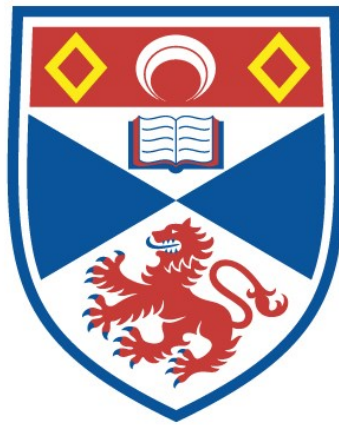


'MESA' AND CARNIVAL : A WORD AND AN EVENT  
WHICH ILLUSTRATE ASPECTS OF THE QUECHUA  
VIEW OF THE WORLD AND MAN'S POSITION IN IT,  
BASED UPON FIELDWORK IN THE COCHABAMBA  
VALLEY, BOLIVIA

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil  
at the  
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## "MESA" AND CARNIVAL

A word and an event which illustrate aspects of the Quechua view of the world and man's position in it, based upon fieldwork in the Cochabamba Valley (Bolivia).



I wish to record here my sincere thanks to all those ,both in Cochabamba and St.Andrews,whose advice,opinions,and encouragement helped me in the production of the following thesis. In this regard,I wish to mention particularly:-

- don Luis Morató whose timely advice on one occasion saved me from an untimely death whilst I was living in Bolivia,
- Professor Douglas Gifford who enabled me to overcome economic and administrative obstacles which at one time threatened to prevent the completion of this work.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Subject

Originally, fieldwork was geared to the production of a dictionary of ritual terms used by Quechua speakers in the Cochabamba region of Bolivia. This thesis has abandoned the dictionary form, however, in search of a more suitable method of presentation. Ritual terms and the ritual events which accompany them, as any other manifestations or reflections of human behaviour, occur within a matrix of linguistic and cultural events. To grasp their significance for the users of the terms, or for those who experience the events, is as difficult as trying to describe Unamuno's ever mobile butterfly whose colours and shape alter as it flutters in its restless changing environment of rustling foliage. Meaning in any context is fluid and shifts according to the linguistic and cultural patterns that surround it, so that in the present case, the straightjacket of the dictionary approach has been replaced by the discussion of a word (mesa - offering), and an event (Carnival) in an attempt to capture more fully the meaning of the ritual terms which will inevitably arise from such discussion.

These two items (mesa and Carnival) were selected because, of the material gathered on the subject, they embrace within them the greatest range of associations through which facets of the Quechua view of the world and man's position in it are expressed.

To attempt to capture the meaning and significance of mesa, the approach has been:-

- i) To discuss the import of the names given to various types of mesa.
- ii) To analyse the contents of mesas in order to understand their symbolism.
- iii) To draw together the information thereby expressed in order to understand the functions of mesas.

To attempt to capture the meaning and significance of Carnival, the approach has been:-

- i) To reproduce such speech that occurred during Carnival as provides clues as to the fiesta's true import for the community studied.
- ii) To list such elements of behaviour as accompanied the speech for the same purpose.
- iii) To draw together the clues to present the underlying themes behind Carnival.

By this means, it is hoped to enhance the reader's appreciation of all the terms and themes introduced into the discussion of the word and the event beyond those which would be available within the static confines of dictionary definitions.

2. Location

Most of the information about mesas and much comment of considerable value on the way Quechua peasants celebrate Carnival are acquired in Cochabamba town. The Carnival celebrations described took place in Achiota (Dept. Cochabamba, Prov. Arze) which is situated at an hour's walk from Copapucyo, to the SW of the Cochabamba - Tarata road.

It is an isolated, scattered community of some one hundred inhabitants, which, although only about 20 kms as the crow flies, from Cochabamba, takes some three to four hours to reach by 'bus and on foot. The settlement is enclosed by high hills on three sides, but has a broad outlook down onto the Lago Angostura far below to the North. It has no road, no shop, no church, no priest, and although it has a school, no teacher. However, its contact with the developing Cochabamba Valley and the town is considerable because of:-

- i) The inhabitants' regular trips to Cochabamba and Tarata for trading purposes.
- ii) Contact with relatives in villages in the Valley.
- iii) Visits to fiestas in the Valley.
- iv) Contact through radio, particularly Radio San Rafael which broadcasts educational programmes in Quechua and has set up liaison personnel (teleauxiliares) in many of the Valley's communities, including Achiota.

The village was chosen for field study because it combines remoteness with small size, but remains firmly under the cultural and social influences of the Cochabamba region.

It was considered that the remoteness would reduce the veneer of "Castillianization" that is apparent in many of the Valley's villages, that the small size would enable the investigator to become intimately acquainted with the whole community but that the original plan to carry out research in the Cochabamba area would still be legitimately implemented.

### 3. Informants

#### A. In Achiota

- i) Luis Ciprián Buendía. Buendía was the principal informant in Achiota. He is thirty; mainly Quechua speaking, but knows a fair amount of Spanish. He works his own few acres of land but is also a trade union leader and a teleauxiliar (see above). He has worked in Santa Cruz and is probably more aware of the outside world than the average member of his community.

#### B. In Cochabamba

(Note: The informants here were selected because of one or more of the following reasons:-

- the extent of their contact with Quechua peasants
- their racial closeness to the peasant class
- the intimacy of their acquaintance with the Quechua language
- the degree of their sympathy for Quechua culture
- the geographical locality upon which their knowledge was based.)

- i) Florencia Peña Delgadillo. She is about eighty; Quechua is her native tongue, she can hardly speak any Spanish, and her personal contacts with the town are few. She makes a distinction between herself and the peasant class because hers has always been a family that has owned land and hired workers, but it has never owned sufficient land to be considered part of the patrón class. She is steeped in the traditions of the countryside drawing her knowledge principally from Pocona (Dept. Cochabamba, Prov. Carrasco).

- ii) Ruperto Morató Peña. He is in his forties. Completely bi-lingual, he is a school master who spent some sixteen years of his career working in village schools up and down the Cochabamba Valley, including Pocona, Vila-Vila, Tarata, and the Lago Angostura area. He is of mixed origin but has always had close contact with the peasant class, his father having been a labourer, and his mother having worn the pullira - a mark of indigenous rather than European descent.
- iii) Jaime Valdivia. He is in his forties. Completely bi-lingual, he is originally from the patrón class. He spent his early life principally in the country and still regularly visits one or two small properties he owns near Cochabamba where he supervises planting, harvesting etc. and may be requested to sort out any problems about which the local peasants may consult him. His principal knowledge of Quechua life is drawn from Vila-Vila, Mizque (Dept. Cochabamba, Prov. Mizque), and Ansaldo (Dept. Cochabamba, Prov. Arze).
- iv) Alcira Bascope Morató. She is in her thirties. Completely bi-lingual, she spent her childhood in the country (at Pocona) but since her school days has only returned to the country for holidays. She acted as an objective translator for all recordings in Quechua made by the investigator. She also visited certain fiestas and obtained valuable recordings and information about them when the investigator was unable to attend these himself.

Constructive advice or helpful information was also provided by:-

- Luis Morató Peña, son of Señora Delgadillo.
- Aidé Lara de Morató, wife of Señor Morató.
- Felipa Aspiazú de Rojas. About 95; bi-lingual; has had close contact with peasants all her life, (although of the patrón class herself), in the Provinces of Tapacarí and Arque.
- Amanda Peñaranda, daughter of Señora Aspiazú.
- Geraldine Bryne de Caballero. The British consul in Cochabamba and Director of the Archaeological Museum at Cochabamba University.
- Federico Sánchez de Losada. Teacher at the Instituto de Idiomas run by the Maryknoll Fathers in Cochabamba.
- Isidoro (surname unknown). A peasant with a small holding in Achiota, neighbour to the principal informant don Ciprián Buendía.
- A.L.Rojas, son of Señora Aspiazú

#### 4. Methodology

The method of carrying out fieldwork followed three principal steps:-

- i) Preparation of essays and questionnaires in order to 'focus in' on the subject matter.
- ii) Collection of data in Achiota; taping relevant material; noting events and behaviour; asking appropriate questions.
- iii) Processing of data in both Achiota and Cochabamba. This consisted of cataloguing the data collected; bringing together all the facts amassed about relevant topics, and isolating out for further research areas where data was patchy or inconsistent.

#### 5. Orthography

The Bolivian Quechua orthography used in this thesis is that taught in the Lecciones de Quechua prepared by the Padres de Maryknoll. (See Bibliography).

ABBREVIATIONS

A.	Aymara
A.B.	Informant Alcira Bascope
adj.	adjective
A.M.	Informant Aidé Lara de Morató
A.P.	<u>Allpachis Phuturinga</u> (see Bibliography for full details)
A.P.	Informant Amanda Peñaranda
Aug	August
C.	Informant Ciprián Buendía
c.	circa
Cas.	<u>Cassell's dictionary</u> (see Bibliography for full details)
C.B.	Informant Ciprián Buendía
Ch.	Chapter
Coch.	Cochabamba
Coch.Val	Cochabamba Valley
cont.	continued
D.	Personal diary kept during the field work by the investigator
Dept.	Department
dic.	Dictionary
Dic.Tri.	<u>Diccionario Trilingüe</u> (see Bibliography for full details)
Dist.	District
Ed.	Edition / Editor
Ed. Pop	<u>Educación Popular</u> (see Bibliography for full details)
Fig.	Figurative
G.M.	German Musch (See Ref. 10)
Is.	Informant Isidoro
J.V.	Informant Jaime Valdivia
F.D.	Informant Florencia Delgadillo

- F.S. Informant Federico Sánchez de Losada
- La. Lara's dictionary (see Bibliography for full details)
- L.de Q Lecciones de Quechua. (see Bibliography for full details)
- Li. Lira's dictionary (see Bibliography for full details)
- L.M. Informant Luis Morató
- M. Maestro
- M.A. Informant Felipa Aspiazú de Rojas
- NPS Notes made on conversations held with informants in which matters pertinent to the present work were discussed.
- Prov. Province
- Prel. Prelatura
- Q. Quechua
- Ref. Reference
- R.M. Informant Ruperto Morató
- Sp. Spanish
- s. Noun
- TB. Transcription Book - note book into which transcripts of recordings in Q. were made.
- tr. Transitive
- v. Verb
- Vol. Volume



## CHAPTER ONE

### The Concept of MESA

This Chapter will concern itself with four matters:-

- some comparative definitions of the term mesa within the context of Q. culture;
- a description of types of mesa normally obtainable in the Coch. area;
- a description of the ingredients of each type of mesa and a discussion as to their symbolic or ritual value for Q. people;
- in the light of the facts discovered, a summary of the function of each mesa.

### Definitions of MESA

Sp. loan term in Coch. Q. with two meanings very distinct from the original Sp:-

- 1) Altar constructed at All Souls' (1-2 Nov.) in the house of a person commemorating a dead relative; built in several tiers and adorned with multi-coloured paper. In the centre, food and drink of a type liked by the deceased are placed. Around the food are put a large number of animals made from dough and cooked in the oven (later to be used as bread for eating): birds, snails; llamas, toads, donkeys, lizards, etc. In addition to these, there are also sweets, fruit, and the largest or most oddly shaped specimens of the year's crops. Sometimes stuffed hens, turkeys, ducks, sheep, and goats are also displayed. Quantity,

type, and presentation vary according to the economic and social station of the deceased and his living relatives.(1)

- ii) Group of objects, each with ritual significance, burnt at the time and place proper to a divine being, which is usually Pachamama (Mother Earth) or could also be Tata Dios (God), Tata Santiago (St. James), or a local hill spirit.

It is this second definition which is central to our theme in the present Chapter. It is one that holds good for other Q. areas of the Andes - eg for Depts. Puno, Apurímac, Cuzco (according to Dalle, L. ssc), (2), and for Dept. Oruro where it is possible to buy pre-packed offerings ready for burning which are also called mesas (3) (4).

However, in parts of Peru, the term mesa bears other meanings, notably:-

- a flat stone in corral or courtyard upon which an offering is made (5) (6) (7) (8)
- a rectangular piece of untu (fat). (5)
- a piece of woven woollen cloth which is laid on the ground and upon which the contents of an offering are placed. (5)
- a cow's horn from which chicha is drunk.(5)

In the Cuzco region, a conglomeration of ingredients that constitute an offering is usually called a despacho, not a mesa. (6) (9)

Types of MESAS obtainable in the Coch. region

There are certain recognizable types which can be bought in the Cancha (market place) of Coch. There are five principal ones:- yana mesa, yuraj mesa, puka mesa, sara q'owa, wira q'owa. (A sixth - the gloria jampi - is closely associated with the yuraj mesa).

A description of these offerings necessitates a close scrutiny of their names and ingredients. In Table I, the total number of ingredients found in sample mesas is listed in the extreme left-hand column. To the right of this are a further six columns, each representing one of the types of mesa under discussion. The ticks indicate which ingredients occur in which mesas. This enables us, by reading down each column, to see the names and total number of ingredients in each mesa, and by reading across, to see which ingredients are common to more than one mesa.

With the aid of this Table, we shall proceed to an analysis of each mesa in turn, discussing the significance of its name/names, and describing its contents and their function within the mesa.

