

9. A Final View Through the Andean Kaleidoscope

9.1 Major Structural Themes and Principles

In the introduction to this book I stated that in retrospect my first field experiences in Chuschi seemed as though I had been viewing structural shapes and patterns through a kaleidoscope in a dimly lighted room. However, with time and increased understanding I was able “to shed light” on the structural relationships Chuschinos utilize to interpret their experiential world.

The analogy of a kaleidoscope is a very appropriate one for Chuschino society and cosmology. Like the patterns of a kaleidoscope, the experiential world of this Andean community appears to be rearrangements of structural shapes and forms. One’s first impression is that Chuschino society is in constant motion within a conceptually enclosed spatial domain. The civil-religious hierarchies move through their vertical world to ritually define pertinent ecological boundaries in order to begin the agricultural year. Other formalized ritual actions dramatize and reaffirm shared values and beliefs as well as re-define social categories. Many of the structural themes to be discussed in this chapter were discovered by studying ritual processes, to use Victor Turner’s well-known phrase. By concentrating on ritualized activities I was able to isolate recurrent themes and values as they were expressed in different ritual contexts.

I have come to view each chapter of this book as another turn of a structural kaleidoscope, providing another perspective of the major structural themes and principles operating in the Chuschino social, political, spatial, temporal, and cosmological spheres. I have adopted the definition of structure as a self-regulating, transformational system, and, in order to uncover the relationships operating between discrete structural units within a system, I have dissected Chuschino ideal models to reveal the underlying principles of structural organization. Moreover, I have examined the dialectic between

ideal systems and the events of history and activities to elucidate the processes of transformation.

Unlike the many anthropologists who construct structural models as if they were isolated from activities on the ground, I take the position that we must include in our analyses the struggle of activities and historical events with structural systems to be able to understand the dynamic process of emerging syntheses. Change is a reality and static equilibrium is a culturally engineered fiction: the dialectic between ideologies and activities can increase our understanding of the mechanisms of change. Ideology is used to interpret events, but sometimes events overpower and change ideologies because ideologies no longer adequately explain the events.

This chapter is a discussion of the structural themes and principles operating to sustain Chuschino social and ideological closure, which in turn strengthens economic autonomy—the major concern of Chuschino society.

9.2 The Economic Basis of the *Varayoq* Structures

In chapter 2 we found that the Chuschino conception of ecology involves bounded ecological niches for diversified exploitation that ensures economic autonomy. The nucleated village, with its dual structures, Upper and Lower Barrios, is located in the middle of the vertical zones. The village is conceived of as the civilized center opposed to the uncivilized puna lands where the omnipotent mountain deities reside. Chuschino social space is further divided by the opposition of the traditional moieties to the central plaza, where foreigners such as schoolteachers, merchants, the church, and governmental bureaucracies have invaded Chuschino social space. This zone of foreigners is opposed to the two moieties where the communal members of the traditional closed corporate society reside.

Residence is the criterion for membership in the moiety *taksa varayoq* structures, the civil-religious hierarchies described in chapter 4. These dual and mirrored structures perpetuate the conception of the bounded ecological zones through a series of ritual enactments at all of the boundaries during the harvest festival in May, called Santa Cruz (described in 6.3), and again during the cleaning of the irrigation canals, the Yarqa Aspiy, in September (6.2). The members of the dual civil-religious prestige hierarchies literally walk through the vertical ecological space, reaffirming the essential information of diversified exploitation by delimiting the boundaries with ritual payments to Earth Mother and the mountain deities. The dual prestige organizations, representing the barrios, move out from the civilized center simultaneously to the distant dual sources of irrigation water in the puna and back to the center again, where they are met by the *hatun* members. The unified

community then descends to the juncture of the irrigation canals below the village boundary adjacent to the cemetery, the place of the dead. This all-important fertility rite culminates with the entire village population drinking together at the expense of the moiety *varayoc* and *hatun varayoc* to celebrate the dual forces of regeneration—fertility and death. The moiety *varayoc* have established spatial and ecological order; they have made the appropriate ritual offerings to the mountain deities and to Earth Mother; and they have purified the village. The *hatun varayoc*'s participation symbolizes the union of the two moieties into the complete whole. And, now dressed in new clothing, the members of the community drink with their ancestors to initiate the agricultural cycle once more.

After the ritual cleaning of the irrigation canals and the irrigation of the fields, Earth Mother is believed to be in gestation during the long rainy season, which is the time of hunger and disease. At the beginning of the dry season in May, the harvest festival, Santa Cruz, is celebrated by gathering into the village the crosses that delineate each agricultural zone. The crosses are decorated with the first fruits of each zone and are offered to the village priest. The crosses remain within the civilized center under the protection of the moiety *varayoc* in each of their chapels until they are returned to the respective productive zones by the newly initiated unmarried boys of the *taksa varayoc* during the Yarqa Aspiy in September, the equinox celebration summarized above.

The crosses are the icons of fertility and productivity. The movements of the moiety *varayoc* through their bounded ecological space begins in September with ritual payments to initiate the agricultural year; it terminates in May with the gathering of the symbolic first fruits of the harvest. The *varayoc*'s movements in September and May are like one full turn of the structural kaleidoscope, expressing the village's hegemony over its varied and far-flung productive zones. The dual *varayoc* organization establishes order at the outset of the agricultural year by making ritual payments to Earth Mother and the mountain deities, the female and male supernatural forces necessary for regeneration. As the irrigation water is ushered into the village, the women of each moiety circle in opposite directions around the plaza and sing that they too are cleansed and ready. As the *hatun* members receive the moiety members in the civilized village, social order is solidified by the union of the two moieties and the center. Cosmological order established once more, the cyclical nature of agricultural time can take its natural course.

It is interesting that neophytes, the young boys initiated for the first time into the *varayoc* organizations of the moieties, must, as their first act of office, return the crosses to their appropriate zones, thus perpetuating the ongoing articulation between economic production and the civil-religious hierarchies of the moieties. An abundant harvest is taken as evidence that the moiety

organizations have fulfilled their obligations. Conversely, natural disasters causing crop failures are taken as signs that they have not performed their ritual duties well.

Given the economic function of the *taksa varayoq* of the moieties, the abolition of the *hatun varayoq* (see 4.5), which served the district officials and the church, comes as no surprise. Faced with the economic necessity of reducing their civil-religious hierarchical structures, the community chose to abolish that organization that served “foreign” institutions, namely the church and the district bureaucracy. Furthermore, the *hatun varayoq*’s principal ritual obligations were to sponsor the culminating unification ritual of the Yarqa Aspiy and to observe Christmas, Easter, and carnival, religious holidays imposed on the indigenous community by the Catholic church. Whether the *hatun* organization had economic functions in the past is unclear, but its role as unifier of the two moieties was an important one. Nevertheless, their functions in 1970, the date of abolition, were primarily as arms of foreign control. By preserving the moiety organizations the community is striving to perpetuate the mode of diversified exploitation of its vertical environment and to ensure the solidarity of the group’s control over its territory, elements essential to its economic autonomy.

