluru and little willka
They say that you are very handsome
Wayluru and little willka

Wayluru and little willka
They call you handsome
Wayluru and little willka
They call you the very manly
Wayluru and little willka

The third addition was four pairs of coca seeds, and the fourth was one pair of white carnation flowers. Then two minerals were added, the first red and the second white, called red llampu and white llampu. The last ingredients to be added to the concoction were "crude gold" and "crude silver," both called chakin. Tiny pieces were chipped off the larger chunks and dropped onto the grindstone. Our compadre checked all the ingredients and ground vigorously for a while. Then he stopped for a ritualized rest, during which he drank trago from a cup made from a cattle horn. Everyone present followed him in a round of drinking from the horn cup. He continued grinding and commented that the llampu was not red enough, so he added more puka llampu (the red mineral) and ground some more.

When the llampu preparation was finished, our compadre poured trago into a shell and sprinkled llampu over the liquid, then a small quantity of achita (Chenopodium pallidicaule). He prepared an identical mixture in a horn cup and drank from both. We followed him by drinking the double concoctions in turn. He explained to us that the double shots would protect us from the Wamani. Anyone who arrived late had to drink the same double potion as a prophylaxis. He concluded the grinding ritual by scooping the llampu from the grinding stone with a shell and adding it to the old. The atmosphere relaxed, and drinking and singing continued through the night.

6.4.3 The Branding and "Marriage"

Just as dawn was breaking, our compadre and his little brother quietly left the hut so as not to awaken us. He did not want the gringos along on his dangerous mission. Our compadre carefully tied his ceremonial bundle to his back in a woman's shawl, a liklla, in a manner denoting subordinate status. They walked about two miles to a nearby lake to make the llallipay payment—it means the "gaining advantage" payment—to the Wamani. My husband, W. H. Isbell, followed and watched from a distance. He reports that the bottle of ūawin trago was removed from the bundle and a drink was poured into a gourd. Some of the liquor was thrown into the lake and the remainder was poured onto the caja, the offering place. A second cup
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of trago was offered to the Wamani. The earth was carefully scraped away with a sickle and the stones covering the caja most cautiously removed. The stones are called the "lock and key" to the "safe." One sea shell of llampu was poured into the hole, next hawin chicha. If the llampu swirls clockwise, animals will die or be lost; counterclockwise swirls foretell fecundity and good fortune. Our compadre and his brother judiciously replaced the stones, and each drank one shot of trago to escape capture or illness. On the return to the hut, coca was chewed for further protection. The young man stopped outside of the corral, and his brother excavated a small hole near a natural outcropping of rocks. He poured one shell full of llampu into the hole, then it was covered and another shot of liquor was consumed.

On entering the hut, our compadre remembered that they had forgotten bread, one of the favorite gifts of the Wamanis. He sent his younger brother down into the village to buy the bread, a two-hour walk. The discovery caused concern among the gathering, for the Herranza must be completed in one day once it is begun, and our compadre had awakened the Wamani's avarice with the "gaining advantage" payment.

Other people began to arrive—the all-important masa, who was our compadre's father's sister's husband, a minor compadre and comadre of our compadre, the patron of the ritual, and a man who was contracted as a branding expert and his assistant. Each arrival drank the double llampu and trago mixture from the shell and horn cups. Our comadre arrived, and the ritual retinue faced a problem. If her father-in-law were alive she would serve as llumchu, but she would not attend her husband in this capacity even though he was acting in behalf of his dead father. Reluctantly, our compadre's mother cooked and served the morning meal, which should have been the responsibility of her daughter-in-law. However, since her son was living in the house of his mother-in-law, the usual subordinate position of the daughter-in-law was forfeited, thus causing an anomalous situation.

Ideally, a patron of an Herranza should have two masas and two llumchus in attendance as well as a branding specialist, someone to assist him, and waqrapukus players.

The younger brother returned from the village and proceeded to manufacture necklaces called wallqas of bread and fruit to be worn by the major participants and draped on the cattle. Our compadre's other compadre gathered cirse reeds, and the masa fashioned a new cross to replace the cross over the entryway to the hut. The cross was made of three bunches of reeds bound together at the bottom with a stick about two feet from the base serving as the crosspiece to bind the bunches of reeds together. The finished cross was three feet high and about two feet across. When the masa finished with the cross, he and the branding specialist (not a relative)
decorated the branding iron with a piece of dry cow dung on the branding piece and a lump of fat on top of that. Two pink and two blue ribbons were bound around the dung and the fat; a necklace or wallqa of fruit and bread, along with a bottle of trago, was tied to the iron with a pink ribbon. The finished product was quite attractive.