INGREDIENTS	"Black"	"White"	"Red"	SARA		WIRA	GLORIA
	YANA MESA (Kuti jampi, Yana jampi, Contra mesa)	YURAJ MESA (Gloria mesa)	PUKA MESA	Q'OWA 1	Q'OWA 2	Q'OWA	JAMPI
<u>Manufactured:</u>							
Galleta		✓	✓				
Kolasi6n	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Misk'is		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Mixtura	✓				✓		
<u>Animal:</u>							
Ch'urus	✓			✓	✓	✓	
Estrella kuti	✓						
Millma					✓		
Untu				✓	✓		
<u>Vegetable:</u>							
Arroz		✓	✓				
Azucar		✓	✓				
Contra negra	✓						
Copal	✓	✓	✓				
Garbanzos		✓	✓				
Incienso		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Kuti jabilla	✓						
Kuti moscada	✓						
Kuti sara		✓	✓	✓	✓		
Kuti wayfitu		✓	✓		✓		
Pallares		✓	✓				
Q'owa				✓	✓	✓	
Retama					✓		
Romero		✓	✓				✓
Sajsa kuti	✓						
Uchu				✓			
Wayruru kuti	✓			✓	✓		
Willk'a ch'ipi	✓			✓			
Culantro		✓	✓				
<u>Mineral:</u>							
Basalt (taku)	✓						
Calcareous tufa (jaqe masa)	✓						
Copper sulphate	✓						
Iron sulphide	✓						
Iron lead sulphide	✓						
Mica	✓	✓	✓				
Qori T'anta/qollqe T'anta Qori libro/qollqe libro		✓	✓	✓	✓		
Red ochre (taku)	✓						
Sandstone fossil	✓						
Sulphur	✓						
Unidentified animal matter	✓	✓	✓				
Unidentified vegetable matter	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Unidentified mineral matter							

YANA MESA (or KUTI JAMPI, or CONTRA MESA)

Firstly we shall seek the implications of (a) yana and (b) kuti and contra which share common elements of meaning in this case.

a) Yana (Q. adj. Negro. La.) - A colour with important cultural connotations attached to its central meaning. We can pinpoint these as follows:-

Black and animals. Black animals are generally considered to have healing capacities. (10) In Pocona (Dept. Coch.), the ingredients of an offering designed to make sure flood waters would subside included the horn of a black bull. (11) In Peru (Depts. Lima, Callao, Arequipa, Junin, Huanuco, Ancash, Piura, Lambayeque), the blood of a black bull is drunk to alleviate lung disease (12), which is also curable with a treatment including the use of the hide of a black cat. (13)

When an aysiri wishes to achieve contact with the supernatural, he may anoint his eyes with the tears of a black dog in order to facilitate the task (Dept. Coch.) (14). The still warm corpse of a black dog, may be opened along the stomach and applied to a patient's body in cures for typhoid, typhus, and pneumonia (Ayacucho, Ambo, Huancavelica, Puno). (15) A healer may take the body of a black dog, rub it over a patient's body, saying "Truqui, truqui, truqui!" and imagining the illness to have been transferred from the patient to the dog, throw the animal into the river. (16) The testicles recently removed from a black dog contribute to a treatment of respiratory problems (Arequipa) (15), and a black dog's corpse may be buried at the spot where someone is believed to have caught mancharisqa (Andahuaylas). (15) The head of a dog, if it is black,

can be cooked until extremely tender and is then eaten to combat psychological disturbances. (17)

In Dept. Huanuco, a cure for gayqa can involve drinking the milk of a black goat (18), whilst in Arequipa, the dung of a black horse may be eaten to cure a fever (19).

The use of black guinea pigs in cures is frequent. In Dept. Apurímac, a treatment which is both diagnostic and therapeutic, involves rubbing the patient's body with a black guinea pig in a darkened room. (20). Another record (16) describes the use of a black guinea pig in the "Truqui" treatment mentioned above in connection with the black dog. In this type of case, the guinea pig acts as a kuti (q.v. this section, b.). Rubbing the patient with this creature stops the progress of the illness by switching it away from his body. (21)

Black animals are also of significance in Q. customs relating to drought, luck, and magic. (Q. v. following sub-sections)

Black and the dead. Black is the colour that signifies death and mourning. Black clothes are donned by relatives of the deceased for up to a year or more after his demise. (22) (23). Amongst the Aymaras, a person, on expiring, is immediately covered with black blankets and ponchos and the mourners put on black shawls and ponchos. (24) (25).

A cross draped in black may precede a funeral procession (26), whilst at resachikus held for the dead during All Souls', food and drink are set out before the graves on a black blanket. (27) Also during All Souls', it is customary to sacrifice a black sheep or llama to the souls of the dead (in Dept. Oruro), and to construct an altar for the period of the celebrations which is draped in a black blanket if a dead adult - as opposed to a dead child - is uppermost in the memories of the celebrants. (25)

Black and weather In the Inca period, black llamas and black dogs were tied to stakes and left to starve when there was a drought. It was reasoned that the god of Thunder would take pity on them and cause rain to fall. (28) Nowadays, in Peru, old clothes, black in colour, are spread out in fields and open spaces in order to attract the rain. (29) Informant J.V. (30) (Coch. Val) reports that when the crops are suffering from a critical lack of rain, the peasants organize public supplications:- women put on black shawls; images of saints are taken out of the church or a cross wrapped in black wool is made; the people then form a procession, stretching out their arms towards the sky, praying for rain.

In another connection, when it is hailing, a black blanket may be waved as a challenge to the whiteness of the hail (Coch. Val.) (31)

Black and luck. Some black creatures bring bad luck, eg when a black ant enters a house, it is said that someone in the household will soon die (Coch. Val). (32). If a black cat crosses one's path, it bodes ill for the future (33); likewise the sight of a black spider (34). The contrary is the case for the owner of a cat that gives birth to a single kitten which in addition is entirely

black (35); and the completely black dog is a symbol of fidelity. (35)

Under certain circumstances, Q. people may consider that black smoke is a premonition of evil events to come, eg a cigarette may be lit in order to discover from the colour of the smoke what the future holds. (36) In Orurillo (Prel. de Ayaviri), we have the case of coca leaves burned to ascertain the future from the colour of the smoke. Black smoke indicated bad luck (37). In Compi (Dept. La Paz), the rituals surrounding an offering to the spirits involved inspecting the smoke of the offering as it burned. If it had been black, it would have meant the offering had not been acceptable and the future would therefore be unfavourable to the community. (38)

If black ash remains after an offering has been burned, this is a sign of the non-acceptance, by the gods, of that offering and is, therefore, an indication that ill fortune is in store. For this reason, reading the signs in the colour of ash is a general practice carried out by sorcerers who make offerings to Pachamama and the Achachilas in the hope of curing illness (16); individual examples are reported from Orurillo near Puno (6), and Queromarca (Prov. Canchis) (39). This is also true of cigarette ash. (36)

If, in a cure, millu is passed over a patient's body, it may then be melted over hot coals. As a result, it may show traces of colour black, in which case, it is interpreted that the patient will soon die (Coch. Val.). (40) (41).



If bread burns black whilst being baked, it is considered a foreboding of tragedy (Coch. Val.). (42)

Black, magic, and the supernatural. Sorcerers are closely associated with black objects and black surroundings. An example from Kuyo Grande (Dept. Cuzco) tells of a sorcerer who cast a spell on someone by wrapping coca leaves, wayruru seeds (q.v. sub-section, b) and some of the victim's hair in a piece of black paper that he had forced between the teeth of a skull. (43)

A report from the Coch. Val. (44) of an aysiri at work, states how he placed a black blanket over a human skull during a spiritist session. Paredes (45) asserts that the sorcerer always works at night in a room draped in black and upon a table covered with black cloth. From the Dept. Oruro comes a description of the sorcerer who mixed the fat of a black dog, with oil, holy water and the blood of a black cock. This potion was thrown at the victim's door and its purpose was to kill him. It is also believed in that area that if one throws down the corpse of a black dog at the door of one's enemy's house, he is certain to die. The belief is that black is the colour of demons. (46) In the Prov. Anta (Dept Cuzco) during August, sorcerers are thought to go about wearing black hats looking for small whirlwinds which they proceed to cover up, saying the Creed three times, as a result of which a toad is born. (47)

It is not infrequent for coca leaves to be read on a black blanket. The Kallawaya normally do this (48), and other examples can be cited from the Coch. Val. (41) and Dept. Apurimac. (49)

A black poncho may be important in ceremonies to find out the truth. According to Paredes (50), an Indian will tell the truth if he is standing on a black poncho of alpaca wool belonging to a jilicata with a candle burning in each of the four corners and the sceptre of some Authority placed in the middle. A punishment for a sorcerer in the Coch. Val. (51) involved a black blanket being placed over both a cross made of q'aralau, and a cake of salt. The layqa then had to stand on these three objects, confess his guilt and promise never to indulge in magic again.

Black animals (llamas and sheep) may be used as offerings to the dead (q.v. sub-section "Black and the dead"), but also could be sacrificed to placate demons (52), or to show respect to achachilas (Dept. Oruro) (52), or in rites to cure illness when as in one example (Dept. Puno) (53), a black sheep was sacrificed to protect the patient's family from his enemies.

The fact that layqas tend to work their magic by night allows us to mention darkness here because during the night, especially after midnight, it is considered that the spirits can be contacted more easily. Peasants may fear meeting some evil spirit when out at night:- such creatures as duendes (54), the devil (supay), or viudas - who are described as being beautiful women dressed in black that await lone men in river beds and in silent places in order to tempt them (Coch. Val.). (55) (56).

Black and threads. A cure for qayqa (Dept. Puno) includes, amongst a number of other ritual activities, the spinning of a thread anticlockwise with a bundle of black alpaca wool. (57) When twins

are still-born amongst the Bolivian Aymara it is considered to be an unnatural circumstance that must be put right with the proper ceremonies. In one case, these involved the spinning of a thread anticlockwise with bundles of black dog's, cat's and guinea pig's wool. The narrator of these rites (38) states that black stands for grief so that when, during the course of the ceremonies the black thread is broken, all curses would be broken at the same time too. In Peru, peasants suffering from inflammation of some member of the body may put a black thread round it. This thread has been spun in an anticlockwise direction and with the left hand. It is believed to stop the development of the infection by going against (contra) what is considered to be the natural movement, flow, or direction of occurrences (58). This relationship of black, to an anticlockwise thread is very closely connected to the Q. concept of kuti, or contra, which will be discussed in detail below.

Summary. Except in connection with black animals which may have a healing or luck-bringing quality, objects and creatures which are black may often be associated by Q. people with magic, grief, suffering, misfortune, and death. The yana mesa, nearly all of whose contents are dark brown or black, is therefore aptly named since it is designed to return spells to their place of origin. (59) This involves magic, illness and death.

- b. Kuti - a key concept in the Q. interpretation of the cosmos. We may begin to grasp its implications by considering its threefold method of action which includes reversal, anticlockwise motion, and overturning.

Reversal. Definitions pertinent to the present analysis:-

kutiy v. tr. To withdraw, retreat, turn back.

kuti s. 1. Withdrawal to a place of origin  
2. Fig. Counterspell which works by reversing the direction of the original spell.

kutichiy v.tr.

1. To cause to withdraw, retreat, or return.
2. Fig. Arrest the effects of a spell and return them to their place of origin. (60)

Further pertinent information on these definitions:- Kuti.s.1.

In order to cure mumps or goitres, the infected part is rubbed by the healer who at the same moment pronounces the word kuti several times. (Dept. Oruro, Dept. Coch) (66). Similarly, to treat bubos, the infected part is rubbed anticlockwise (in Q., lloq'eman - to the left) with fat or millu wrapped up in wool, whilst the person applying the remedy repeats "kuti, kuti, kuti ..." (Coch. Val.). (67) (68). Two further examples from Peru (69):- when children are suffering from swollen cheeks, or ipasga, the treatment consists in requiring the child's paternal aunt to make circular motions with her elbow over the baby's face at sunrise saying "ipasga kuti, kuti, kuti". A mother of rickety children is said to have had contact with a corpse, for which reason she must be cured. The treatment includes her walking over the grave of someone who recently died and saying the Creed whilst the healer utters kuti, kuti, kuti. Someone suffering from toothache, may be recommended to catch a toad, batter it against the ground so that it urinates, then rub it over that part of its body that corresponds to the cheek saying kuti, kuti, kuti. The creature must then be left in an

isolated place. (70). To cure warts, take as many grains of wheat as there are warts, rub the warts with the grains saying "kuti, kuti, kuti". Then toast the wheat, rub the warts again, uttering the same words and finally bury the grains in mud. (70). In order to counteract the spells of layqas, a person may take the skin of a snake, toast it over a fire and then rub it over the body saying "kuti, kuti, kuti". (71)

In each example, the use of the word kuti indicates a desire on the part of patient and/or healer for the illness to go back to its place of origin and for good health to return to its place of origin - which is within the patient. Ie a reversal of the abnormal state of affairs (patient's illness) is encouraged to occur.

kuti. s. 2. Li. speaks of a healing system in Q. culture which involves the use of some thirteen medicines all of vegetable origin. He mentions allpa-kuti, ch'askakuti, kutikuti, k'urukuti, kkakkakuti, okkekuti, pachakuti, parakkaykuti, pillikuti, sakksakuti, sullukuti, wanukuti, waynakuti, wayrurukuti. Research augments knowledge on this subject as follows:-

Estrella kuti. Starfish (59). Type designated male (*Stichaster aurantiacus* Meyen), and another female (*Heliaster Helianthus* Lamarck) (6). The Coch. yana mesa contains several dried pieces of the male type. Estrella kuti is widely used in fumigations designed to cure the disease wayra. (72) (13) (73). The woman who bears rickety children should bathe in water that contains, amongst other things, estrella kuti. (74) The powder of several kutis including estrella kuti should be boiled up and the patient washed with the resultant liquid three times. This cures him of gayqasqa. (75)

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In mesas, the estrella kuti can have two opposing roles. (76). Its purpose may be to help arrest misfortune or illness caused by evil spirits (eg the soq'a machu, pujyus, k'uychi) or by spells; alternatively it helps cast a spell on a potential victim by bringing him back (hence kuti) to a state of bad luck.

The function of the estrella kuti as a counterspell may explain its inclusion in a mesa offered to Pachamama and apus on the night 31 July/1 August 1970 in the Dist. Quiqui jana (Dept. Cuzco) (77). The ceremonies were designed to eliminate evil, to purify and thereby regenerate the cosmos for the celebrants.

Jallp'a kuti also called allpa kuti (Li), hallp'a kuti (78), hall'pa tika (78), allpa ticca (79), jallpha ticca (80). A vaporous white substance that forms in patches on uncultivated land; it appears when heavy cloud has covered the area (69, 78). Saltpetre (81). Commonly taken in cases of mancharisqa - either in infusions (Huaylas) (79), or in water used to bathe a child suffering from the disease (82), or eaten in its natural state (Coch. Val) (81). To ease toothache, it may be used to fill a rotten tooth (80). A treatment for gayqasqa involves the boiling up of several kutis, including allpa kuti. The resultant liquid is used to wash the patient (75). Also used to cure the woman who has given birth to a child with rickets (q.v. estrella kuti) (69). No record has been found of this type of kuti's use in mesas. Kuti jabilla (83) Also called kuti-avilla (59), habilla, llama-ñawi, ojo de llama (84). (*Mucuna rostrata*) (83). A brown seed, almost circular,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cms diameter,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm wide. The outer width is black, forming a noticeable band embracing the outer edge of the seed.