Now that we know that the dual civil-religious prestige systems of the barrios function to maintain hegemony over the community’s vertical zones and ensure autonomy through diversified exploitation, we must examine the economic function of the *sallqa varayoq*, dedicated to the care of the church’s *cofradía* herds. During the dramatic events of 1970 the village decided to retain the *sallqa varayoq* along with the moiety dual organizations. Also during that year litigation was brought against the church by a group of returned migrants to remove the *cofradía* herds from the church’s control and form a co-operative (see 8.6). This conflict had not been resolved when I left the field in 1970, but the migrants realize the economic potential of 250 head of cattle and 1,500 head of sheep if controlled by a cooperative and oriented toward the national market. The community thinks of these herds as communal property, but the priest and departmental bishop argue that the animals belong to the church. Whether the community will accept the formation of a cooperative is open to question, for they are reluctant to orient their economic activities to the national market. Moreover, they express the fear that agrarian reform workers will gain control of this vast wealth, so important to the ceremonial fund that helps finance many of the community’s rituals and public works.

In chapter 3 I stated that a household’s wealth is based on size of herds rather than number and size of agricultural plots. Herding is the other principal economic activity in Chuschi. Privately owned herds are maintained on

the puna communal lands by extended households. Membership in the *sallqa* prestige system requires one to own animals and to have served in several positions of the village civil-religious hierarchies (4.3). The *cofradía* herds are the responsibility of the *sallqa* herders, who must leave their agricultural plots in the care of family members to serve one year in the puna (see 4.3.4).

The *sallqa* prestige system performs important symbolic functions for the community. The members dramatize the opposition of savage (*sallqa*) versus civilized by descending on the village on horseback as a savage horde during Corpus Christi, celebrated at the end of May or early June, before the June solstice. As might be expected, the December solstitial celebration, which has been syncretized with Christmas, is also related to herding: it is a fertility rite for llamas, performed in the village center by one of the village prestige hierarchies. Before 1970, this ritual was sponsored by the *hatun varayoq*; after the abolition of this organization, the ritual sponsorship was assumed by the moiety organizations. The major actors of the fertility rite are a group of women dancers and one male dancer. Costumed with a llama skin over his head, the lone male repeatedly enters the group of female dancers. The women carry long poles with colored streamers attached to a circle at the top. The poles are held erect as the women dance their peculiar, vibrating dance, in which tiny hop-like steps are taken. From a distance the women dancers resemble a large, colorful, vibrating U. The male dancer, or *macho* (meaning male or old man), repeatedly enters the U configuration of the women, giving the appearance of a symbolic act of copulation. This interpretation is clarified by the antics of the *macho*, who breaks away from the dancers to mount from behind an unsuspecting woman in the crowd, as the crowd laughs and comments that the *macho* has copulated. To the delight of the crowd, I was often such a target. In 6.4.3 I described a mock wedding ceremony that is part of the Herranza, in which a young bull was “put to bed” with a young cow that had not calfed. The two animals are tied together in ventral to ventral position simulating human copulation. After this is performed, the male participants announce that they “need their cows.” They approach women and enact symbolic animal copulation. The two rituals express the mutual interdependence of animal and human fertility.

However, the most critical interdependence is between agriculture and herding, the two fundamental economic activities of the community. Ritual complementarity between the two is enacted throughout the year. There are two major agricultural rituals, in September and in May. Conversely, there are four rituals dedicated to herding. Moreover, we find that the ritual specialists associated with each of these activities enact rituals for one another, or perform their rituals in the other’s specialized space. For example, agricultural rituals are performed in the puna, fertility rites for the herds are

performed in the village. Sacred objects are moved from the agricultural to the herding zone and vice versa to underscore the economic interdependence of the two activities. The moiety civil-religious hierarchies ascend to the puna to make their most important ritual offerings to the mountain deities at the sacred sources of irrigation water. They leave crosses at these offering places during the rainy season to ensure agricultural success. The crosses are brought into the village in May to symbolize the first fruits of harvest.

The four points of the year associated with herding are all extremely important in Andean cosmology. June and December are the solstices and February and August are the dangerous months when the earth opens up and receives offerings. The significance of solstitial observances during Inca times will be discussed in 9.3. Today the Catholic celebrations of San Juan and Christmas have been superimposed on the solstitial dates. Nevertheless, we can see that the economic content of the solstices, symbolic of key aspects of herding, has remained intact. In June the herders descend into the village as a savage horde invading from the puna. Duviols (1973) provides evidence from documents that in many parts of the Andes pastoralists were of different ethnic origin and foreigners to the nucleated agricultural settlements. It is a common belief that herders are uncivilized as opposed to civilized agriculturalists. Thus the annual invasion has a long tradition. When the herders descend from the puna in June they also bring the two small female saints that are guardians of the herds. These two saints are miniatures of the effigies of Saint Rosa and Saint Olimpia that are housed in the church and said to be the mothers of the puna guardians. They are brought into the village to be blessed by and "to visit their mothers." The descent of the *sallqa varayoc*, the savage herders, corresponds also to the time when animals are brought into the agricultural zone to fertilize and feed on the harvested fields.

The two small saints remain in the civilized center, the village, until the synthetic ritual of the Yarqa Aspiy, the cleaning of the irrigation canals during the September equinox, when the saints and the crosses are returned to their appropriate places. The Yarqa Aspiy establishes order throughout the diversified territory, and the cycle can begin once more.

The *sallqa varayoc* return to the village in December again with their guardian saints, but this time they are the benefactors of the fertility rite sponsored by the village civil-religious hierarchies. Both saints are returned to the puna in January when the new members of the *sallqa varayoc* organization take office for the year. Saint Olimpia is venerated in December but Saint Rosa is given homage in August, during that dangerous time of the year when vapor escapes from the inner earth to cause disease and death. August and February are the most propitious times to make offerings to the Wamanis,

the mountain deities believed to be the owners of all animals. Personal encounters with the Wamanis during the Herranzas have been set forth in 6.4. The Herranzas are fertility and protective rites for the herds, observed both by individual households and the community as a whole. The *sallqa varayoq* perform this ritual for the community's *cofradía* herds.

Duviols (1973) documents not only that pastoralists and agriculturalists were of different ethnic origins but also that they venerated separate idols believed to be their ancestors. He argues that the common mixed subsistence and settlement pattern we know today resulted from the invasion of herders from the puna into the nucleated settlements of agriculturalists, causing a synthesis of economic and religious practices. With this data, the symbolic invasion of the *sallqa varayoq* is better understood as a continuing synthesis of power relations and economics established long before the Spanish arrived. Chuschinos are utilizing an ancient economic and ritual complementarity to preserve their autonomy and hegemony over their territory. The movement of saints and the reciprocal ritualism discussed above has played a large role in sustaining the interdependence of pastoralism and agriculture, the basis of Chuschino economics.

9.3 The Structural Order of the Annual Cycle

In the above discussion, I have alluded to some of the relationships expressed in Chuschino time and space. I have also argued that one of their principal concerns is to maintain equilibrium and order in a world in which dual forces are balanced against one another. The best example of such equilibrium is the cyclical order of the annual round governed by the dichotomy of the dry and rainy seasons, which in turn shapes the rhythm of the agricultural and pastoral activities and rituals. Natural dichotomies are found: the two equinoxes in March and September and the two solstices in December and June. The equinox observances in March appear to have declined greatly through syncretization with Christian Lent and Carnival celebrations.