The ritual entourage paraded to the corral with the masa leading the way and carrying an armload of reeds; the branding specialist followed with the branding iron; and our compadre and his mother brought up the rear. He carried the reed cross and had the ceremonial bundle tied to his back. His mother carried her small ceremonial drum. The rest of us followed the principal participants to the rock outcrop where the llampu had been buried. An offering of coca quintu, whole leaves without blemish, was left on the rocks.

Now the ritual table was laid, but first another round of prophylactic drinking—one drink of trago and one of chicha, each served by our compadre, the patron of the ritual. He extended a poncho in front of the cross and branding iron, both of which had been propped against the wall of the corral. The seeds were placed in front of the poncho by the masa. The ceremonial bundle was opened and placed beside the cross. A basketry loop about six inches in diameter and three inches deep along with a lasso had been added to the ceremonial paraphernalia. The larger cloth of red llampu was untied and the figurines, the illas, were carefully set upright in the llampu. Another cloth contained a sea shell filled with lighter-colored llampu, several fossil shells, and some red wool. Our compadre sprinkled three lines of llampu on the poncho, then coca leaves were carefully scattered along the lines. The small knife was dipped in llampu and placed near the center line. The chunks of "crude gold" and "crude silver" were stationed on the other lines. Now the ceremonial table was complete. The masa and the branding specialists knelt before the table, crossed themselves, and mumbled a prayer to the Wamani, and then the patron and his mother knelt and repeated the performance. (See plate 12.)

Meanwhile, the masa and the branding specialist readied the iron, carefully removing the decorative offerings and tying them to a bunch of reeds. Coca and several rounds of trago and chicha were consumed "to prepare ourselves." The masa knelt and gathered up the reeds and placed them at the entrance to the corral. Four animals were driven into the corral, three mature cows and one bull calf. The patron sprinkled llampu from a shell into the air, making a counterclockwise circuit around the corral. Another round of double drinks and more coca followed. The women seated themselves in hierarchical order beside the cross, our compadre's mother next to the cross, her sister-in-law, her daughter-in-law, and then her son's comadre. The lesser compadre and comadre decorated everyone's hats with white blossoms. We were now
ritually prepared, strengthened, and purified.

If there are immature animals that have not been sanctified before, a male and a female are chosen for a "marriage" ceremony. The Herranza of this compadre did not include the marriage, for there was only one bull and no available young female animal that had not calved. Later, I attended a joint Herranza of another compadre and his father-in-law in which eighteen animals were ritually treated and a "marriage" performed. A young bull and a female calf were brought before the ritual table, and four masas prepared a bed for them of cirse reeds. The assistants to the branding specialist roped the animals, throwing them to the ground in a ventral to ventral embrace. Reeds were placed on their legs, and the wife of the patron sprinkled three lines of llampu on the sides of each animal. "Crude silver" and "crude gold" were rubbed on their hooves. One of the masas placed a blanket over the animals, and bread, coca, and toasted grains were placed on the blanket. The masas and llumchus knelt and passed reeds across the animals to the two patrons and their wives. Then the patrons cut the ears and tails of the two animals and the blood was caught in a shell. The llumchus tied the ritual necklaces of produce, the wallqas, to the horns of the animals and draped the same around the necks of the male owners. The masas placed the necklaces around the necks of the two principal females. Ribbons were fastened in the ears of the animals by the llumchus. The masas placed the flesh from the ears and tails on the table. They distributed reeds to all present, and we made two crosses of them by holding the reeds between our fingers to form three strands. With these, we danced around the animals and as they were released we threw the reeds at them. A ritual meal was served of bread, toasted grains, and the double drinks of trago and chicha mixed with the blood of the animals. Coca was distributed afterward as we rested.

U. Quispe (1969: 92) reports that in the Herranza of several neighboring communities the ceremony of "putting the cattle to bed" is enacted, and animal copulation is simulated by the principal males and their wives.