This kuti is used as an antidote to snake and spider bites (84). Also carried about as a protection against spells and bad luck (85). An ingredient of yana, (or kuti) mesas because it is considered capable of deflecting a spell or an illness back to its place of origin (59) (83).

Kuti kuti. Type of wild potato. (*Solanum* sp.) (La). In Puno, it may be used as a narcotic; in Cajatambo as a diuretic (86) (87). It does not appear to be used in mesas.

Kuti moscada. Fruit of palm tree. (*Bactris speciosa*) (83). Oval shaped seed, about 3 cms long by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cms wide, dark brown with fibrous outer covering. May be carried about as a safeguard against spells and disease (85). If boiled, it may then be used to comb oneself against the "evil will" (59). An important counterspell to be found in yana, or kuti, mesas (59) (83).

Kuti sara. Also called tuskusara (88), llog'esara (89). (*Zea mayz*) (La). Grains of maize on a corn cob whose embryos - the part of the seed that, under the right conditions, will germinate into a plant - tend to turn over (Sp. volcarse, Q. tijrakuy) on themselves as they grow, thus seeming to develop from above to below, rather than the other way about which is normally the case (88) (90).

Frisancho Pineda (83) says that Guaman Poma de Ayala mentions kuti sara as maize mixed with fat, thorns, and hairs of an intended victim. This mixture was buried near the later's house with the purpose of making him die soon. Kuti sara is used nowadays in Dept. Apurimac in ceremonies whose aim is to reunite a separated couple (91). In Achiota, Dept. Coch. informant C.B. hung kuti sara in a bag in his

house. He believed they would deflect evil, bad luck and disease (92). Although not an ingredient of the yana mesa in Coch., kuti saras occur as listed - in puka mesas, yuraj mesas, and sara q'owas.

Kuti wallpa. Informant F.S. (93) is the only source that makes mention of this in all the material available on the subject. A kuti wallpa is a hen whose feathers tend to grow towards the head (rather than the tail). A healer, after having cured a patient with the method called phiskuda, eats a meal with him made from this kind of hen. (Sayari. Dept. Coch.)

Kuti wayñitu (94) Also called kuti mozo (83), contra amarilla (83). A spiral shaped seed, consisting of a single yellow fibrous twig, about 1 mm thick, which has coiled round into a compact helix about 3-4 cms long and  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm diameter. The twig coils clockwise (in Q. - panaman, to the right) and anticlockwise (7) - according to which way the observer looks at it. The seeds may be carried around in one's pocket as a safeguard against spells (85) or as an amulet designed to bring success in love (warmimunachi) (95). There is said to exist (96) a male (wayna q'ewej) and a female (warmi q'ewej) type which are used with other contras for the same purpose. Kusch (59) says this kind of kuti is used in mesas dedicated to the "evil wind"; in Coch. it is included in the puka mesa, yuraj mesa, and sara q'owa. It is excluded from the yana mesa (at least in the Coch. area). The shape of this kuti could be very symbolic for the Q. mind. Musch (97) notes that Q. people believe the world could "turn over" - pacha tijrakunman or pacha q'ewikunman. The kuti wayñitu can be called wayna or warmi q'ewej. Q'ewej from q'ewiy (Q. to fold, curve) (La) implies ideas of movement:- turning round, turning over, clockwise/anticlockwise direction as does the whole concept of kuti, and the shape of the



kuti wayñitu. (q.v. below:- "anticlockwise motion", "overturning").

K'uru kuti. Kusch (59) mentions that the yana mesa contains an ingredient called k'uru which consists of four pieces of a dried root, two of which are grey, the others yellow. Nordenskiöld (98) mentions kuru negro which are pieces of a rhizome sold in the market place of La Paz to cure pains in the legs. Owing to scanty information, it is unwise to draw conclusions.

Qaqa kuti. Identity unknown. Used with other kutis in a cure for gayqasqa (75), in baths for children with spots, and in fumigations for those suffering from wayra (99).

Sajsa kuti. (*Caryocar amigdaliferum*) (83). A dark brown, black nut with a very rutted surface. The seeds inside rattle when the nut is shaken. Peasants keep it as protection against spells, wayra, soroche, gayqasqa, and illness caused by having seen "cosas de la otra vida" (100) (85). As a powder, it may be used in cures for gayqasqa (75), rickets (74), and machu wayra (101). In the Arequipa region, types of wayra are treated by rubbing the temples with sajsa kuti (102). Like the estrella kuti, it can be used for two opposing purposes:- either to cast spells, or to annul their effects (103). Thus it may be used to arrest the effects of such harmful spirits as the soq'a machu, the rainbow (k'uychi)(104) (105); or in mesas offered to pachamama or hill spirits. (Eg. 24 June, Dept. Cuzco) (6); or in mesas designed to cast spells (104) (105), or return their effects to their instigator (106).

Tunkapayani kuti, also called siwayru (107). These are powders of twelve different colours. A little of each is drunk with holy water or wine in order to counter the pernicious effects of spells. Also used to cure wayra and skin ailments. Li. (108) defines putusiwayru as natural powders used in popular medicine. The two may correspond. They can occur in mesas against the soq'a machu (104).

Waraqo kuti. This kuti is used in the treatment called gollpasqa (109).

Wayra kuti. Small herb with star shaped leaves used in a variety of cures (109).

Wayruru kuti. (*Eritrina corallodendron*) (La). Seed from the selva. From 3 - 6 cms diameter. Either red, or red with small spots of black. Two sources (6, 103) claim the former is soltero - batchelor - and used for good purposes whilst the later is viudo - widower - and used for evil purposes. Another source (110) calls the all red variety soltera - spinster, and the black and red variety viuda - widow. Around Ica, the red type is regarded as female and the black/red type as male (7). Few statements are made on which types (M. or F.) of wayruru seed are used on which occasions. In a series of ceremonies to change someone's luck (Kurawasi, Dept. Apurimac), all red seeds were used in separate offerings to the aukis and to Pachamama (111). In Kuyo Grande (Dept. Cuzco) black/red seeds are used in mesas designed to combat the evil influences of the soq'a machu, pujyus, and k'uychis (104). The Coch. sample mesas had an all red and a black/red seed in the puka mesa, the yuraj mesa, and in one sara q'owa; an all red seed in another sara q'owa; a black/red seed in the yana mesa, and none in the other two.

No meaningful patterns can be established so far from the evidence available about the reasons behind the use of a particular type of seed in any given specific circumstances, but we can affirm that wayrurus are common ingredients of mesas offered to Q. deities, eg. at the beginning of August - a month full of omens when an abundant year's crops and good luck are prayed for (Depts. Cuzco, Puno, Apurimac, Andahuaylas). (112, 113, 6, 111, 106, 16, 104, 105, 114), and in some mesas designed to cure illness as in the offering called kutichi (Dept. Cuzco) - aimed at treating mancharisqa (61), and also in the sara q'owa which treats jap'eqa (Coch.) (89).

Used for magical purposes since Inca times - Cobo (13) reports that they were used to help cure melancholia and mal de corazon. Wearing a necklace of these seeds prevents the illness ojeo (Dept. Arequipa) (115). An individual seed may be carried around to ensure success in love (95), or in financial affairs (116). A person spitting blood should drink an horchata of ground up wayrurus (Dept. Junin) (117); it is also used in preparations against madness (116). With a variety of other kutis, together with several other ingredients, two all red wayrurus are used in a spell to make someone fall in love with its instigator (96).

Willka kuti. Named as willka ch'ipi in Coch. (89), this kuti occurs in the puka and yuraj mesas, each of which has two seeds, and in the yana mesa which has five. A dark brown, flat seed, about 1 cm diameter with tiny markings in the centre. Women take them to make a birth easier (89). Li (110) describes what he calls willka willka as round coffee coloured seeds with tracings in the centre that take the shape of a human foot, or field, or dog, or cows hoof, etc. etc. According to what the tracing represents, a seed is buried with various other objects of symbolic religious value for a diversity of purposes. Eg. if the

markings look like a horse shoe, the seed is buried in the manger or corral so that the horses don't die nor are stolen by thieves. Elsewhere (118), Li. says this willka willka comes from the tropical zone of the Dept. Cuzco and is used in popular medicine. Frisancho Pineda (83, 106) describes a willka kuti - a blackish, flat, round seed and showing a photograph which indicates the likeness of his willka kuti to the willka ch'ipi of Coch. He says this seed is used in kuti mesas that are offered when people wish to free themselves from an enemy's spell. Nordenskiöld (119) mentions that seeds of piptadenia macrocarpa were buried with other things in the foundations of new dwellings (Bolivia - La Paz, Mojos). This Latin name corresponds to that given by La. who says that it is a tree known in Q. as willka. Under the name willk'a (piptadenia colubrina) Rowe (120) defines a tree producing yellow seeds that the Inca peoples used to take with chicha as a purge, or boiled to produce a medicinal tea. Sorcerers used to get drunk on chicha containing the juice of willka seeds and then proceeded to communicate with the gods (121). Holguin's dic. defines vilca as "un arbol que su fruta como chochos es purga"; and Paredes (121) reminds us that the Incas used the term vilca to refer to the sun, to various idols, places of worship, and to priests. One would like to hypothesize that at some future date, more evidence could be produced to enhance the scanty knowledge we have of the willka kuti and perhaps link its usages to the vilca/willka of the chronicles.

Of the kutis we have discussed here, eight may be used in offerings; six (estrella kuti, kuti jabilla, kuti moscada, sajsa kuti, wayruru kuti, willka kuti) in the yana mesa and two (kuti sara, kuti wayñitu) in other mesas. Some of these kutis - and others - may

be used as amulets and/or for medicinal purposes.

Some may have their magical power because they represent an opposition - or something contrary - to the illness in the same way that a qowi is regarded as a kuti of water and rain, with the capacity of causing it to go away, because it is believed not to drink water (122). Kutis may present an opposition in the same way as the kuti sara and kuti wallpa where these have magical properties of reversal because the way they have grown is contrary to normal.

Kutis are such because their properties or natural form are opposite/contrary to those of the situation they are brought to act against. Hence a Sp. loan term for kuti is contra of which there are four types noted in the literature. Some are discs about 1 cm diameter,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm thick, made from the stem of an unspecified plant, and pierced in the centre so that a thread can be passed through and a necklace made (83). The black discs - contras negras - may be carried about individually as a protection against poison (85). When a yana mesa is sold in Coch., it is prepared by the vendor as the purchaser waits. In our case, the vendor took out a necklace of different coloured contras, removed three black ones, and put them in our yana mesa as ingredients (123).

Another type of contra recorded consists of potions offered as a prophylactic measure by sorcerers. The belief is that, having taken one of these potions, a person who subsequently imbibes something that is intended to make him ill, will immediately be sick (124).

Li. (96, 125) speaks of various herbs and extracts of roots as contras, or lloq'es whose purpose is to ward off spells and other evils. He mentions black and white contras. Another vegetable contra is the contra amarilla (q.v. kuti mozo)

Another variety of contra is made from types of clays; a contra-indio, a contra negra, and a contra blanca are mentioned. One, dissolved in water, modifies anger and combats the harmful forces of nature, and another is taken against spells, mancharisqa and wayra (126, 127).

In order to prevent the spread of an infection from one part of the body to another, a thread is tied round the ailing member. This thread (Q. q'aytu) is made of two black threads spun in the direction contrary to normal, ie to the left (anticlockwise), and with the left hand. Peasants believe that this is a magical obstacle to the development of the disease, because this q'aytu is a contra - something which acts contrary to the natural "way of things". This process is also called lloq'e (58).

The kuti, which wards off evil in all its forms, performs the same task as the contra (Musch calls them lloq'e contras-128) which in this magical context is synonymous with it. It is for this reason that kuti jampi, and contra mesa refer to the same type of mesa.

We have seen how kuti involves a reversal of evil back to a place of origin, and we have seen how something "opposite" (qawi, kuti sara, kuti wallpa) does this. Now we have discovered that lloq'e also represents an opposition as well. This leads us to:-

Anticlockwise motion. We shall define and discuss the idea of lloq'e first since it is closely related to such motion.

Lloq'e (Q. s. La izquierda. adj. izquierdo. La.). In its metaphorical sense, Li. offers an excellent definition:-

"Sistema curativo indígena consistente en conjurar el mal mediante ciertas fórmulas bajo un ceremonial ad hoc por el principio de los contrarios. Hilo retorcido al revés usado en las curaciones de este sistema (129)."

We may best analyse the implications of lloq'e as follows:-

Left and black. q.v. (a) §sub-section "Black and threads".

Left and bad luck. Cobo (130) mentions that amongst the Incas, a tremble or shock on the right hand side of the body was a good omen, but on the left, a bad one. This is similar to a belief still held by Q. peasants (131) in the Coch, Val. The sight of a fox is never a good omen (131), but the fox seen on the left is a very positive forewarning of the worst of misfortunes (132) (133). When a peasant sees a partridge on his left, he regards this as a sign that ill luck will befall him (Coch.) (131). If the left ear burns someone is speaking ill of you; if the right ear burns, they are speaking well (134). This implies that the left hand side is the location of evil, grief and suffering. On Shrove Tuesday (1974), in Achiota (Dept. Coch), the inhabitants hired a yachaj to lead a pardon ceremony and execute rites to oblige the hail and disease to go to the left (135):- evil must be dispatched to that side if its effects are to be successfully eliminated.

Left and the creation of evil. Very few examples of this can be found. Rowe (136) says that among the Incas, one way of casting a spell on someone was to spin a thread of black and white wool anticlockwise (ie. to the left) and then place a noose of it on a path where the enemy might pass in the hope of it catching his foot. Paredes (137) mentions a type of spell (yankhacha) with a toad in which the creature is wrapped up and placed at a crossroads together with a variety of objects including threads spun anticlockwise. Amongst the Aymara, a sorcerer who wishes to cast a spell prepares with his left hand offerings for the evil spirits who will help him. In mesas sold in Cuzco (138) for malicious purposes, an ingredient is lloq'e seda - threads of dark coloured silk. This contrasts with pañã seda - threads of brightly coloured silk which are put in mesas designed to bring about well-being.