By comparing an early account of the annual ritual cycle with modern ethnographic data we can examine what has been retained and what has been transformed. In a chronicle written between 1587 and 1613 by Guamán Poma de Ayala (1936: 235-260), the year is divided into twelve months, with the major ritual activities for each month described in detail. I have set them out in table 7 by opposing the two natural seasons in Chuschi.

In the calendar described by Guamán Poma, the dry season was the time of state activities—the census and distribution of land, and the observances of the minor *Inti Raymi*, sacrifices to the visible sun. In April, the transitional month between the two seasons, the Inca displayed his generosity by supplying

TABLE 7

THE ANNUAL CYCLE ACCORDING TO GUAMAN POMA

Dry Season	Rainy Season
	October— <i>Uma Raymi</i> 100 white llamas sacrificed to principal <i>wakas</i> . Black llamas tied in plaza. Dogs also tied. A great plea for rain (women are shown weeping).
May— <i>Aimoray Quilla</i> The harvest feast. Produce brought to <i>collicas</i> . Abundance symbolized by double-eared corn or double potatoes. The Inca offers multicolored llamas.	November— <i>Ayamarçay</i> Month of the dead. Food and drink given to mummies, which are removed from their <i>pucullo</i> . Women chosen for <i>aclla wasi</i> . Rites of first hair cutting, ear piercing, first shoes, first menses, and donning adult clothing.
June— <i>Cuzqui Quilla</i> Moderate <i>Inti Raymi</i> . 500 children, gold, silver, and shells buried. Census of the entire empire.	December— <i>Cápac Inti Raymi</i> The great sacrifice to the sun. 500 children buried alive with gold, silver, shells.
July— <i>Chacra Conacuy</i> 100 brown llamas and 1,000 white guinea pigs burned in plaza so that produce will not be ruined by sun or water. Pestilence. Distribution of land.	January— <i>Cápac Raymi</i> Month of penitence. Sacrifices to sun and moon. Processions from mountain to mountain, to Wanacauri and Pacritambo. Sexual activity prohibited.
August— <i>Chacra Yapuy</i> Corn is planted. Sacrifice to the <i>wakas</i> of the poor and commoners. Some offer own sons and daughters; usual sacrifice includes chicha, guinea pigs, shells, and ground corn.	February— <i>Paucar Varay</i> Heaviest rain, sickness, hunger. Great sums of gold, silver offered to sun, moon, and all <i>wakas</i> . Vapor leaves the inner earth. Rites of first hair cutting and donning adult clothing.
September— <i>Coya Raymi</i> Grand fiesta of the moon. Important women host the celebration. Villages are cleansed with irrigation water. Men arm themselves as if to go to battle and purify their villages with fire.	March— <i>Pacha Pucuy</i> Black llamas offered to <i>wakavilca</i> and <i>orcocuna</i> . Sorcerers talk to the demons (of the underworld). Great hunger. Salt forbidden. Fruit forbidden to women. Earth is "full."
April— <i>Inca Raymi</i> Multicolored llamas offered by Inca to the <i>wakas</i> of the commoners. Public feasting at the expense of Inca. Food is ripe. Time of games. Ear piercing ritual.	

abundant food for public feasting from the state storehouses, thus demonstrating the economic and political power of the state during this time of scarcity before the harvest.

As the Inca model became transformed under Spanish rule, public feasting at the expense of the state was abandoned. Nevertheless, in Chuschi, the *hatun varayoq*, before the 1970 abolition of this organization, sponsored public feasting and celebrations, thereby displaying their generosity during Easter and Carnival. Their other duty was to sponsor the Christmas festivities, which correspond to the great sacrifices for the "real," invisible sun to ensure its return from its journey through the underworld. We see that the major state celebrations from Inca times became transformed into localized Catholic celebrations corresponding to the same periods of the year and sponsored by the *varayoq* hierarchy associated with the church and the state. However, these celebrations and the sponsoring *varayoq* institution were finally abandoned due to lack of articulation with the economic functions of the other civil-religious prestige hierarchies.

We have seen that within the memory of informants the community maintained a *varayoq* organization dedicated to the care of planted fields (the *qichwa* or *campo varayoq*, 4.4). In addition, female informants claimed that thirty years ago Coya Raymi as described by Guamán Poma was celebrated as the great feast of the moon on August 30 by the women *varayoq* to begin the Yarqa Aspiy in September. Women tied up their dogs and prayed and wailed to the moon, the Coya or queen and wife of Inti, the sun, begging her to send rain. Their descriptions remarkably resembled that of the noble chronicler, Guamán Poma, except that Santa Rosa has become identified with the moon.

Comparing this description with Guamán Poma's, we find that during the colonial period the equinoctial celebrations in September were sponsored by "important women" and, as in the modern Yarqa Aspiy, men symbolically cleansed their villages with irrigation water. But the women of Chuschi clearly state that the function of their ritual activities during the Santa Rosa festivities was to secure rain, which corresponds to Poma's description of Uma Raymi in October. In other words, the modern equinoctial celebrations have compressed the Inca observances for September and October into one, the Yarqa Aspiy. Furthermore, a continuing process of transformation has meant that women have lost their important ritual role in the initiation of the new annual cycle. The pressure of Spanish influence and syncretism have transformed ritual activities, preserving essential economic and ecological information while causing the abandonment of women's roles, human sacrifice, and to some degree sorcery.

There are other correspondences between Guamán Poma's depiction of

the annual cycle and modern rituals. The harvest feast in May and its logical opposite, the month of the dead in November, are still important elements in Chuschi's organization of the year. However, November no longer includes the rites of initiation into adulthood such as first menses, first hair cutting, and receiving adult clothing. Nevertheless, the logical construction of death and renewal rites has been incorporated into the *Yarqa Aspiy* when the community drinks to the ancestors as the final act of this condensed initiation of the agricultural year.

Guamán Poma describes February as the month when dangerous vapors escaped from the inner earth, as is believed today. Likewise, February is the month of heaviest rain, sickness, and hunger and the time when the mountain deities are propitiated with offerings. In Guamán Poma's time offerings were made to the sun, the moon, and all *wakas*, or sacred stones and objects. Today, when Chuschinos perform the *Herranza* during February and August they say that it is the time of their little mothers and little fathers, suggesting that they are involved in the vestiges of an ancestor cult. This interpretation is in agreement with Duviols's analysis of localized ancestor cults in which *wakas* were believed to be the petrified ancestors of specific groups.