The Herranza under discussion excluded the "marriage and consummation" ceremony, proceeding with the actual branding. Our compadre’s mother sprinkled three lines of llampu on each animal, and her sons tied the necklaces on the horns and fastened ribbons in the animals’ ears. The branding specialist applied the brand to each animal and the masa poured chicha on the wounds. The calf was more elaborately treated, following all of the ritual steps described for the marriage, excluding the “marital embrace.” An act evidently believed to give the young bull potency was substituted. The patron rubbed the animal's groin with the "crude silver" and "crude gold.” The calf was not branded. After the animals had been ritually prepared, the patron and his masa distributed the cirse reeds. We made the two crosses and drove
the animals out of the corral through a break in the wall that had been pushed out by the masa. The patron waited behind the wall, and as each animal jumped through the break he sprinkled it with llampu. As the animals exited, we threw the cirse crosses at them. Drinking, singing, and coca chewing continued through the night.

6.4.4 The Payment to the Wamani

As mentioned in 6.4, I have not witnessed the final act of the Herranza, the payment or pagapu to the Wamani. The following description is a summary of the events of a pagapu in Choque Huarcaya reported by U. Quispe (1969: 35-38). Chuschino informants concur with the description, except that women in Huarcaya accompany the men to the caja of the Wamani, whereas in Chuschi they do not approach this most dangerous place. This may be an indication of stronger sexual differentiation and agnatic emphasis in Chuschi. Clarification will require further investigation. Also, a few other differences are worth mentioning. The contents of the ceremonial bundle in Huarcaya evidently lack the effigies of the Wamanis' animals, the small stone illas. And the llampu is kept in gourds, not in cloth bundles. Otherwise, the contents are identical. From Quispe's data (1969), it is evident that the composition of the payment can vary, but there are invariable ingredients as well. The bits of ear and tail, called señales, are always included, along with carnations, whole unblemished coca leaves, coca seeds, willka seeds, wayluru seeds, fruit, and llampu. These ingredients are placed in a cirse basket, called the tunku. It is the same shape and manufacture as the tunku basket belonging to the bride during the qollque qonopa, “the gathering of silver” (5.6.5), of the marriage ceremonies. Two small clay bottles (puyhus) are filled with trago and chicha. Sometimes “crude gold,” “crude silver,” cigarettes, and wine are added to the offering, along with indigenous grains such as quinoa and achita and various beans of both indigenous and Spanish origins. Rice is sometimes offered as well. None of the offerings described included potatoes or corn, the two major food products. Corn is ground in the llampu. However, I have never seen potatoes ritually used.

The pagapu is made at dawn the morning after the branding ceremony. The retinue proceeds to the special caja belonging to the patron of the ritual. Of course, they have purified and protected themselves by drinking trago and chicha and chewing coca. They carry cirse crosses, and the patron carries the ceremonial bundle on his back, symbolizing his burden. The patron, or some other male, excavates the caja of the Wamani after “rinsing” his hands in llampu and offering the Wamani liquor. The two clay bottles buried on the last occasion are removed and ceremonially served by the masa in two
containers (in Chuschi, a shell and a horn cup). The patron throws llampu into the air and sprinkles or pours ñawin trago and chicha into the hole before lowering the basket and refilled clay bottles. Chuschinos say that candles must be fastened to the basket also. The caja is covered with earth, and the large stone “lock” and smaller stone “key” are replaced. The congregation kneels and prays to the Wamani as the waqrapuku trumpets are played. If anyone falls during the payment ceremony, it is believed that the Wamani can take the fallen victim’s heart. To prevent this, either llampu, or ñawin trago, or ñawin chicha, or the buried liquors, and coca must be consumed. After the ritual, the retinue drunkenly makes its way back to the corral and hut to sleep and eat before disbanding. If the Herranza has been carefully prepared and executed, the herds will increase and be protected by the Wamani. Animals are a measure of a person’s wealth and prestige that the Wamani can provide or withhold capriciously at will.