Left and the elimination of evil. Examples of lloq'e in relation to the concept of contra/kuti - ie concerned with blocking the progress of evil - are abundant. Paredes (139) reports on a weekly worship by Indians which involves climbing a hill near La Paz called "Calvario". As they climb the hill, they may tie knots in grass that grows by the wayside with their left hand. Each knot represents a sin forgiven. At Kurawasi (Dept. Apurímac), a bundle representing a spell cast on a victim had to be located, and destroyed, in order to annul its effects. As it was being dug out from a wall, all the participants in this ceremony had to take a number of precautions to prevent the bundle's malevolence contaminating them. Amongst these was the action of crossing themselves with the left hand (111). In the course of this same series of ceremonies



some of the participants were required to dump a bag full of infected objects that had been used to break the influence of the spell. They were instructed that after they had done this, they were not to return to the house without turning left three times.

The thread spun to the left has an integral role in the elimination of evil. Li, (140) states that lloq'e is not only "left", but "opposition" or "counter-position". It indicates a practice or activity which counters spells and witch-craft, and consists in nullifying their effects by breaking a thread that has been spun in reverse (141).

When a thread is broken (t'ipisqa 142), it is thought to represent the breaking of the progress and force of evil (provided it is carried out within the correct ritual framework). Complimenting this (140) is the existence of a system which involves twelve threads, each of a different colour, representing the separate nature of the evil created by human passions. The breaking of the threads is a symbolic process which is supposed to destroy in practice the very real evil it symbolizes.

To cure someone from the effects of witchcraft, take twelve threads of different colours, tie them round head, neck, wrists, heart, stomach, kidneys and ankles; read certain prayers from the book of San Cipriano; sweep out the patient's house and sprinkle holy water in all the rooms; fumigate with incense. These measures chase out all the evil in the house. Then the threads are broken as the Creed is said, they are passed over the patient's head to draw out all remaining evil and then they are thrown into a river. This treatment is carried out three times, on a Friday, Tuesday and Friday (140).

The birth of twins (Compi, Dept. La Paz) is viewed as an event of ill-omen - as an imbalance in nature that has to be righted again. This was done in one case by burning a chiuchhi mesa. During the course of the ceremonies, a yatiri broke over the heads of the offending parents threads of three colours. These had been spun the wrong way - ie. anticlockwise. Breaking the thread meant that all the curses symbolized by the birth of twins would be annulled (38).

In a series of rites executed to change someone's luck (Dept. Apurimac), black and white threads spun to the left are procured. These threads were wound round the patient and later, at the appropriate moment, were pulled off, collected up and passed carefully over every inch of the patient's body before being put in a linen bag. The threads, with other objects bearing the unlucky infection from which the patient had been suffering were removed with care and dumped at a cross roads (111).

Dalle (143) describes a ceremony carried out at the beginning of August (Q. New Year) (Dist. Quiquijana, Dept. Cuzco). The preparations included plaiting cords made of grass. These cords were plaited in a leftwards direction - which corresponds to that of thread used to effect cures. Another two threads were spun, one from white alpaca wool and the other from brown llama wool. The latter was spun leftwards, the former rightwards. The two threads were then spun together to form a single one. Dalle explains that the thread (q'aytu) is thought to alleviate sadness, having the power to expel misfortune.

For this reason, such q'aytus are used at all types of religious ceremonies in order to get rid of forces adverse to man:-  
eg. used in ceremonies after death; in cases of crop failure and epidemic etc. etc. (144).

In the present case, the indigenous priest in charge of the ceremonies wound a kind of protective net with the woollen and grass threads over a flock of sheep. Immediately afterwards, he went round breaking the threads (142) and putting the remnants in an old sack. It was considered that these threads now contained all the evil that had infected the sheep, for which reason they (the threads) had to be abandoned in an isolated place.

This ceremony represented a symbolic purification which acted as a point of regeneration at a time in the year when the annual agricultural cycle was about to begin again.

We have already seen (q.v. "Black and threads", section a; and section b on contras) how a thread spun to the left with the left hand is called a lloq'e q'aytu (58) and is thought to cure ills by acting in a manner contrary to what is normal, thus being a contra or obstacle preventing the progression or development of the evil.

Another practice links lloq'e with kuti. A description of how maize is harvested in the Dept. Cuzco (145) mentions a custom called lloq'eman kuti. When the harvester begins to grow tired, he puts the sickle between his legs, then takes it in the left hand and swings it round behind him. He then takes the sickle in the right hand and does the same on his right side, by which means, he forms an imaginary figure eight. Finally he turns right round leftwards

on his left foot, before starting work again. Doing these actions - kutichiy - is thought to neutralize the effects of witchcraft, thereby freeing the body from the evil spirits - thought to be the cause of the tiredness and stiffness - that have entered it.

The relationship of kutichiy to lloq'eray can now be exposed. Informant F.D. (146) states that on one occasion when she was ill, she attended a spiritist session (aysa) during the course of which the medium (aysiri) facilitated the appearance of a spirit (espíritu) which diagnosed her illness in the following terms:-

Qanqa mana yuyankichu Virgennykita; sumaj komo dañu ruasqapis jina Virgennykita yarqachinki; achhaymanta mana abonota qosunkichu qanman; qan sumaj nesitanki lloq'eranata; qan sumaj nesitanki jampi qonata; pero mana churasqachu kanki . . .

(Tú no te acuerdas de tu Virgen; como si te hubiera embrujado estás porque está con mucha hambre tu Virgen; por eso no te abona a ti; tú necesitas desenvolver (el mal); tú necesitas buen remedio; pero nadie te ha embrujado . . .)

The key word here is lloq'eranata, from lloq'eray (v. tr.) which we can define as:-

- i) To unwind to the left
- ii) Fig. To disenchant; break the power of a spell. (1)

The fig. sense here corresponds closely to the fig. meaning of kutichiy. Both terms imply a counterbalancing of events as do the ritual windings we have discussed above:- the breaking of the lloq'e q'aytu - left spun thread, the leftwards movement of the body

to annul the effects of the actions of evil spirits, the wearing of lloq'e q'aytus to ward off evil (144) etc. etc.

The procedures invite us to conclude that the Q. mind sees the development of life's events in a rightwards - or clockwise direction. If these events bring misfortune, they must be symbolically reversed by the ritual activities we have been outlining in detail here.

Kuti and lloq'e are also closely linked to (and through) the idea of tijray (to turn over):-

Overturning. The idea of overturning in the concept of kuti is conveyed by this definition of kuti sara or lloq'e sara (both terms are synonymous), offered by informant F.D. (147):-

¡Kuti sara! . . . jampi ninku a; arí, sullun kay laduman tijrasqa, ajinaman raya sarajtaqa i.

(Kuti sara! . . . dicen que es medicina; sí, su punta está a la inversa de lo normal, así es.)

The grains of the kuti sara are turned upside down, growing in a direction contrary and reverse to that which is normal. Such grains are therefore used for healing purposes - eg. in mesas, or for prophylactic purposes - eg. hung in the home to turn away illness, spells, evil spirits and misfortune (92).

Another example underlines this point. In Pocona (Dept. Coch) a layqa had cast a spell on someone's land. When his act was disclosed, the villagers forced him, before they killed him, to nullify the spell that had turned the land sterile. They gave him these orders:-

Kay kunaanqa jampipusqayku, tijrarapusqayku nispa.

(Ahora te lo vamos a curar, te lo vamos a volcar, han dicho.) (148)

Note how the concept jampiy (Q. v. Curar. La.) is synonymous here with the concept tijray (Q. v. Volcar, revolver. La.). Thus treating a disease implies an inversion of the unfavourable situation so that it turns over to a favourable one. This inversion in other words, has the same goal as the reversal of kuti and the anticlockwise motion of lloq'ey/lloq'eray (which may include the breaking of the power of evil symbolized by the breaking of the q'aytu).

According to Musch (97), Q. peasants believe that the order of the universe can be overturned (pacha tijrakunman), that bad times (sajra kuti) follow good times (sumaj kuti) in a cyclical fashion. Rituals maintain or hasten the return of sumaj kuti - an order of the world and events favourable to man.

Such objects as the kuti sara aid these rituals because the points we have discussed so far suggest a notion amongst Q. people that the abnormal or an opposite rights an imbalance in nature or in human lives.

A Q. peasant may interpret a situation unfavourable to him as an inversion of the natural order of things. By performing the correct rituals which may include the use of kuti saras, lloq'e q'aytus etc. he believes he can invert the unfavourable situation which implies that it "swings back" again to the natural order favourable to him.

### Summary

A kuti is an object which, because of its abnormal natural form, or because of properties it may have which are opposite to those of the given set of circumstances, can be used to halt and reverse the development of the said circumstances. With our analysis of how the concept of kuti works, we may glimpse the possibility of a Q. concept of the development of events as a clockwise/anticlockwise movement, a turning over, and/or a turning round, but enclosed in a circularity that these types of movements imply. The introduction of symbolic opposites (lloq'e q'aytu, kuti sara etc.) in ritual conditions creates or recreates a semi circular movement (either horizontally - kuti/reversal, or vertically - ti jray/inversion) in the development of reality. This brings about the state desired by those people who carry out the ritual.

This analysis goes further than any to be found in the literature on this aspect of how the Q. mind understands the world. It remains, however, an extremely fruitful source for further inquiry.

We shall now discuss the nature and symbolic function of each of the yana mesa's ingredients, excluding those we have already discussed in the section on kuti (ie estrella kuti, kuti moscada, sajsa kuti, wayruru kuti, kuti jabilla, willka kuti, contra negra).

### Manufactured ingredients

Kolasi6n. (Sp. loan?) Small round sweets, either red or white, either  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm or 1 cm diameter. Sp. confites. In Coch. the yana mesa contained minute quantities of kolasi6n, as did the wira q'owa. This contrasted with the amount in the puka mesa (17 small red sweets

the yuraj mesa (3 large white, 3 small white), and the sara q'owa (5 small red/3 small white and 4 small red).

It is a common ingredient in mesas offered by Q. people to Pachamama (3) (111) (114) (150) (151) (152) (153), to hill spirits (151), in cures (154) (155). Also an ingredient in A. offerings:- the wilancha, dulce mesa, and suerte mesa (25) (156).

As sweets, kolasi6n is used mainly at Carnival time, either to eat or to throw over the crops, fields, houses, animals (157) (158) (159) (160) (161). Also strewn over new houses during a ch'allaku. Its use in these two circumstances is universal in Q. and A. culture (162) (163).

By extension, its occurrence in mesas could be due to its joint function as adornment and edible delicacy for the deity receiving the offering.

Mixtura. (Sp.) Confetti. Very small quantity in yana mesa and a little more in one sara q'owa. In other areas, it is also an ingredient of mesas:- mentioned in those bought in Urcos (near Cuzco) for offering to Pachamama at the beginning of August (112); and in offerings to Pachamama when a new house is built (164).

Any person or object that is the centre of worship, praise, and respect is covered with confetti at the moment of his/its being celebrated. The animal about to be sacrificed (Dept. Oruro) (25), a house during the ch'allaku or at Carnival (50) (161) (162) (163) (165), the fields at Carnival when they are "made happy" (157) participants in the Carnival (166), lorries and farm impliments (167)



animals on their fiesta day (168) (169), chicha (170), saints on their day (167) (171) (172) (173) (174) (175), compadres (172), guests at a fiesta (176), potatoes freshly harvested (177), illas on the day the cattle is marked (señalakuy) (178), rocks which are cult objects (179) etc. etc. are all drowned in confetti (with streamers and sometimes kolasi6n as well) during the days/moments when they are celebrated.

We can therefore suggest that confetti has a similar function in mesas as a sign of reverence for the supernatural forces for whom the offering is intended.

Animal ingredients

Ch'urus. (Q. s. Caracol. Molusco gaster6podo, terrestre. La.)

The Coch. yana mesa contains a handful of these. Spiral shaped, they measure 1 mm by 2 mm. Their black colouring may be due to their having been burned since a charcoal residue is left when they are rubbed on a surface. The sara q'owa and wira q'owa contain similar quantities of these shells, but they are white. The q'ewsu ch'uru is mentioned as an ingredient of mesas sold in the Cuzco region for offering to Pachamama during the fiesta de San Juan (23/24 June) (6) and these may correspond to the ch'urus of the Coch. mesas. These shells are much smaller than and have no relation to the large sea-shells mentioned in the literature which are used for ceremonial libations of liquor/chicha. (16) (57) (163) (180) (2) etc. etc. The role of all types of shells in Q. culture remains a source of further inquiry.

### Vegetable ingredients

Copal. (Sp.) An aromatic resin. In minute quantities in yana mesa; rather more in puka and yuraj mesas. Like incense and q'owa, its sweet smelling smoke is believed to attract the forces of Good and expel evil spirits. Eg, it may be used to fumigate the fields during Carnival as part of ceremonies honouring Pachamama (Norte de Potosi) (181), or when sacrifice is made (at Carnival in Oruro) to the achachila Condor Mallku, whose physical form is a large rock to which a black lamb and a red cock are sacrificed; alcohol is thrown over it and confetti and streamers strewn about it. Copal is burnt as these activities are carried out (182). It may also be used in some cures:- eg. against lung disease (183) and aya wayra (82)

### Mineral ingredients

The Coch. yana mesa contains nine different mineral substances.

Basalt. A black stone, 4 cms by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cms. A calcium/sodium/aluminium silicate of volcanic origin (184). Note that paña taku of Cuzco despachos is black and like lloq'e taku (q.v. below "Red ochre") occurs in offerings to Pachamama and Apus and helps to ward off evil (185). The basalt stone of the yana mesa smears black after being dampened and rubbed on a surface, in the manner that takus do, so therefore may perform as a taku in this mesa.

Calcareous tufa (Q. Jaje mesa) (186) (Coch. Sp. Bisagra) (187).

Hard, white, noduled piece of stone, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cms square (184) (188). Cobo states that this mineral was used to help cure excessive menstrual blood flow, and with other ingredients occurred in remedies for diseases of bladder and kidney, and melancholy (186). In La paz, Nordenskiöld (98) found that it was used, crushed with other mineral substances in a bath for a patient who had been

attacked by the chullpas. Nowadays, it may be taken dissolved to aid the mending of fractured bones (186).

Copper sulphate. (188) (Sp. piedra lapis) (189). Small blue stone. It used to be employed to heal ulcers, scars, wounds. Now used for its caustic properties (189).