Note that in Guamán Poma's calendar, August was dedicated to sacrifices to the *wakas* of the poor and commoners to initiate the planting of corn. In Chuschi, August is the time of cattle fertility rites as described above. The initiation of corn-planting has been condensed into the great synthetic celebration of the *Yarqa Aspiy*. However, in the nearby community of Cancha-Cancha, the corn-planting ritual called *Chacra Yapuy* is still observed in August. Many Chuschinos attend this important corn ritual, which is also a rite of sexual reversals. A man dresses as a woman, blackens his face, and "plants" the plaza with the remains left in the bottoms of the brewing pots used to prepare corn beer. This is a reverse portrayal of actual planting. The plaza is planted instead of fields; a transvestite with a reverse-colored face performs the task using "that which is thrown away" as seed. People from many nearby villages attend the ritual, and, once it has been completed, planting begins in earnest.

It appears to me that Andean men are balancing the scale of procreative power between males and females. As mentioned in 2.7, only women can place seed in the ground. Once this is done, the new annual cycle can begin again. As Bateson suggests in *Naven* (1958), without such equalizing techniques social units would explode with tensions and pressures.

The fact that women are perceived as more powerful in the procreative process necessitates a rite of reversal to reestablish order. The ritual described above functions to equalize the apprehension of the inequality of power between the sexes in order to maintain social and cosmological equilibrium.

Balancing the sexual forces of the social and cosmological world is one of the major concerns of Andean people. The complementary nature of the synthesis between sexual powers is considered necessary for regeneration and procreation. This synthetic process can best be seen in the elements of the Andean Cosmos.

9.4 The Andean Cosmos

Again let us compare an early account of the Andean cosmological order with modern beliefs of Chusichinos. Perhaps the most famous description was written sometime between 1513 and 1520 by an indigenous nobleman named Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui (1950: 204-281), who included a drawing of the temple of the sun in Cuzco (ibid.: 226) as a kind of map of the cosmos. See figure 6.

The drawing is in the shape of a house within whose outline masculine elements are depicted on the right side and feminine elements on the left (Zuidema, 1969: 21). In the center of the drawing is a vertical series of figures interpreted by Zuidema as representing the neutral axis of the cosmos. However, I believe the central figures depict the realization of the combination of male and female elements—the necessary synthesis for procreation and regeneration.

The major elements of the drawing with their associated elements are set out in table 8. The generative process begins with Viracocha, the supreme creator god, represented by a golden oval plaque with the five stars of Orion above it. Zuidema (1977b) interprets Viracocha as a bisexual supreme creator god, father-mother of the sun, moon, man, woman, and all creation.

Below Viracocha lies the Southern Cross with two of its four stars designated as *saramanca* and *cocamanca*, “cooking pot of corn” and “cooking pot of coca.” These two stars form one of the arms of the cross and are obviously feminine concepts: the other arm of the cross is not named, but must be the concept of male energy necessary for reproduction. Zuidema (ibid.) interprets the Southern Cross as a female symbol, but I see it as the manifestation of the union of male and female contributions to ongoing life.

Man and woman are clearly shown below the cross, and below them are depicted the *colcampatas*, the storehouses and their terraces. The creator god is the origin and generator of all and the *collicas* represent abundance in the real world, the end product of the procreative process. Together they form a closed system—the beginning and the end of the reproductive cycle.

The constellation of male elements to the left (but to the right as one faces out—right is generally associated with males, left with females) has the sun as the apex with Venus of the morning, the grandfather, directly below. A group of stars with the words *verano* and *suchi* appear below the morning Venus. *Suchi* perhaps refers to a species of fish; *verano* means “summer” but is more

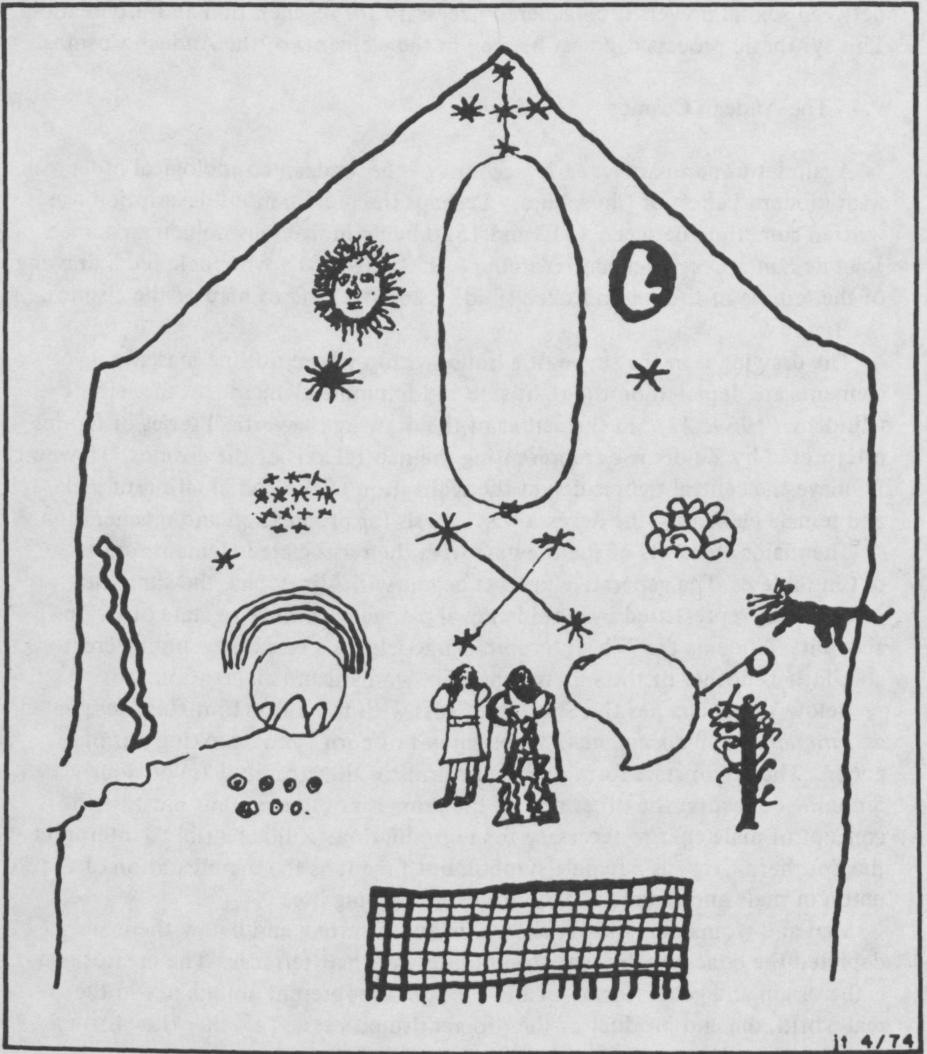


FIGURE 6
TEMPLE OF THE SUN IN CUZCO, AFTER PACHACUTI YAMQUI

TABLE 8
MAJOR ELEMENTS IN THE DRAWING BY
PACHACUTI YAMQUI

Sun	Viracocha		Moon
Morning Venus (as Grandfather)			Evening Venus (Grandmother)
Stars of Summer	Southern Cross		Clouds of Winter
Lightning			Cat
Lord Earth (with a rainbow)			Mother Sea (fed by a spring)
“eyes of abundance”	Man	Woman	Young tree
The terraces of the storehouses			

commonly applied to the dry season. The world with an arching rainbow is pictured next, as Cámac Pacha, Lord Earth. Inside the earth are mountains and the words Pacha Mama, Earth Mother. Exiting from the earth is the river Pillcumayo, the legendary place of origin of the Incas. Cámac Pacha refers to the world in its totality, while Pacha Mama denotes the inner earth or Earth Mother. The last entry in direct line of descent from the sun in the “eyes of abundance,” *ymaymana ñauraycunañawin*, which also can be translated as the “eyes of generosity of all things.” Off to the side is the lightning, *chuqlla yllapa*.