6.5 Major Themes and Concepts—Major Lines of Defense

The overriding concern expressed in the three rituals is productivity and fecundity. The process of copulation and impregnation is ritually enacted during the Yarqa Aspiy, with Earth Mother as the purified bride and the two Wamanis residing in the sources of irrigation water, Ñawin Sulcaray and Lake Matuma, as her grooms. The entire village celebrates the final consummation at the qonopa, the site of the convergence of the canals at the boundary between the village and the qichwa zone. The major canal running through the center of the village is called amaru, which signifies such animals as a snake, a pig, and a bull. S. Palomino (1970: 124) maintains that the concept of amaru is the violent movement of earth or water. We can see how such movement can be conceptualized as the necessary energy for fertilization. Within the context of the three rituals under discussion, that force is the descending water of the irrigation canals. Zuidema (1972: 40) argues that the amaru (as snake) is not only associated with water but also with the ancestors and the underworld. He states that in Cuzco the irrigation system of the Incas converged beneath the Temple of the Sun, where the mummies of the nobility were kept. In a similar fashion in Chuschi, the qonopa, the site of the impregnation of Earth Mother, is located not only at the convergence of the canals but adjacent to the village cemetery. The ritual of regeneration and renewal, the Yarqa Aspiy, is finalized within sight of the resting place of the dead, the village cemetery. The cycle of renewal necessitates death; all regeneration requires both death and birth. Likewise, the annual cycle is divided into two halves: the rainy season, beginning in October and lasting through April, and the dry season, beginning in May and ending in September. The rainy season is
associated with sickness, death, and scarcity, while the dry season brings to the Chuschino mind memories of abundance and renewal. Yarqa Aspiy cannot be performed until the rains begin. The fertility rite marks the beginning of the scarce epoch when Earth Mother is in gestation. She “gives birth” to the harvest in May during Santa Cruz, and the cycle begins over again.

All powerful Wamanis, as the owners of all animals and material possessions, and as the sources of irrigation water, are propitiated twice a year, during the dry season in August and again during the wet season in February. Both of these months are said to be dangerous or loco, crazy. The earth “opens” at these times; therefore, offerings are readily accepted by the mountain deities. These two months are called the time of our “mother and father,” which tempts one to propose ancestor worship of lineal ancestors as the function of the Herranza. However, when the Herranza and accompanying offerings to the Wamanis are viewed as a part of a ritual complex that expresses major Chuschino concerns and concepts, the Herranza is another fertility rite as well as an effort to appease the capricious male deities from whom the essential male element, water (semen), is necessary for fertilization.

Quispe (1969: 103) proposes the structure of Earth Mother opposed to the sky, symbolized by the Wamanis and mediated by water, the amaru. I believe that the three rituals demonstrate the concept of fertility as the union of female (Earth Mother) and male (Wamani) elements to produce abundance. The force that unites the two is the moving irrigation water (the amaru). The resultant harvest (Earth Mother’s issue) and abundance are symbolized by the cross. In the Herranza, the cross symbolizes the union of male and female, which is expected to result in fecundity. The dominant fears expressed by Chuschinos are of castration by the Wamani and the naqaq, death or sterility of herds, and crop failures.

On the social plane, the three rituals embody the concepts of closed, bounded social space dichotomized as civilized (the village) and savage (the sallqa). Agricultural zones mediate between the two. The closed corporate nature of Chuschino society is depicted and reinforced through the characterizations of foreign domination in the portrayals of the priest, the military officers, and the naqaq. Spatially, foreigners occupy the center of Chuschi, the plaza, while comuneros live in the surrounding two barrios. This bounded, closed corporate universe embodies the most ancient of oppositions constructed by man: “We versus they.” In Chuschi, this opposition finds expression as comunero (insider-member) versus qala (outsider-nonmember). These three rituals remind the Chuschinos that their society is socially and spatially closed and bounded. Furthermore, their survival in the past has been facilitated by their definition of the entire outside world as the threatening “other” opposed to “us,” the members. P. Maranda (1972) maintains that structures function
The major line of successful defense is the Andean pattern of control over diversified production in vertical ecological zones (2.8). The zones are demarcated by the location of chapels housing crosses that are the responsibility of the civil-religious hierarchies. The celebrations of Yarqa Aspiy and Santa Cruz codify the critical information for successful agricultural exploitation of the vertical Andean environment into emotionally charged synthetic rituals. These rituals are considered essential to cosmic, spatial, economic, and social order. The maintenance of all three of these economic rituals—Yarqa Aspiy, Santa Cruz, and the Herranza—depends on the mechanisms of private and public reciprocity, the subject of the next chapter.