Iron sulphide A small piece of pinkish white stone with ashy appearance which indicates that it has probably been heated at some time (188).

Iron/lead sulphide (188) (Q. Janku qollqe or janku qori?) (190). Two pieces of a greyish black ashy substance. It could represent the janku qollqe, lead sulphide which, dissolved, is taken against wayra and mancharisqa (Cuzco), or alternatively the janku qori, a lead sulphide/iron pyrites/calcium sulphate/quartz/lemonite compound which, dissolved, is taken against mancharisqa (190).

Mica (188) Wafers of a brown/black shiny silicate of aluminium in yana mesa; tiny quantities of white mica appear in Coch. yuraj and puka mesas. In the Ayaviri area of Peru, the use of different coloured mica has been noted in mesas offered to help cure mancharisqa (191), also gold and silver coloured mica in offerings to pachamama during August (150). (q.v. under yuraj mesa, sub-section on qollqe t'anta/qori t'anta - qollqe libro/qori libro which may have the same function as mica here. In Southern Peru, pieces of mica are kept in the pocket to attract money and good luck (192).

Red Ochre. (Q. taku?) (193) A small reddish stone looking like a piece of weathered brick. The red colour is due to the presence of iron oxide (188). The ancient Peruvians used to have three types of ochres:- blood coloured, liver coloured, and yellow - of which the red type is still now employed dissolved in water and used to paint sheep, cattle, llamas in special ceremonies dedicated to them (Peru). This substance helps combat wayra (Puno, Arequipa), and mal de tierra (Arequipa) (193). Lloq'ie taku (Cuzco) is bright red and serves to arrest the effects of evil spirits, especially if used to anoint the body of a person or animal. It is an ingredient of the despacho entero, the greatest and most serious offering one can make to the hill spirits and to the Earth (185).

Sandstone fossil remains. Reddish sandstone fossilized fragments of the brachiopod lampshell (rhynchonella) (184).

Sulphur. (Q. sallinarumi) (194). Small yellow fragments. The Indians used sulphur with fat (untu) of various animals for treatments of itches and sores on llamas (Cobo). It is still used in cures (Peru). Against wayra, it may be burnt with cotton in order to fumigate a patient, or may be rubbed over his temples to draw the wayra from his head (194) (73). Also used with salt for massaging rheumatic pain (194), and in ointments designed to heal skin diseases (195). Sulphur is commonly thought to have evil powers relating it to the devil and hell (195). Eg. from Llavini (Puno), a story of how a man tricked the devil who disappeared leaving a sulphurous smell (196). In order to protect oneself from the evil soq'a machu, it is recommended to eat sulphur (197). The devilish associations which sulphur has could account for its occurrence in the yana mesa, whose purposes are evil.

Unidentified animal ingredients. Two lumps of material that may be samples of dried dung from different animals. Dark brown - grey - black in colour. Kusch (59) gives cheq'eri as the name for dung included in his yana mesa. Cow or llama dung is widely used as the combustible material upon which offerings are burnt. This appears widespread throughout the Andes, and at a variety of different ceremonies:- Carnival, San Juan, 1 August, seed-time, harvest, etc. etc. (6) (58) (112) (113) (198) (199) (200) (201) (202) (203) (204) (205) etc. etc. At Valle Hermoso (Dept. Coch), 3 May annually (fiesta de la Santa Vera Cruz), peasants burn a little of the dung of each type of animal they keep. This is done in a courtyard in front of the image of the Saint. The remaining ashes are carefully collected and buried in the peasant's corral. It is believed that the Saint has blessed the ashes and the act of burning the dung and burying the remains is an offering to the Saint who is therefore sure to encourage the multiplication and good health of the animals in the coming year (206) (207) (208) (209) (210). The burning of dung on many of these ceremonial occasions may be due to the belief that its smoke and smell drive away evil spirits (211).

Excrement may be used in spells since by the rule of sympathetic magic, the fact of its original contact with a body, be it human or animal, means that it can be magically treated in order to affect adversely the appropriate animal or human (212). Eg. in Pocona (Dept. Coch.), a yatiri unearthed a spell bundle whose purpose had been to kill the informant's family. The bundle contained animal dung so that the said family's animals would not breed, but would grow thin and die (213). Human excrement may be burned with appropriate prayers so that the person from whom it issued would fall victim to a deadly disease (214); or it may be smeared over a person's

photograph so that he will be unlucky (215).

As to botica repugnante (216), the dung of several animals is used raw, dried, cooked, or dissolved in water in a variety of cures (217).

In the present case, we make the suggestion - and no more - that dung is included in the yana mesa for similar reasons to those that ensured its inclusion in the spell bundle of Pocona, - ie. to inflict suffering on the victim's animals.

Unidentified vegetable ingredients. Seeds:- two black ovoid seeds, each  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm diameter. Handful of elliptical greyish pods, about 1 cm by  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm; inside each, a single seed, either brown or black, about 5 mms by 2 mms. At the point where the seed would sprout, is the dash of a grey-white marking. Three brown and three black seeds of this type found free (ie not in pods) in the mesa.

Other:- a variety of twigs, pieces of roots, shrivelled fragments of leaves, flowers, bark and plants; bundle of black and white dried fibrous root or stem resembling rough pieces of string; a long thin strand (black), perhaps a hair of an animal. One of the roots included may be turpa (Sp. altea) or marshmallow. (Nototriche Sp.) It is used for medicinal purposes:- for gastro-intestinal disorders, toning up the heart, illness in the breast (80) (218) (219) (220).

Summary. The ingredients of this mesa have value according to Q. magical principals because either their abnormality, or their contrary nature, or their capacity to attract or drive out certain types of spirits make the mesa function effectively.

Functions of YANA MESA and conclusion

Few other works on Q. culture discuss the yana mesa. Kusch (59) gives a general description of such an offering whose contents are similar but less numerous than those of the Coch. yana mesa. Frisancho Pineda (83) (106) lists the contents of a kutimesa which is dark in colour, but whose ingredients are not very like those of Coch. yana mesas. Valdizán and Maldonado (61) mention an offering named kutichi but its constituents hardly correspond at all to those of Coch. yana mesas.

Despite differences in content, however, the purpose of these offerings varies much less. Except for the kutichi which is offered to cure mancharisqa, the other mesas serve to make a spell return to its place of origin, or to combat wayra (59) (83) (106) (61) (187) (221).

The black colour of the mesa symbolizes its association with illness and death caused by the use of harmful magic. Its name - kuti jampi or contra mesa - indicates how this magic is manipulated. The ingredients - many more of which may have a Q. name that includes the term kuti - offered in the right ritual context, arrest the progress and effectiveness of a spell by a process of reversal, which could also indicate inversion and an anticlockwise motion. This means that yana mesa has a double good/bad function. It is good because it breaks a spell cast on a victim, thereby ending his illness or run of bad luck, but it is bad because the method of breaking the spell involves sending it back to he who sent it and who, as a consequence, suffers a fate similar to that of the former victim.

YURAJ MESA (or GLORIA MESA)

The full implications of the yuraj mesa for Q. religious beliefs will be sought by discussing:-

- I. The meaning of the two different names used to indicate this type of mesa.
- II. The nature and symbolic function of each of the ingredients.

The gloria jampi is closely related to the yuraj mesa, so it will be dealt with at the same time and under the same headings.

Under I., we shall discuss (a) the meaning of yuraj, and (b), that of gloria.

Ia. Yuraj (Q. adj. Blanco.La.). The cultural connotations of this colour can be pinpointed thus:-

White and luck. White smoke or white ashes on certain ritual occasions foretell good luck and indicate an offering has been accepted by the gods. Eg. cigarettes smoked on Tuesday or Friday evenings which give off clear, or white smoke, or white ash, are thought to indicate good fortune (83). At the ch'allaku of a new house (Orurillo, Puno), the owner burnt three leaves of coca in order to discover by the colour of the smoke - white/good luck, black/bad luck - the nature of his future (37). An offering burnt at the fiesta de San Juan (24 June) in Queramarca (Dept. Cuzco) is always closely scrutinized. If it burns white, it is a signal that the Aukis accept the offering; they haven't accepted it if it turns black (39). When millu is melted during the course of a cure, if it turns basically white in colour this is a sign that the patient will



eventually be restored to health (Coch.) (41).

A white spider forewarns of good luck, a black spider of bad. (34)

White and the dead. White has some association with the Andean concept of the soul. Eg. the A. may make a sacrifice of a white sheep to the souls when a Mass is said for the dead (52). On the third day after someone's death (Coch. Val.) his soul is chased out of the house. A relative dresses up in a white blanket and weeps in the manner it is believed a soul does. He is then beaten and kicked until he has left the house. This signifies the expulsion of the soul which has been represented by white clothing. (128).

When a young child dies, it is an occasion for rejoicing. The baby is referred to as an angelito. It is dressed in white clothes, a small crown is placed on its head and it is sprinkled with silver paper. The people dance as they carry the coffin to the cemetery. Sometimes this procession is preceded by someone carrying a white flag. The reason for this behaviour, which is contrary to that which occurs when anyone else dies, lies in the belief that the child is free from sin, will therefore go direct to Heaven, and once arrived will intercede successfully with Tata Dios on behalf of his surviving relatives on earth below (Coch. Val.) (26) (222).

This custom compares with that of Kuyo Grande (Dept. Cuzco). Children who die are thought to have been chosen to be God's gardeners. They are buried wrapped in an all white shroud and with a crown of white roses - which symbolize innocence (223). During All Souls' (2 Nov.) (Dept. Oruro) it is customary to construct an altar in each home for the period of the celebrations. This altar

is draped in a white cloth if the person uppermost in the minds of the celebrants is a dead child (25).

The link white - (child) - innocence - purity is further illustrated by a report from the Coch. Val. (Vila - Vila) of a peasant who rejoiced at finding some daisies (which are white), considering this to be a sign of good fortune. He put a bunch of these flowers at the foot of the saint's image he kept, praying for protection and requesting the capacity to be honest and upright. A peasant may also speak of his conscience being black or white and prefers it to be the later (224).

White, the supernatural and lightning. Related to the white/purity concept, Paredes (225) describes a being - the huasa mallcu - in which A. peasants believe. Dressed in white, he is an ingenuous giant who wanders the empty wilderness; he is celibate, peaceful, morally upright, and helpful to the poor and unfortunate. Monast (52), in discussing the nature of the A. sacrifice or wilancha, mentions a sacrifice of two white llamas to God at the top of a mountain. This contrasted with the sacrifice of two black llamas to the demons halfway down the mountain.

Q. and A. peasants believe that either God, Santiago, or Santa Barbara send lightning. This is thought to be the heavenly punishment for human sin because it kills man and his animals (55) (93) (226 - 231).

Paredes notes that peasants assemble at a place where lightning has struck, dressed in their best and adorned with white. A fiesta ensues in which a white llama is sacrificed. They act as if bidding someone farewell and from then on regard the place as sacred (232).

Li. (233) describes a comparable ceremony which may take place at a spot where a person or animal was killed by lightning. Peasants prepare an offering which they adorn with white flowers. A white pennant is put at each corner of the area where the lightning struck. The dead victim is buried there and so is the offering. A wake is kept through the night and on departing next day, strips of cloth are laid over the grave. One of these strips must be white.

When lightning strikes an isolated spot, the owners of the land go to the place on white horses (remember that Santiago is traditionally seated on a white horse), decked with flowers and wearing their best clothes. They are accompanied by music and dancers, and sing as they go, for they believe that this will ensure the offering they intend to make will be immediately and readily accepted. If the storm has been exceptionally frightening, a paqo may be called and asked to sacrifice a white llama at the spot where the lightning struck.

Some white rocks are thought to have had contact with lightning. An ingredient of offerings made in the Cuzco region of Peru may include qhaqya chonta - or chonta del rayo, which is a piece of white quartz (185). Wakhankis-talismans and amulets that ensure fertility are sometimes made from white alabaster which is supposed to be a stone the lightning brought down with it on its journey from the sky (234).

Summary. The colour white associates the following:- good luck, ie. the favour of the gods; the purity of souls, ie. their acceptance by Tata Dios. The heavens are the abode of souls and in those regions dwell Tata Dios, Tata Santiago, who are responsible for the lightning. The threat of death by lightning is a constraint on peasant behaviour. They organize pardon ceremonies, mete out punishment themselves to avoid God's, and refrain from committing what they regard as sins (55) (93) (226 - 231) in order to achieve that purity which acquires divine favour.

Ib. Gloria. (Sp. loan). This term relates to what we have discovered about the relationship of white to Heaven/Tata Dios/Tata Santiago/souls etc. etc., but may have more specific significance for Q. speakers than it has in Sp. Eg. in Kuyo Grande (Dept. Cuzco) (235), it is noted that Q. peasants visualize gloria as as far above Heaven as the earth is from the sky. Only God, the Virgin, the Saints and the Angels live here, no human soul can reach this elevated position.

Further relationships between yuraj and gloria are discussed in the final conclusions on this type of mesa, after we have had a closer look at its ingredients.

II. We shall now look at the nature and symbolic function of each ingredient in the yuraj mesa.

#### Manufactured ingredients

Galleta. (Sp.) Biscuit. Circular;  $3\frac{1}{2}$  - 4 cms diameter, 3mms thick. Also occurs in puka mesa. A regular ingredient in many types of

offerings over a wide geographical area (150). Common in mesas dedicated to Pachamama - eg. Kurawasi (Dept. Apurimac), in Cambio de Suerte ceremonies (111); in offerings at the beginning of August - Q. new year - in Kuyo Grande and Quiquijana (Dept. Cuzco) (2) (143) (152) (236). Also found in offerings to hill spirits and cult objects - eg. Kurawasi, in a mesa burnt to aukis or tutelar spirits of the area (111); in an offering to the Wak'a Awicha Anselma, a stone believed to possess magical powers that control the weather (Dist. J-D. Choquewanka, Dept. Puno) (237); in mesas for wakas and achachilas (Depts. Puno, Cuzco) (238). Biscuits are added to offerings made in the course of treating disease (239). In Dept. Oruro, a dulce mesa (which contains biscuits) may be offered in order to attract good luck (4).

In the absence of reliable information as to why biscuits occur in so many types of mesas, let us make some hypothesis based on the functions of bread and pan de San Nicolás in Andean culture.