On the opposite side is the moon, sister and wife of the sun. Grandmother Venus, star of the evening, is beneath the moon, with the words *choquechinchay o apachi* (grandmother) written below. A cloud cluster with the words for winter, hail, wind, and mist is depicted below morning Venus. Off to the side is a black cat, *choquechinchay*, a supernatural cat or dragon that ascends to the heavens to secure wealth from the Upper World (Zuidema 1977b). Mother Sea (or Mother Lake) (Mama Cocha), fed by a spring (*puqyo*), and a young tree (*mallqui*) are the last entries of the feminine side of the cosmological ledger.

Zuidema (*ibid.*) discusses three mediators in Pachacuti Yamqui’s structural model: (1) the rainbow that mediates between the sky and the earth; (2) the supernatural cat, *choquechinchay*, that mediates between the Underworld

and the Upper World, and (3) the lightning that descends from the Upper World to the earth. I would like to add that the rainbow originates at one point on the earth, reaches the sky, and terminates at another point on the earth. The Inca is often depicted under a rainbow, his means of communication with the Upper World. The lightning flashes down, but the cat springs from inside the Underworld. According to modern informants, the dangerous vapor believed to rise up when the earth opens in February and August is also called *choquechinchay*. We can therefore conclude that male elements are associated with downward movement and female with upward. I further suggest that the color white is a masculine symbol and black is its feminine counterpart. Also, it appears to me that the movement of the lightning is a manifestation of male energy, while a still body of water such as a lake or the sea and the inside of the earth are feminine concepts related to nurturing (6.2).

If we were to attempt to extract social concepts from Pachacuti's drawing, we would see state origins and functions on the masculine side of the drawing and familial origins and functions on the feminine. The Inca is a direct descendant of Inti, the sun; his symbol of power is the sun, and the rainbow is his means of communication with the visible sun and Viracocha, the real sun. In a common scene depicted on *qeros*, wooden ceremonial drinking vessels, the Inca is seen kneeling in the sun temple (probably before the great oval image) while two attendants blow conch shells that presumably form a rainbow over the Inca's head. The principal social characteristic of Inca rule, abundance redistributed through state control and conceived of as personal generosity of the king, is symbolized by the "eyes of great abundance and generosity." On the right we see the symbols of nurture (Mama Cocha and *puqyo*) resulting in the growth of a young sapling or branch (*mallqui*) that grows upward from the earth. Today in Chuschi, *mallqui* signifies both sapling and ancestor (6.3). Elsewhere Pachacuti Yamqui (1950: 218) uses trees to symbolize the parents, roots, and trunk of the Inca dynasty. This royal dynasty had a strong agnatic component—directly from the sun—while commoner status could be explained as the union of two complementary and equal kin groups. Zuidema's (1977a) analysis of Inca kinship in terms of *panatin* (a group of men and their sisters) and *turintin* (a group of women and their brothers) reflects the same principle of sexual complementarity. The model drawn by Pachacuti Yamqui captures the dynamic aspects of the masculine and feminine forces of the universe whose combination is necessary for regeneration and procreation.

By comparing this sixteenth-century explanation of Andean cosmology with modern concepts we once more can study continuity and change.

I found no evidence that the concept of a bisexual progenitor is an integral part of the modern syncretized Chuschino pantheon. Nevertheless, the concept

is still an important one. It is believed that hermaphroditic animals are progenitors of the herds. They are called *wari* (or *mari*) and are believed to be the symbolic fathers-mothers of the herds, even though the astute pastoralists realize that the animals are in fact sterile. If one is born to a herd it is guarded and displayed during the fertility rituals in August and February.

The modern synthetic nature of sexual complementarity is expressed in a drawing executed by a seven- or eight-year-old girl when she was asked to draw the Upper World, Hanan Pacha, as part of an experiment I conducted in 1967 with some fifty children to attempt to capture their ideas about cosmological entities. (See figure 7.) The results of this research have been published in Spanish (Isbell: 1976).

Compare the elements of this child's drawing with Pachacuti Yamqui's. Her description closely parallels his own words. She sketched the sun, Inti, with his wife the moon, Coya, directly opposite to his right. Note that the orientation is the opposite of that in Pachacuti Yamqui's drawing, which is presented from a participant's point of view, whereas the girl's is presented from an observer's point of view. Below the sun and the moon are two stars, which she called grandfather (*abuelo*) and grandmother (*abuela*). At the bottom she drew a figure of a woman identified as her mother; to the side is Kay Pacha, "the earth we live on," divided into moieties, one white and one black. The fact that she omitted her father might be a reflection of the extreme sexual parallelism whereby women identify with women and men with men in so many aspects of social, ritual, and supernatural life. The black and white world might also be associated with sexual symbolism, white-male versus black-female dichotomy.

The child's version of the Upper World is a simplified version of Pachacuti Yamqui's elaborate model. The children were asked to draw various cosmological entities, among them the mountain deities (Wamanis) and non-Christian ancestors called *gentiles*. Interestingly, many children combined these two concepts to express a synthetic model much like Pachacuti Yamqui's.

One ten-year-old boy produced a drawing combining a cross and a condor as manifestations of the Wamanis and a cat and a tree (or *mallqui*) as the non-Christian ancestors. (See figure 8.)

As mentioned above, *mallqui* signifies both sapling, or branch, and ancestor. The boy is expressing the duality of the forces of the ancestors, the non-Christian *gentiles* of the Underworld, and the procreative energy of the Wamanis that results in progeny (the sapling). Although the elements are somewhat transformed, the dual concept of the masculine and feminine forces drawn by Pachacuti Yamqui is shown in the boy's drawing. The boy's cat (*choquechinchay*) in its role as the mediator of the Underworld, the residing place of the ancestors, and his tree are clearly related to the dual