Bread (Q. t'anta) does occur in some offerings - eg. in the wilanacha, or sacrifice of llama or sheep to deities by A. and Q. peasants, bread (with other substances) is burnt (240); a cure for mancharisqa includes going to the spot where the disease is thought to have been caught and offering a mesa which contains basic food, including bread (191). Amongst Q. people, bread offered as a gift cannot be refused and before it is consumed, the eater kisses it because it is thought to be the face of God. (241). This custom is considered to have its origin in the story of Christ's feeding of the multitude (Mat. Chs. 14 & 15). Since all offerings are regarded as food for

different deities and spirits, we may suggest that the biscuit is symbolic of the staple foods produced from wheat flour.

Alternatively, it may be associated with pan de San Nicolás (242):- small circular wafers, 2 cms diameter, made from wheat flour, an image of Saint Nicholas on one face (107) (138) (195). These wafers are eaten to cure mancharisqa (107) (195) (243) (244) (Depts. Arequipa, Puno, Cuzco) or wayra (244). They may be carried around to ward off illness and the devil (243); also placed in some mesas - eg. in offerings to Pachamama in August (Urcos, Dept. Cuzco) (112), at San Juan (Dept. Cuzco) (6), and in the kutimesa (Peru) (106). We may suggest tentatively that galletas represent the functions of bread or pan de San Nicolás in Coch. mesas.

Misk'i (Q. adj. Dulce, sabroso, apetitoso. La.) Sugar based objects of which there are five types:-

- i. Alfeñiques. (Sp.) Coil-shaped sweets, either red or white. Two sizes:- 4 cms or 2 cms diameter. Two large white in Coch. yuraj mesa; two large and three small red in puka mesa; one large red in one sample sara q'owa. In all the literature, there is merely one passing mention of the alfeñique - as an ingredient of an offering to Pachamama (Taraco, Dept. Puno) (114). We would like to suggest that the coil shape may have some special significance, bearing in mind our discussion of kuti, lloq'e and tijray (q.v. under yaná mesa), and the use of spiral shaped objects as kutis - ie. q'aytus, and kuti wayñitus, which are no more than the coil shapes elongated. Alfeñiques twirl outwards from a central point; viewed one way, they twirl clockwise (Q. pañaman), and viewed, of course, the other way, they twirl anticlockwise (Q. lloq'eman). This phenomenon may

may coincide with the interest in opposites that appears to exist in the Q. mind (q.v. contra, kuti, lloq'ie in yana mesa).

- ii) Square sweet, 8 mms by 5 mms. The yuraj mesa contained two of these, both white; also in the puka mesa - two pink.
- iii) Circular sweet, 8 mms diameter. In yuraj mesa (two white - one with jagged edge reminiscent of crude representations of the sun); in puka mesa (two - one green, one yellow and sun-shaped); in sara q'owa (in one specimen one blue, in another, one white and one yellow sun-shaped).
- iv) Bottle shaped sweet, 4 cms long by 2 cms circumference. In yuraj mesa (one green); in puka mesa (one purple/scarlet).
- v) Misterios (or gloria misk'is) (66):- rectangular sweets 2½ cms by 4 cms by 2 mms. Tablets with the imprints of objects, people, or scenes on one surface. In yuraj mesa (twelve white with these drawings:- three with man (perhaps Tata Santiago q.v. "White, the supernatural and lightning") and lightning, one with house, one with saint, four with half moon and stars, one with star or maybe star-fish, one crevice in hillside (perhaps a manifestation of pachamama (245)), one unidentifiable (perhaps a Virgin); in puka mesa (one purple, one blue, three green, two yellow, three orange, one pink, one scarlet, with these drawings:- one devil, one car, three houses, one pig, five Virgins, one unidentifiable); in sara q'owas (in one specimen, one pink, one white, with drawings of sun and another unidentifiable; in other specimen, one white, one blue, with drawings of saint and toad); in wira q'owa (one

small piece of white misterio); in gloria jampi (one white, one blue, with drawings of sun and Santiago).

There are four classes of drawings judging from the evidence of these Coch. mesas backed by some other sources of references on this subject (59) (4):-

- imprints of supernatural beings (Saint, Virgin, devil etc.)
- imprints of cosmic elements (sun, moon, stars, lightning, etc.)
- imprints of animals (toad, pig, etc.)
- imprints of manufactured objects (house, car, etc.)

Informant A.P. (66) called these rectangular sweets pastillas de conversación, but this does not correspond with the description Frisancho Pineda gives of pastillas de conversación which he describes as sugar wafers 2 cms by  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm, either green, pink, or yellow, with inscriptions such as "Te espero", "Búscate otra" (107) (195). Nevertheless, the misterios do have a function as components of a communication and message system between the celebrant and the deity. Eg. a peasant may ask for misterios with pictures of houses and animals when he is buying his mesa if he is offering it to assure happiness in his household and increase in his flocks and herds. These misterios symbolize his wishes and as they burn, he prays for the accomplishment of these wishes (187) (246).

In their capacity to convey messages, we may compare misterios with chiuchis, also called recado (Sp. message) or chiuchi recado. These are tiny figures cast in lead or tin which represent a variety of objects and persons, the classification of which comes under the same headings as we have listed for types of drawings depicted on misterios. There are some fifty different types of chiuchi figures



and they can be arranged in a mesa, as if hieroglyphs, to form series of messages. Some sources offer lists of symbolic values for some chiuchi figures. eg. star = light, guide; Santiago = guardian angel who chases away dangers; sun and moon = tutelar deities which protect man, bringing him good weather and abundant harvests (4) (6) (57) (61) (111) (112) (180) (233) (247 - 253).

These chiuchis are ingredients of many types of mesas in the Andean area (although not found in Coch. mesas). We suggest a close affinity between misterio and chiuchi which the limits of the present study do not, unfortunately, allow us to investigate further.

Misterios occur in mesas outside the Coch. area, but the available literature cites few examples. Mentioned as used in yana mesas by Kusch (La Paz) (59); also occur in dulce mesas (Dept. Oruro) (4); Garr notes their use in offerings made to Pachamama in August, and in a mesa burnt in a treatment for mancharisqa (150) (191).

In an account of a rite carried out to enable an A. peasant's recovery from illness (Ilave, Dept. Puno) (254), an offering was made which included pairs of figures made from sugar. These were made up of a husband and wife, godparents, animals, stars, hearts, trees, also some other objects made of sugar but not representing figures. The writer says these all represent what is necessary for a good life.

We suggest the misk'i of the Coch. mesas have a similar function, but consider that this remains a profitable field for further investigation. The colour, shape, and number of the types of misk'i, besides the drawings on the misterios, may all have definite symbolic purposes.

Vegetable ingredients

Arroz (Sp.) (*Cicer sativa* L.) (6). A few grains of rice in both yuraj and puka mesas. Appears to occur in offerings throughout the Andean area:- in mesas for Pachamama at Q. New Year (1 Aug.), or at San Juan (24 June), or at Carnival, also recorded ingredient of offerings on more specific occasions such as when curing disease, or when worshipping a qatay chojllu - an unusual type of corncob, or when making a certain offering with willka willka seeds (2) (6) (110) (114) (150) (152) (153) (253). A symbolic food in an offering which is designed to nourish the deity.

Azucar (Sp.) A few grains of white sugar in yuraj and puka mesas. Common in offerings to Pachamama. Similar function to rice (4) (37) (114) (143) (150) (152).

Culantro (Sp.) (*Coriandrum sativum*) (255) (256). Coriander. Seeds of this plant in yuraj and puka mesas. Leaves and fruit used in some medicines (255) (256). Only one record of its use in mesas - in offering to Pachamama at beginning of Aug. (Urcos, near Cuzco) (112).

Copal q.v. under yana mesa.

Garbanzo (Sp.) (*Cicer arietinum* L.) (6). Chick-peas. Small quantity in yuraj and puka mesas. Occurs in offerings throughout Andean area:- in mesas to Pachamama at Q. New Year, or at San Juan, or at Carnival etc. etc. Also used in some cures for small pox and malaria (2) (4) (6) (110) (111) (112) (114) (150) (152) (153) (236) (253) (257) (258) (259). This ingredient is another symbolic food in what is believed to constitute a banquet for the deity to whom the mesa is offered.

Incienco (Sp.). A little incense in the yuraj mesa, puka mesa, and gloria jampi; minute quantity in the sara q'owa. Extremely common element of most types of offering throughout the Andean region (2) (6) (112) (150) (180) (239). Its function is double:- to get rid of evil spirits and attract the good ones. Eg. hail chased away by burning incense and sprinkling holy water (113) (Kauri, Dept. Cuzco), or by burning incense and q'owa (180); fumigation of room/house and/or body of ill person contributes to chasing out spells and evil (140); but consistently an ingredient of offerings to Pachamama and hill spirits when these are being worshipped because it is thought to have an aroma agreeable to these deities (103). During a rite to cure an illness (Ilave, Dept. Puno), the paqo burnt incense on coals as each prayer or invocation was made to the achachilas (254). The practice of burning incense at the moment of prayer was also witnessed during Carnival 1974 (Achiota, Coch. Val.) A maestro burnt incense as he prayed for pardon in a series of rituals designed to make the hail go away, and the dirigente del sindicato subsequently burnt incense at the summit of three different peaks and together with other celebrants asked the indwelling hill spirits to protect the community (260) (261). (Chapter 2 contains extensive details on these events). Cult objects, or products worthy of respect may be fumigated with incense. Eg. at Qolqepata (Dept. Cuzco), there is a ceremony during the fiesta de San Juan to assure the fertility of the sheep. During this, candle wax models of the sheep are fumigated (besides being sprinkled with chicha and coca) (6). Saints' images may, of course, be fumigated with incense (157) (260) (261), eg. during the Carnival celebrations at Achiota (Dept. Coch.) (1974). At the entroje de maiz (Quiquijana, Dept. Cuzco), maize is fumigated with incense (262). We can find only one example of the use of incense in black magic:- if some of a victim's hair is burnt with incense

and copal in an offering to the lightning, the victim will die (263). Incense rarely fails to play a role when communication between Q. man and his deities takes place.

Kuti sara. q.v. definition under yana mesa. Twelve grains of yellow maize in yuraj mesa, eleven in puka mesa; six grains of white maize in one sara q'owa, and in another, one violet, five yellow grains. The profound importance of maize in every aspect of Q. life cannot be exaggerated.

To deal with this fully here would not be appropriate to the limits and perspectives of the present work. We shall confine ourselves to indicating in very broad terms the principle uses of maize and then concentrate on those aspects most pertinent to the present study.

- Uses:- as a staple food prepared in a large variety of ways.
- as the basic ingredient of chicha, an essential for most Q. rituals (264) (see also Ch. 2)
  - as an ingredient of medicines (91) (183) (218) (265).
  - as a means to foretell the future (260) (266) (267) and to acquire good luck (90) (268).

Many customs, beliefs, and rituals surround each stage of the growth of this cereal:- offerings may occur at seed time, during the growth period, at harvest - time, or when it is being stored (145) (262) (269) (270) (271) (272) (273) (274) (275) (276). It is closely associated with pachamama and with San Isidro (145). Also employed in magic (91) (277). Naturally deformed or extra large maize seeds or corn cobs such as the kuti sara (or sara kuti), qhajya sara, misa sara, qhatay sara, chaparaz (83) (88) (91) (152) (233) (236)

(253) (278) (279) (280) (281) (La), all have a magical or religious value. Maize is frequently placed in offerings and on this aspect we shall concentrate our attention and contribute something to an appreciation of the importance of the type of maize variety used on such occasions.

Ever since the Inca period, maize, in a variety of forms, has been an ingredient of offerings to deities and wakas. eg. during Inti Raymi (May/June- winter solstice), toasted maize, together with other valued products such as coca were offered to Wanakauri, Punchaoinka, and Chunkiylla Illapa (282); maize flour and red ochre were offered to the sea (283); white maize was put in springs at seed time as an offering (284); the Inca Yupanqui, who developed the cult of the sun, burnt offerings of birds, maize and chicha so that it could eat and drink (285); the ancient Peruvians offered of their normal food to their gods in the belief they would consume them wherever they were - these foods were burnt (286).

Since the mesa is a symbolic meal for the appropriate deities according to present day Q. thinking, this notion of the ancient Peruvians is still very much alive, as the following examples show:- during a fiesta de San Juan (Chumbivilcas, Dept. Cuzco), a mesa is burnt which contains yellow, white, and violet maize, and is for the local hill spirits (6); in Aug. - Q. New Year - many Q. communities make offerings to Pachamama which include maize - white and yellow in Urcos (near Cuzco) (112), black kuti sara and other types of maize in Quiquijana (Dept. Cuzco) (143), unspecified types and quantities in Taraco (Dept. Puno) (114). At Carnival, offerings to Pachamama include white maize in one case (153), and white, yellow, and violet maize in another (Accha, Prov. Paruro) (198).

Ceremonies during Carnival, designed to seek forgiveness, (Achiota, Coch. Val.) required the use of corn cobs in an offering (286) (287). At the fiesta de la Santa Vera Cruz (3 May) (Coch. Val.), animal and vegetable products, including maize, are offered to the Saint (208); in some cases offered to San Isidro on his fiesta day (15 May) (Coch. Val.) (288). In mesas offered as part of a treatment for illness (Depts. Apurimac and Cuzco) (61) (289); white maize is used in offerings dedicated to Pachamama, the hill spirits, and designed to cure illness, in the Cuzco area (290).

Coch. mesas do not seem, therefore, to be exceptional in their use of maize. The literature, however, refers only on a few occasions to the varieties of maize used; white, yellow and violet being the most often mentioned. It is recorded that qhajya sara (Q. qhajya = lightning. Li.) can be used in the Cuzco area to refer to white maize, although on a previous page of the same record, ghasqa sara is defined as grains of white maize, or grains of maize of other colours and with special characteristics, used according to the purpose of the offering to which they are added (236) (278).

No indication is given as to why white maize grains, or why other special types of grains are used in particular ceremonies. A ceremony witnessed in Achiota (Dept. Coch) on Shrove Tuesday 1974 contributes to our knowledge of the possible symbolic functions of white and yellow maize in Q. society, but this is covered more fully by the analysis carried out in Chapter 2, for which reason, further discussion on this matter is postponed at this point.