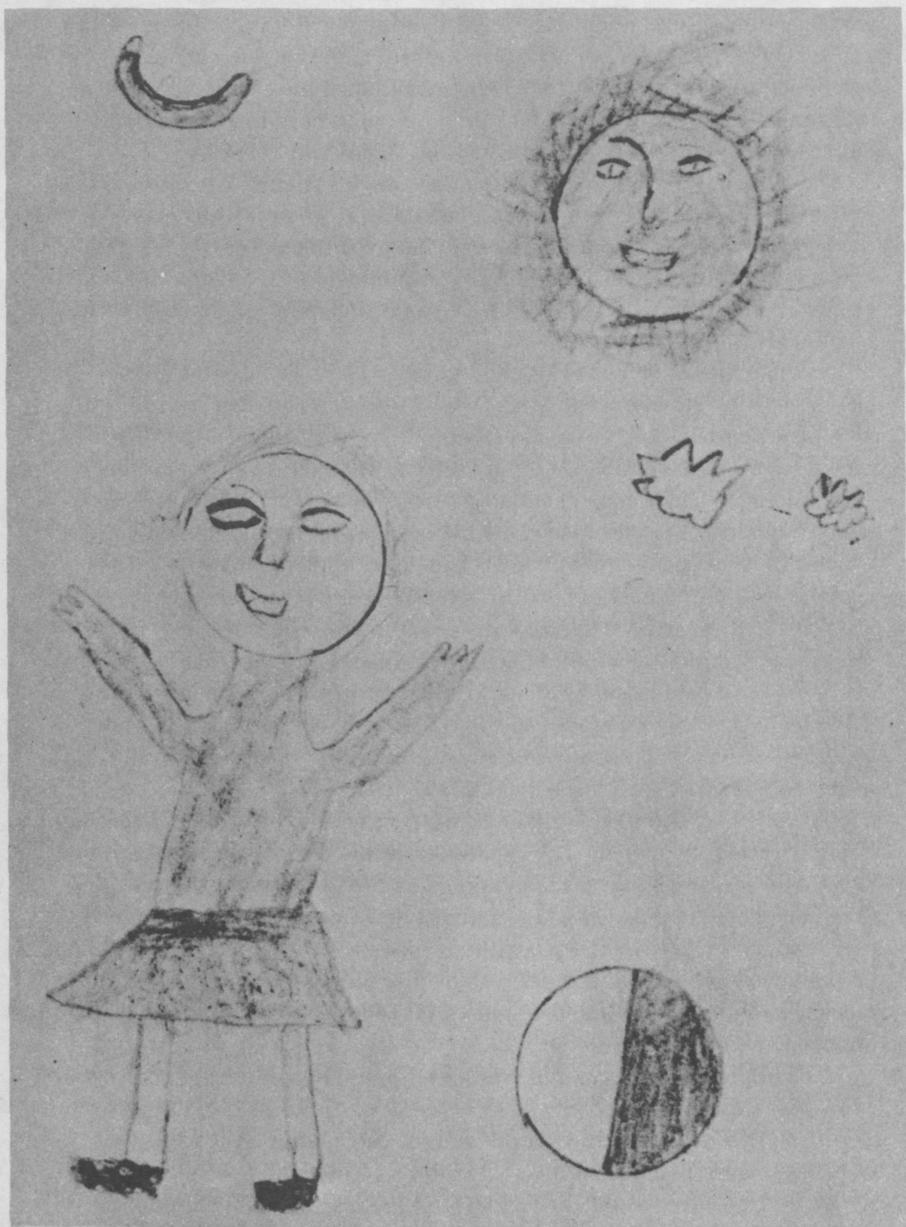


FIGURE 7
THE UPPER WORLD, HANAN PACHA

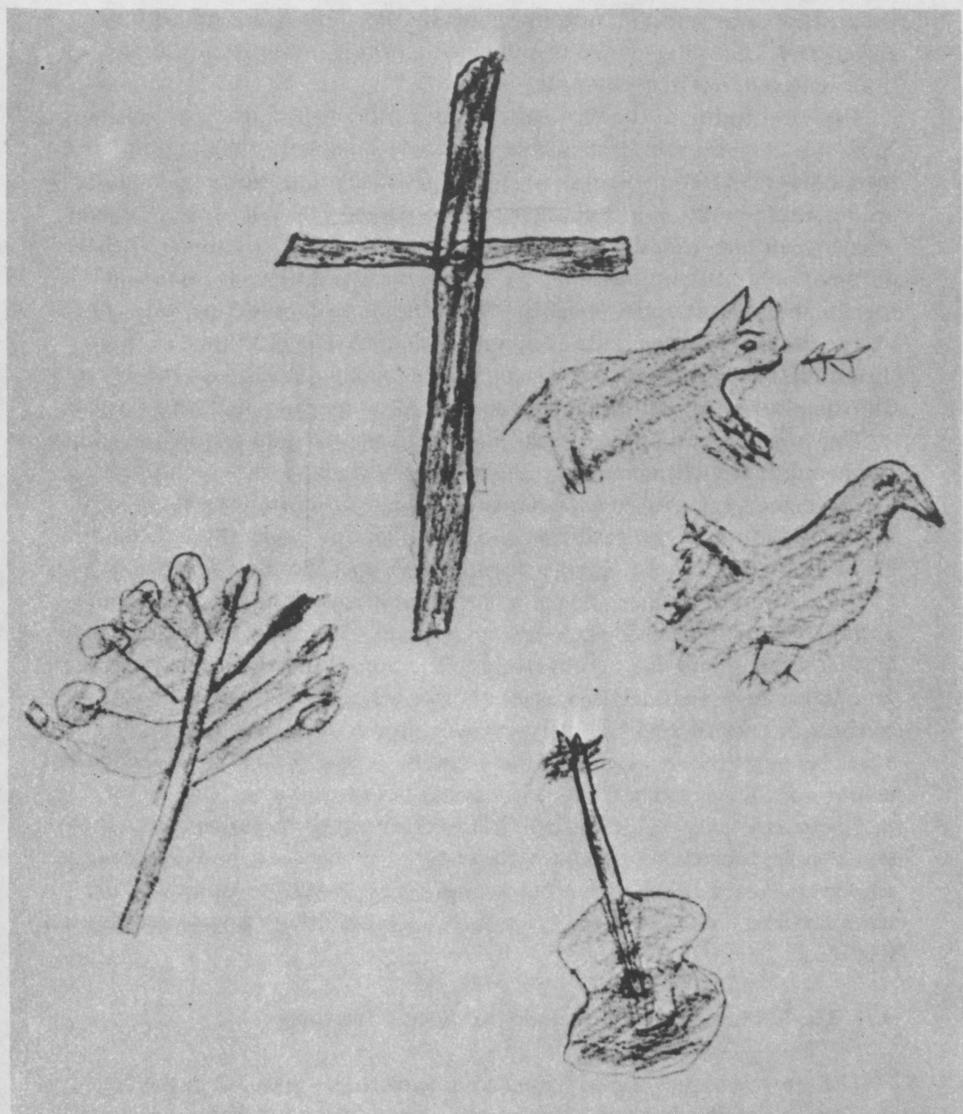


FIGURE 8
THE UPPER WORLD, HANAN PACHA

concepts of ancestors and progeny shown by the noble sixteenth-century chronicler. The guitar symbolizes the mediator role of music as a communicator between opposing concepts.

The substitution of the Wamanis for one of the male entities in Pachacuti Yamqui's drawing is understandable when we examine the detail on the masculine side of his depiction of the temple of the sun. Note the mountains inside of his rendition of Pachacámac, Lord Earth. The cult of the Wamanis is an ancient one related to specific mountains in specific locations. Just as different ethnic groups had their own *waka*-ancestors, they also venerated specific mountains in their locality. When the Incas imposed the state cult of the sun, the localized cults of mountain deities remained intact. The Spanish likewise imposed a new state religion on conquered populations, and Christianity was smoothly syncretized with local indigenous and Inca beliefs.