Maize in offerings may be a symbolic food for the deities, or, if kuti sara, may also act as an opposite in magic. The colours of maize may have symbolic significances in some ritual circumstances. This remains a profitable subject for research.

Kuti wayñitu. q.v. under yana mesa.

Pallar. (Q. s. Peruvian bean. Cas.). (*Phaseolus lunatus* (13) (183) (258) or *phaseolus pallar* Molina (6) (293)). A pair of pallares in both yuraj and puka mesas occur in offerings throughout Andean area to Pachamama;- in August (112) (113) (114) (143) (150) (152), at Carnival (113) (153), at San Juan (6), in other mesas for special purposes (2) (110) (111) (152) (154) (236) (253). Occasionally used in remedies for illness (293). Another symbolic food for the deity to whom the mesa is destined.

Romero. (Sp.) (*Rosmarinus officinalis*) (296) (294). Rosemary is an ingredient of the yuraj mesa, puka mesa, and gloria jampi. The literature notes that it may be found in the dulce mesa (Dept. Oruro) (4), or burnt with q'owa, kolasion, fat, bread, and llama meat during the wilancha (240). In Depts. Lima, Arequipa, branches of rosemary may be blessed on Good Friday and hung behind the door of a house to prevent the entry of spells (295). Like incense and copal, with which it shares a common function, the principle use of rosemary is in fumigations, eg. of houses (294), and when an illness is being treated (82) (154).

Wayruru. q.v. under yana mesa

Willka ch'ipi. q.v. under yana mesa.

Mineral ingredients

Mica q.v. under yana mesa.

Qori t'anta/qollqe t'anta. (Q. qori. s. oro; qollqe. s. plata; t'anta s. pan La). "Gold bread" and "silver bread". Lira (297) describes this as yellow and white tinsel which represent flakes or wafers of gold and silver. These are noted as ingredients of various offerings. Eg. in the kutiche mesa burned to heal the patient suffering from mancharisqa (61); in offerings at special purification ceremonies (llumpakha) (155); in various A. sacrifices made to the gods (202) etc. etc. (110) (111) (152) (253) (297).

The qori libro and qollqe libro ("gold book" and "silver book") are defined as tiny squares of imitation gold and silver paper which represent coins in an offering (138). This too occurs frequently in mesas, eg, in the normal mesas sold in Urcos (near Cuzco) for offering to Pachamama (112); in those burned at San Juan (Cuzco) (6) etc. etc. (2) (150) (154) (251).

In Coch. nuka mesas, yuraj mesas, and sara q'owas, there are tiny strips (about 20 mms by 1 mm) of tinsel, coloured silver/red, silver/blue, silver/green, silver/yellow. In one sample sara q'owa, there were thin sheets, about 1 cm long, mostly silver in colour, but some red and others yellow. In the absence of a certain name and function for this ingredient in Coch. we suggest that these glittering fragments and tinsel may symbolize the qori/qollqe t'anta or qori/qollqe libro.



Unidentified ingredients. Small quantities of a plant common to yana, yuraj and puka mesas. It has a very slightly fragrant smell on burning. In the yuraj and puka mesas there is a tiny piece of a brown, tasteless, odourless substance. It can be crumbled with ease, but offers no aroma on burning. Chemical analysis (188) has shown the material to contain carbon, hydrogen, and nitrogen (298) and to be of animal or vegetable origin with some traces of protein. Neither informants in Coch. nor comparative literature have thrown light on the name or function of this substance.

Function of YURAJ MESA and GLORIA JAMPI

The mesa is an offering to the divinities that dwell in Heaven (187). This explains the association between its names gloria mesa and yuraj mesa, for as we have seen, the colour white is related to purity and therefore to Tata Dios and Heaven. This offering may also be called a mesa dulce (187). We have reference in the Dept. Oruro to a dulce mesa which contains misterios, chancaca, chocolate, kolasi6n, pallarisa, chick-peas, biscuits, Virgen misterio (or misterio redondo), rosemary, cellophane, copal, lump of sugar. It may also be called a suerte mesa, for its objective is to attract good luck (4). No indication is made as to the colour of this mesa. Further profitable investigation could be made to establish whether the colour white, as signal of good luck or favour of the gods, is the dominant colour of the dulce mesa, and if so, to what degree it is similar to Coch. yuraj mesas in both form and function.

We should also mention here the gloria jampi which is akin to the yuraj mesa but differs from it only in that it has fewer ingredients, all of which are also found in the yuraj mesa. The directions for the use of the gloria jampi are that it should be burned slowly before an image of Tata Santiago whilst the celebrant prays for the salvation of a small child who has died or the health of one who is desperately ill (123) (299). Here again we may glimpse a relationship:- child/innocence/whiteness/Heaven/Tata Santiago which corresponds to many of the cultural associations that we have noted surround the yuraj mesa - an offering also made with the aim of curing illness of various types (300).

With the exception of the dulce mesa, the literature about mesas in other regions of the Andes, makes no reference to any offering similar to the yuraj mesa. Further research on this subject in all areas affected by Q. culture could be extremely profitable.

#### PUKA MESA

The puka mesa has the same ingredients as the yuraj mesa under which heading we have set out all the appropriate details. It remains for us here to discuss the implications of the term puka in Q. culture, and to note the functions of this type of offering.

Puka. (Q. adj. Rojo. La.) When millu is melted in order to discover the cause of a disease, it is a sign of blood and death if a reddish colour appears in it (41). Informant J.V. also asserts an association between red, violence and death (301). The literature offers conflicting evidence as to the symbolic significance of this colour

in other Andean zones. Buechler (38) claims that red represents the well-being of souls (Compi, Dept. La Paz). Monast (52) mentions a wilancha which involves sacrificing two white llamas to God at the top of a mountain, two black ones to the devil half way down, and two reddish - brown ones to Pachamama at the foot. Both these examples refer, however, to A. culture. Montaño (302) notes that in the Andean culture, colours are masculine or feminine. He offers no examples .

The literature makes no mention of puka mesas which avoid white ingredients as far as possible - most are red, pink, violet, etc. It is special mesa offered to Pachamama (187), eg, in the case of illness (300).

#### SARA Q'OWA

Unlike the yana mesa which is prepared on demand, and the yuraj and puka mesa which come pre-packed from the Altiplano in plastic bags (187), sara q'owas are made up locally and set out in attractive displays for sale. There are minor variations in the types of ingredients included, but they remain basically similar, and the functions of all sara q'owas, as single units, remain the same.

#### Manufactured ingredients

- Kolasi6n q.v. yana mesa.  
Mixtura q.v. yana mesa.  
Misk'i q.v. yuraj mesa.

Animal ingredients

Ch'urus. q.v. yana mesa

Millma. (Q. s. lana. La.) Khawa (Cuzco Q.) (6) is wool dyed the colours of the rainbow and is used in some offerings (6) (94) (111), especially in those designed to annul the effects of diseases caused by pujyus or k'uychis (76) (Dept. Cuzco). Wool dyed various colours is used to adorn sara q'owas and llama foeti (187). For this reason the eye is drawn by the brightly coloured wools on these offerings set out for sale in the Cancha (Coch.). Wool may also be used in the phiskurada with millu (Peru, Coch. Val.) (68) (303) and in other cures or in prophylactic rites (73).

Untu. (Q. s. Sebo de llama) (112). But also alpaca or vicuña fat (111) (238). Alternative term wira sometimes employed with similar meaning (6). Highly appreciated in Andean cultures since the time of the Incas when it was regarded (a) as a symbol of prosperity (304), which may have been a reason for its inclusion in offerings to wakas (283) (305), and (b) as endowed with revitalizing constituents, which accounts for its continued sale today in the popular markets of Peru (and Bolivia) (216). It is supplied for use in spells, medicine, and offerings.

Spells:- Figures moulded in fat may be used as representations of the victim of witchcraft. Magically harming the figure of fat means for the Q. Indian that the victim will suffer in actual fact from an identical harm (306). A specific example of this comes from Kurawasi (Dept. Apurímac). During a cure for a man suffering from a long run of bad luck, the sorcerer hired to help him uncovered a spell bundle

which consisted of a doll made of pitch with a central portion of fat (111). Amulets and talismans may be greased with untu so that their magical virtues may be conserved (306).

Medicine:- Used for massaging purposes in cases of rheumatism, stiffness (Coch.) (307) (Huancayo, Ayacucho) (308); an ointment for sores and cuts (309). Swellings caused by wayra (310), or jap'eqa (311) (312), or cases of the illness diagnosed as mancharisqa (313) may be treated by rubbing fat on the appropriate member (together with other treatments).

Offerings:- Untu is very widely used in many types of offerings - those dedicated to Pachamama, eg. on Tuesday and Friday evenings (94), at the beginning of August (2) (112) (113) (150) etc. etc. at Carnival time (201) (314) (315) (316), or when mesas are burnt as part of a treatment for illness (eg. the kutichi against mancharisqa, Dept Cuzco (61); the pago against gayqa, Dept. Puno (57)). Also in offerings to achachilas (180) (238) (317) (318), or to cult objects (319) (237).

According to Casaverde Rojas (76), fat is "much appreciated by the supernatural beings" which accounts for its use in offerings.

#### Vegetable ingredients

Incense. q.v. yuraj mesa.

Kuti sara. q.v. yana mesa and yuraj mesa.

Kuti wayñitu q.v. yana mesa.

Q'owa. (C. s. Sahumerio. La.) (*Mentha pulegium*) (162) (201) (296). Also named khoa, wera'koya, huira ccoya in other regions (6) (152) (162) (239) (320). An aromatic herb of the Altiplano (76) (114) (180) (321). A principal ingredient if some mesas, notably the sara q'owa and the wira q'owa, and employed in many others throughout the Andean region. It may occur in offerings made at critical moments of the agricultural year - seed-time, harvest etc. (58) (180) (322) (323) (324), or at important fiestas (eg. on building a new house (325), Q. New Year (112), San Juan (6), at Carnival (314) (316) etc. etc.), or when offerings are burnt in the course of a cure (317) (320) (325) (326), and usually regarded as a medium of communication with supernatural spirits such as Pachamama, achachilas (58) (327) (328), who are nourished by it (76) (103) (111) (146) (327), and as unattractive to evil spirits which its smoke chases away (93) (318) (329).

Retama. (Sp.) (*Spartium junceum* L.) Broom. Peasants in the Coch. Val. nail flowers of this in the form of a cross behind their front door. It is believed to bring good luck (330). It has various medicinal purposes:- in treatments of rheumatism, small pox, mancharisqa etc. etc. (296) (331) (332). To neutralize the effects of a spell, a victim should wash in agua de retama, throwing the resultant dirty water at the door of the person who had the spell cast; a small bag should then be made to contain broom leaves and sewn on one's clothes (329). No mention in the literature of this plant in any other offerings. Appearance only in sara q'owa, and in one sample wira q'owa (Coch.).

Uchu. (Q. s. (Capsicum annum). Aji. La). Occurrence in one specimen sara q'owa. Few references to this condiment as an ingredient in offerings. Perhaps the best clue to a reason for its use is that during New Year ceremonies (1 Aug.) in Quiquijana (Dept. Cuzco), a series of rites are executed which include a fumigation of the sheep corral with red chi les. The smoke they give off is extremely pungent and is therefore thought capable of chasing out spells and illnesses. (This accords with the purpose of those particular New Year ceremonies - to regain a state of purity, health, and goodness at the beginning of a new agricultural cycle (77) (333)).

Perhaps the strong fumes emitted by chi les on burning mean they may be regarded elsewhere in the Andean region as capable of getting rid of evil spirits.

Wayruru. q.v. yana mesa.

Willka ch'ipi. q.v. yana mesa.

Mineral ingredients

Qori/qollqe t'anta, qori/qollqe libro. q.v. yuraj mesa.

Unidentified vegetable matter. Seeds in greyish pods, 1 cm by  $\frac{1}{2}$  cm; of same species as those described more fully under yana mesa. One round brown nut about 1 cm diameter.

Functions of SARA Q'OWA

Burnt as offering to supernatural beings, usually Pachamama, on Tuesdays and/or Fridays, or at special moments of celebration in the agricultural year such as seed-time, harvest, threshing, storage, or at certain other ceremonial moments eg. during Carnival, or at San Juan, or when the foundations of a new house are being laid (159) (334-338). Also of value in treatments of disease, notably the jap'eqa. This ailment is characterized by local swellings on arm, leg, foot, etc. and is treated by passing a sara q'owa in its paper wrapping over the affected part, and then burning it (Coch.) (89). One report also mentions how a layqa nullified the spell he had cast on a field so that its crops would fail by going round its edge on his knees holding a broken piece of pot with the sara q'owa smouldering within it (Pocona, Dept. Coch.) (339).

WIRA Q'OWA

Consists of handfuls of q'owa with small amounts of white ch'urus, and a trace of kolasi6n or a broken piece of misterio, wrapped up in white paper.

This is the simplest - and least expensive - offering a peasant may make. It is used widely on most ritual occasions:- Tuesday and Friday evenings; during the ch'allaku of fields at Carnival; when communication with hill spirits and/or Pachamama; and at certain critical moments of the agricultural year eg. at the wheat threshing (Sayari, Dept. Coch.), there is a prolonged session during which incense, copal, and wira q'owa are burnt. This ensures the prayers of the threshers have ample time to reach Heaven (Janajpacha). Also used



during the course of treatments for illness eg. may be rubbed over a patient's body with millu and misterios, all of which are then burnt and thrown away. Fumigations with wira q'owa attract good spirits and drive out evil. (89) (93) (157).

GLORIA JAMPI. q.v. yuraj mesa.

We have discussed the import of the names, the symbolism of the contents, and the functions of mesas used in the Cochabamba Valley.

The intimate link which these form in the Q. peasant's acts of communication with his deities can be glimpsed in Ch. 2 where offerings play a central role in all the activities by which a Q. community celebrates Carnival.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Carnival in Achiota

This Chapter will concern itself with two matters:-

- a description of the Carnival activities in Achiota which have been classified as follows:-
  - i. Introduction to the ceremonies.
  - ii. Forgiveness ceremony.
  - iii. preparatories for a sacrifice.
  - iv. Ch'allakus.
  - v. Cross planting ceremonies.
- conclusions as to the meaning of Carnival in Achiota.