The cross has been discussed throughout this book as an excellent example of the multivocal character of symbols. Here we see the cross identified as the Wamani, along with the condor as one of his manifestations in modern folklore. I think we can easily argue that the condor is one of the mediators between the Real World (Kay Pacha) and the Upper World (Hanan Pacha).

An eleven-year-old girl drew a series of mountains with two condors and a white bird with black spots hovering overhead. See figure 9. She said the birds and the mountains were Wamanis. The non-Christian ancestors (the *gentiles*) were represented as a series of lakes inside the mountains, with brightly colored flowers and plants growing inside the lakes. I would like to argue here that she is expressing the union of male energy from the mountain deities and the nurturing of the lakes as still bodies of water.

Taken as a totality, the children's drawings embody the same symbols of sexual complementarity necessary for fertility, procreation, and regeneration as expressed in the sixteenth-century drawing by Pachacuti Yamqui. This same concern for sexual complementarity and equilibrium is mirrored in social relations.

9.5 The Symmetry and Asymmetry of Social Relations

The clearest expression of sexual complementarity is found in the belief that one is not an adult until one marries. Chuschinos say that a male and a female are not complete until they have been united with their "essential other half." Once married, a person can assume the role of a productive social member. The preference for parallel inheritance discussed in 3.5 reflects the dual symmetry of the sexes. Males ideally inherit from their fathers and women from their mothers. In 5.3 I discussed how this same parallel principle operated in the inheritance of names in the seventeenth century.

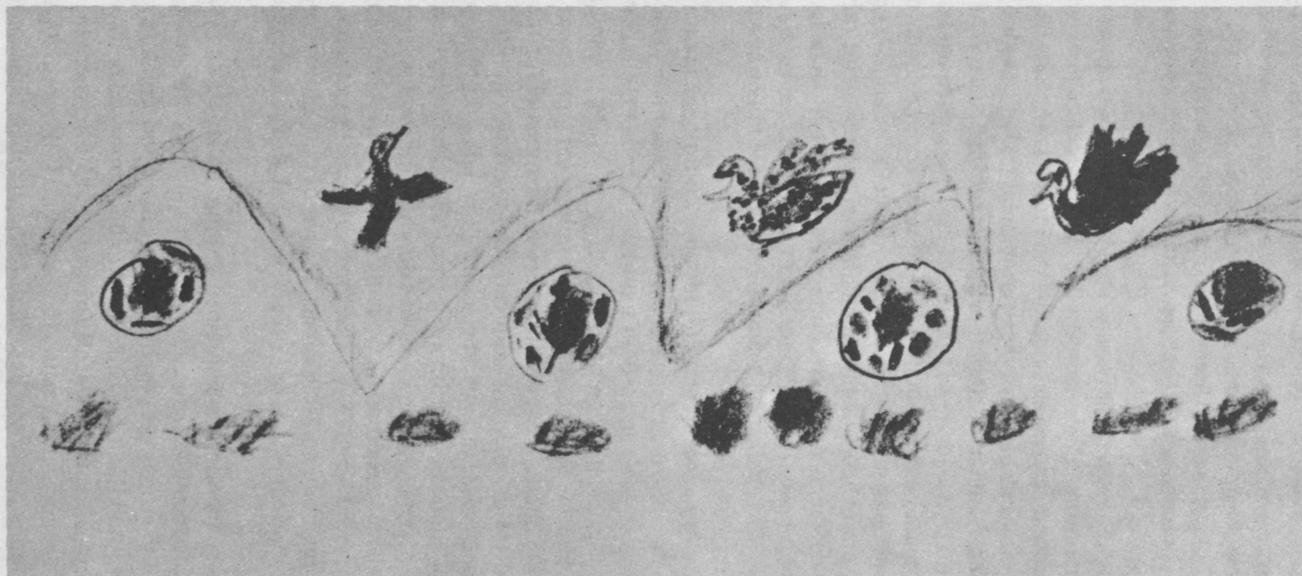


FIGURE 9
THE UPPER WORLD, HANAN PACHA

The balance of power between the sexes is a cultural artifact. Chuschino women have more symbolic procreative power than men, as evidenced by the fact that women own all seed and only they can place seed in the ground. Men do the plowing. In 9.3 I discussed the rite of reversal performed by men during the first planting ritual that functions to redress this conception of inequality of power.

Nevertheless, it appears that women are losing symbolic power in Chuschi as well as social power. For example, their independent civil-religious hierarchy, which was described as a mirror image of the male institutions, has disappeared. However, the economic balance between the sexes is stable as long as women control their lands, animals, and property. In addition, partners are essential to the household's production. Division of labor is complementary.

Another enlightening symbolic drama of sexual complementarity is enacted during a wedding ceremony when the *ramo apay* (5.6.8 and 5.7) is performed. Symbolically a girl child and a boy child are baptized to signify the creation of the essential elements of a new kindred—the male and female issue that are the minimal unit necessary for Chuschino marriage exchange. A stated marriage preference is to exchange generation mates (5.2) to ensure continued alliances between two kindreds.

The relationship between two kindreds united through a marriage alliance is ritually defined as symmetric in the *perdonakuy* ceremony (5.6.9). Through this ritual act the bride's and groom's kindreds redefine their relationships to one another as formal and “compadre-like,” prohibiting sex and insults and conversely establishing obligatory bonds of mutual aid and reciprocity.

Within this symmetric relationship between the members of the two kindreds, there exists the ritualized expression of asymmetry in the roles of the *masas* and *llumchuys* (5.4.2), who personify the relation of the outsiders (the affines) to the kindred performing the ritual. The *masa* plays the role of a clown, a servant, and sometimes assumes the role of a woman, serving food and drink to the congregation. Two *masas* are always necessary actors in all ritual situations (see chapter 6). The *llumchuys* must serve their female affines, preparing food and drink for the festivities. In 7.2 we discovered that the reciprocal obligations of affines, especially *masas*, exceed all other social categories.

The complex network of reciprocity and mutual aid (chapter 7) provides one of the basic social mechanisms by which a closed corporate peasant community is able to ensure the perpetuity of a closed endogamous society. In 5.8.1 I demonstrated that Chuschi is more endogamous today than it was during the colonial period between 1661 and 1685. Furthermore, Chuschi's population is declining due to outward migration (3.2), creating alliances and bonds of reciprocity between Chuschinos living in urban Lima and the village.

The impact of out-migration has been discussed in chapter 8, but I want briefly to summarize the dialectic between migrants and villagers in terms of symmetric versus asymmetric relationships.

Over time Chuschinós have increasingly closed in on themselves socially, economically, and symbolically in order to strengthen their defenses against the encroachments of the outside world. Their overriding concern is to preserve their autonomy. Nevertheless, the out-migration that began in the early 1940s has transformed many symmetric relationships into asymmetric ones. As migrants have increased their access to ready cash, their power and status have also increased. The community has become dependent on the migrants for their ability to facilitate the processing of papers through the maze of centralized bureaucracies in Lima. An example was given in 8.2 in which the migrants were responsible for presenting the documentation to the Ministry of Indigenous Affairs to have Chuschi recognized as a corporate community. Political influence became augmented to the point that today the migrant club has the authority to audit the village books, supervise elections, and call the peasant community's administrative authorities into Lima to account for their decisions. Individual Chuschinós have become dependent on their relatives residing in Lima for a wide range of aid. They send their children to the capital city to be educated. They rely on their employed relatives in Lima to help them get jobs and provide housing. Finally, mutual aid is provided for sponsorship of fiestas and rituals both by the migrants to their peasant relatives and vice-versa.

The most important development that has occurred in the past thirty years is that the migrant association in Lima has come to exercise a great deal of control over the politics of the village due to its position as cultural mediator between the national bureaucracies in Lima and the village corporate community. The migrants' sophisticated urban knowledge and new values are both suspect and considered beneficial. This area of ambiguity is a cause of tension between the village and the Lima migrant settlement.

It is possible that if the migrants' power of decision grows and if they continue to control economic resources in Chuschi and have access to cash in the urban environment, then the closed corporate community of Chuschi could become a satellite of the urban invasion settlement instead of the administrative and ceremonial center that it is today.

To close my discussion of symmetric and asymmetric social relations let me say that there are obviously many types of unequal relationships in Chuschi that are contrary to the ideal of maintaining equilibrated relationships. There are differences in wealth even among the comuneros (chapter 3) and important differences in power (chapter 4), as well as differences in power between the sexes. Women have very little direct influence in the political life of the

community except to have an equal voice in elections. There are also disputes within families over inheritance, armed battles over land boundaries between villages, theft, and fraudulent misuse of public funds and property, all of which threaten to cause chaos in a community whose major strategy for social survival is somehow to persuade people to uphold the ideal values of harmony, consensus, reciprocity, and social and cosmological balance. These values are repeatedly reinforced in codified symbols and icons within obligatory ritual activities. Some dramatize dual forces of fertility. Others continually contrast that which is ideal with that which is disdained.

Perhaps the most powerful social opposition is the dichotomy discussed in 3.1 between *comuneros*, members of the closed corporate community, and the *qalas*, the naked or peeled ones, defined as outsiders and foreigners. In ritual dramas, outsiders are depicted as nonparticipants in the maintenance of social institutions. They never sponsor the key rituals discussed in chapter 6. In 6.2, in the description of the foreigners such as the priest, the soldiers, and the tropical forest savages, the last, the *chunchus*, appear as exploitative and threatening beings who epitomize antisocial behavior. Moreover, they are classified together with the powerful foreign herbalists, the *hamites*, and the dreaded *naqaq*, the supernatural being who steals body fat, eats babies, and castrates men. By ridiculing these negative powers in their midst, the villagers are attempting to neutralize their power and balance the scales once more. Furthermore, by ritualizing the representational images of the threatening "forces of evil," the community is annually reminded who its enemies are, a common social mechanism for the maintenance of social solidarity.

9.6 Impending Dangers

In the preceding discussion I have outlined the structural principles I believe to be fundamental to Chuschinós' ideology of social and economic closure. We found that ecological and social boundaries are delineated in ritual "walks" through physical space. And we found that the maintenance of these boundaries is the function of the moiety and puna civil-religious hierarchies. Thus the civil-religious hierarchies are the guardians of Chuschino territory and diverse vertical exploitation.

The symbolic nature of the annual cycle was described, and I concluded that many key concepts have been condensed and compressed into the great synthetic ritual called the *Yarqa Aspiy*, the cleaning of the irrigation canals, during the September equinox. Those festive holidays that do not relate to economic activities have been abandoned. The Andean cosmos was described as a synthesis of male and female forces essential to fertility and regeneration. Finally, the symmetry and asymmetry of social relations were explored.

Abstracting the relations operating in each of these systems, we repeatedly find that Chuschinós are drawn to dual conceptualizations. They see the world as a force field that must be balanced: the civilized center versus the savage puna, the comuneros struggling against the *qalas*, the rainy season opposed to the dry season. Regeneration and death are both necessary to the life process, as are men and women. In addition, the potential animosity between kindreds is neutralized in obligatory reciprocity and repeated marriage alliances, an expression of the ideal symmetric relationship expected between two kindreds joined in marriage.

Nevertheless, the asymmetric position of the *masa* is a necessary part of *all* rituals. His role reversal as a clown, a woman, and a thief (he often feigns a comic act of stealing the corn beer or the meat from his affinal relatives' celebration) continually reminds his affinal relatives that he is a wife-taker who has married one of their women and removed her from her own kindred. In contrast, the role reversal of the male actor in the corn-planting ritual (*chacra yapuy*, 9.3) is an effort by the male-dominated society to diminish the exalted symbolic power of women, who own seed and place seed in the ground. By initiating the annual cycle, men are attempting to balance the scales between the sexes before beginning another agricultural cycle.

What are the impending dangers to this dualistic Andean world view? Chuschi, as a recognized peasant community (see 2.4), does not contribute significantly to the national economy. The village is going to come under increased pressure from governmental agencies to orient itself toward the national market and national identity. One of the proposed plans is to organize multi-community production cooperatives. Chuschinós will have to make critical choices in the near future, and many pressures are at work. Increased education brings with it an awareness of what the outside world has to offer, and more and more of Chuschi's youth are making the decision to leave the community in search of "a better life" than the arduous existence of an agriculturalist-pastoralist. The national program of propaganda tells the peasants that the government is striving to open the doors of national participation and self-determination for the peasant masses. The government wants the peasants to share in the process and responsibility of propelling the country into the industrialized twentieth century. These factors are enhanced by the ever-growing need for cash in the community. If Chuschi continues to lose population as members leave the community in search of salaried jobs, and if Chuschinós continue to send their children to Ayacucho and Lima to be educated, the traditional values that maintain social and economic closure will be greatly undermined.

The continual flow of out-migration has meant that the traditional peasants are made aware of new values of individual and community progress. The

migrant association in Lima is oriented toward the improvement of the village. They are currently agitating to have electricity installed. A health center and a secondary school are under construction. Migrants and governmental agencies are frustrated by the amount of time, energy, and resources that are expended in supporting traditional rituals. However, we have seen how essential these ritual activities are to the perpetuation of values with which Chuschinos have defended themselves for centuries. This closed corporate peasant community is attracted by the promises of the revolutionary government that the peasant masses will have self-determination, but they suspect that they will lose control over their resources. They also fear that bureaucrats will benefit at their expense. Chuschinos will have to predict the consequences of their choices as the pressure to become an open community mounts higher and higher in the future. They are not opposed to better education and better health care, nor are they averse to a higher standard of living. However, they are fearful of losing what they have controlled for so long. From their point of view, their most valuable asset is their autonomous control over their communal and private holdings. Becoming a part of the national society might mean the loss of that control. When Chuschinos perceive a threat they respond, "We must defend ourselves." The dialectic between traditional ideologies and events is an ongoing process. The purpose of this book has been to analyze the nature of Chuschinos' systematic mechanisms of defense and to outline some of the events and factors currently impinging on their closed corporate peasant community.