(Note: The Chapter includes speech by the participants for the reasons stated in the introduction. Much of the speech is uttered by highly intoxicated men who had been drinking heavily and chewing coca continuously for many hours, as is normal on such occasions. Consequently, the speech is ill-considered and the meaning poorly expressed. The translation of the Quechua therefore, only gives the gist of the conversation and is not intended as an exact reproduction of all the details of the speech).

The text of this Chapter can only be profitably understood if read in conjunction with the notes. These notes touch upon other aspects of Quechua beliefs, many of which could, in themselves, be the subjects of extensive research. In order not to cloud the central theme, therefore,

the notes are orientated towards exposing the relationship between the aspects in question and the central theme; they should not be expected to provide an exhaustive analysis of these aspects.

The Bolivian Quechua orthography used is that taught in the Lecciones de Quechua prepared by the Padres de Maryknoll (see Bibliography).

SHROVE TUESDAY 26.2.1974

Introductory

At about 11.00 am, the Maestro \*1 arrived. After a meal, the following items were made ready for use later in the day:- coca \*2, kuti sara (q.v. kuti, Ch. 1), two mesas (q.v. Ch. 1), two packets of incense

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\*1 Maestro (Sp.s.) Master. Besides usual meanings, implies in this context an indigenous leader of ceremonial, fully conversant with native supernatural beliefs. The Union leader \*5 described him as "Yachaj como del antiguo" - Yachaj as of old. (Yachaj from Yachay Q.v. saber, conocer. La).

\*2 Coca. (Q.s. planta de la familia de las eritroxíleas de cuyas hojas se extrae la cocaína. La).

The importance of coca, and its uses, are similar in the Cochabamba region to those encountered in the rest of the Andes. The principle uses remain:-

- i. To chew, along with smoking cigarettes, and drinking chicha/alcohol in order to ensure the good offices of Pachamama \*46 whilst working the land, or during the course of an offering to Pachamama, or kabiltu \*50, or other supernatural power. (93) (94).
- ii. To chew, along with smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol/chicha by the participants in a cure.
- iii. To foretell the future, or to analyse the past and present.  
(350) (351)
- iv. To exchange, when gathering together, as an accompaniment to serious dialogue, and as a sign of respect/friendship. (343)

cont

(q.v. inciense Ch. 1), carnations, k'uyunas \*3, sullu \*4 (377).

\*2 contd

- v. To bury or burn with offerings to supernatural beings. (94) (135) (345)
- vi. To alleviate the fatigue of work in the fields or long journeys on foot. (341)
- vii. To use as a medicine (348)

\*3 K'uyuna. (Q.s. Cigarillo negro de fabricación casera.) L. de Q.)

Cigarette smoking only occurs within strictly ritual frameworks (358)

such as:-

- i. The making of offerings to Pachamama, or at important moments of the agricultural year, eg. seed-time, harvest (159) (328) (90) (359) (344) (361) (314).
- ii. When participating in a cure. (364) (300) (221) (54).
- iii. When involved in a fortune telling session. (363) (The future may also be forecast in the ash left by the cigarette. Q.V. Ch.1) Cigarettes may be burned as part of an offering. (360).  
Cigarette smoking only occurs in company with coca chewing and chicha/ alcohol drinking.

\*4 Sullu (Q.s. Feto abortado. La)

The previous day a sheep had been slaughtered and the foetus removed for the Carnival offerings. The use of the foetus indicates the grave nature of the ceremony since this is not a regular ingredient of offerings to Pachamama; it also implies that the ceremony will be repeated at a time and place in accordance with the stipulations laid down by a Maestro. If not, the person(s) involved could be "eaten by the earth" (90), ie. could be punished with death.

The maestro and the Trade Union leader \*5 then repaired to the school, in and around which the ensuing activities all occurred. Whilst awaiting the arrival of the villagers, drinks were prepared made of either sugar cane alcohol, water and sugar, or aqha \*6 and alcohol \*7.

\*5 The Trade Union leader was the village's representative of a peasant trade union set up during the period of the agricultural reforms. He was not the village mayor, but had a considerable number of followers and represented a powerful political force in local affairs.

\*6 Aqha (Q.s. Chicha, bebida fermentada de maíz. La).

As with chewing coca and smoking cigarettes, the drinking of chicha amongst Q. peasants usually occurs within the compass of activity inspired by their supernatural beliefs. eg

- at a fiesta
- during the course of a cure (386) (300) (146)
- whilst consulting coca leaves (351)
- at an offering to Pachamama or other deity (94) (379), and therefore during rituals connected with the agricultural cycle. (eg, harvest or during breaks in the daily work in the fields etc) (93) (385) (280).

The excessive intake of chicha during religious activities arises partly as a measure of respect for the person(s) providing it, but also as a means of celebrating the deity who is the subject of the fiesta/offering and of securing his/her favour. (94) (384) (358)

\*7 Alcohol Used on the same ceremonial occasions, and with the same purpose, as chicha.

After some time, only a few old men and two women had arrived, which gave rise to the following discussion with the Maestro. (The Trade Union leader speaks first).

C. Tardeman jamonqankuchá.	Perhaps they will come this afternoon.
M. Tardeman mana jamonkumanchu,	This afternoon they won't be able to
ancha qhepataña diusninchis	come, later on God will not forgive
mana munanqachu dañusninchejta*8	our wrongdoings *8
.Diusninchej perdona-	. God sometimes forgives us.
kapuwanchej avesesnín. Kay	These children are dying, they say.
wawaspis wañuspa, niwanchis.	We are paying for it *9.
Pagasqanchis *9 noqanchis.	

\*8 Dañusninchejta (from original Sp. s. daño).

Means literally "our damage", metaphorically "our wrongdoing".  
Alternatively, it could mean the damage caused by the hail which the participants will ask God to accept. Since Q. peasants believe that hail is the punishment of God for their evil, it could be an indirect way of expressing a wish for God's forgiveness. (377)

\*9 Pagasqanchis. (from original Sp. v. pagar).

Can also have the sense of making offerings (to ask for forgiveness or favours).

Mamasninchejtapis maqasanchis.  
 Chantá wakin wawaspis  
 faltasawanchis \*10. Imaymana  
 klasepi noqanchisman kastigu  
 chayamusqawanchis. Chantá wakin  
 faltasqawanchis. Kayqa rikunki  
 imaynatachus waqanqanku. Imaymana  
 klasepi kastigu noqanchisman, i.  
 Noqallanchejtaj parlanchis  
 noqallanchistaj chayta ruanchis,  
 por Dios, wawás, icharí \*11.  
 Chaymanta mana ni imamantachu,  
 chaymanta chayamuwanchis  
 kastigoqa. Diusninchis perdona-  
 kapuwanchis. Kunan mana ajnata  
 entiroykichej parlaykusawajchis  
 karqa,

We beat our mothers, some of our  
 children disobey us \*10. In various  
 forms, our punishment is awaiting us.  
 Some disobey us. Soon you will see  
 how those (who have been disobedient)  
 will weep.  
 There will be every kind of punishment  
 for us. We ourselves have spoken, and  
 we also have done this\*11. For that  
 and no other reason punishment awaits  
 us.

God will pardon us.

If you hadn't been talking,

---

\*10 Faltasawanchis. (from original Sp. s. falta).

Conveys here the idea of lack of respect for one's parents.(377)

\*11 Noqallanchejtaj ... icharí, The essential idea here is that we  
 criticise others, but we also do those same things we criticise others for  
 doing (377).



pitaj imaynata runata q'osh-	who would have started burning *12
ñichisunman *12 karqa *13....	an offering *13 ....
Antis yuyarinaykichej tian poqojman	You should remember what we ought to
imaynatachus ruasanman karqa *14.	do with our harvest *14.
Chay Diusninchis ladonchispi,	God is at our side!
ihijo! Chayqa enteru jamuychis.	Let everyone come!

---

\*12 Q'oshñichisunman karqa. From q'oshñichiy (Q.v. ahumar. La). Expresses the slow burning of any offering prepared for a supernatural being. The smoke thereby created enables communication with the deity who is the centre of the ritual. (93) In this context, it is closely associated with the idea of qaray (Q.v. dar de comer. La). Smoke becomes equivalent to food, the offering is nourishment to the supernatural being. (56) (93) Eg. advice given to a Q. peasant who had fallen ill was:- "Jampichikullay wawa, q'oshñichikuy Virginman, qarachikuy". (Get yourself treated, burn mesas, and feed Pachamama for your own good). (327)

\*13 Kunan...karqa. ie. the chattering must stop and the ceremonies begin. (377)

\*14 Antis...karqa A Q. peasant would know here that he ought to give thanks for his harvest. (377)

Runakuna, wawa wawaskuna, tataswan, There must be forgiveness between  
 perdón kanan tian. Noqanchis pura all men, fathers and children.  
 kay entero lugarninchejmanta kinsapis Everyone should be here, even if  
 kaychaj, tawapis kaychaj, tawantin there are only three or four. We  
 jamunaykichis tian. Mana ni are here for this purpose only.\*15  
 imapajchu achhaypaj \*15.

C. Tardeman chayamonqanku ... C. They will come this evening, they  
 chayamonqanku, mana manachuri. will; it's not as if they wouldn't  
 Qanqa dispensakullayraj. Ama come. You will forgive them. Don't  
 rabierqokuychu. Tardeman seis de get angry! They'll come at about  
 la tardetaqa jamonqankuraj. six o'clock.

#### Summary of introductory

As the people gathered for the ceremonies, items essential to it had been assembled or prepared. The Maestro indicated that sin was bringing with it punishment and that forgiveness was to be sought by carrying out the ceremonies.

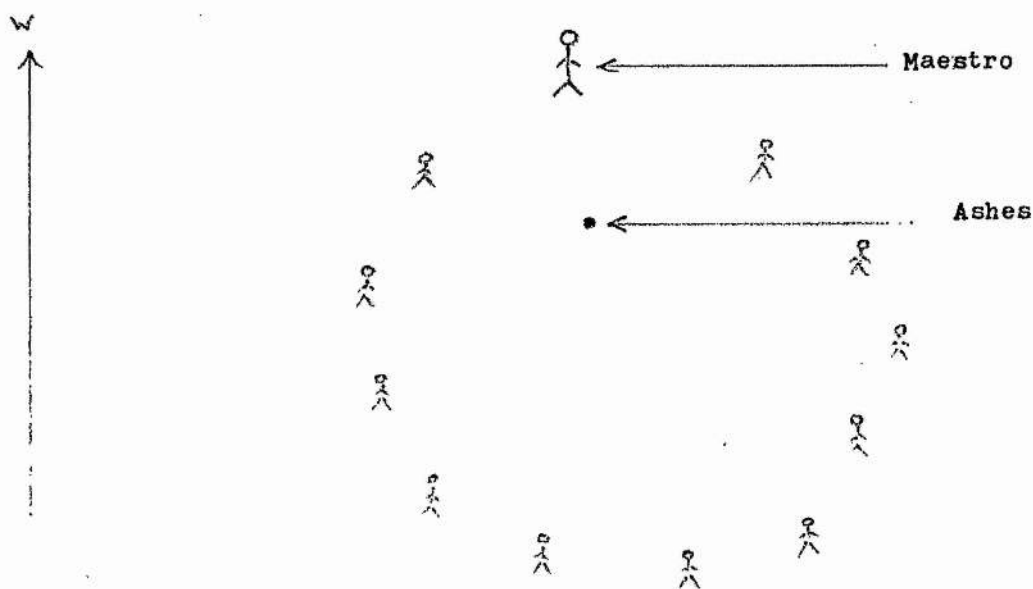
The theme of sin and forgiveness is central to the Carnival in Achiota.

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\*15 Mana ...achhaypaj. This means that the only reason for being at the ceremony is to ask for pardon. (377)

Forgiveness Ceremony

After a pututu \*16 had been sounded to call the villagers to the gathering, hot ashes were put in a broken pot and placed in an open flat space near the school. Those present assembled in a circle around them, the Maestro facing eastwards. The assembly is diagrammatically represented thus:-



\*16 pututu. Q.v. Trompeta de cuerno. La.

The Maestro put incense in the ashes as everyone positioned themselves and took off their hats, slightly bowing their heads \*17 as the Maestro spoke thus:-

M. Aman chay paqarinmantaqa ni ima Let there be no illness from today  
 enfermedad kachunchu. Yunta kacharina onwards. We shall put this chicha  
 laduman, kay aqhatapis uj laduman to one side as it tempts us ....

kachakusunchis - simiyoj kanchej

.... Pajtataj tomaykunkichis. María Careful how much you drink! You are  
 Santísima mamanchista rejsinkichis, about to know our Holy Mother Mary,  
 Jesus Cristo tatanchispaj with the forgiveness of Jesus Christ  
 lisenasiawan wiñaypaj kasqanta qhepan who is our eternal Father, with the  
 ...mamanchis Santa Iglesia paypaj forgiveness of Holy Mother Church.  
 lisenasiawan.

Kunan pischus kaypi kanku Now then, those who are here, as I  
 kunanqa parlarqani imaynatataj... said just now...Karmilu, there will  
 tata Karmilu qanpajqa perdón be forgiveness, won't there? \*18  
 kanqa kanqapuni i. Manachu.

---

\*17 This is an accepted ritual attitude of prayer.

\*18 María...i. The Maestro is stating that forgiveness will be attained by the ceremony and prayers which are about to take place, presumably both now and during the rest of the night's activities.

K. Kanqapuni.

M. Ajinata wakin runasta yachachina. Mana ninachu kay, jaqay runata. Chaynij, noqa perdón mañakuni aman kachunchu ima parapis aman kachunchu ima onqoypis. Tardeman ripusun. Kay ashkha familiayoj kanchis, noqanchisqa familianchis uywananchis tian - mana chaypis familia llanchistaj. Kay mana noqa ashkha familiayojpis trabajasallanitaj.\*19

K. There certainly will.

M. Everyone else must learn this too. We mustn't criticise others (because we are sinners too - 377). Therefore I am asking forgiveness so that there won't be heavy rain, or illnesses. This afternoon, we'll go. We have large families, and even if we have no family, we have to behave as if we did. See how I work, although I have no family.\*19

Here, the Maestro began to discourse on prices saying that if the peasants took their produce to market, prices would fall, and if they stopped buying, things would not cost so much. The apparent deviation from the theme has to be set in its context of political events of the time. About 100 peasants had just been killed in a clash with troops during a protest about very steep and sudden rises in food prices. The event and its cause was a source of suffering and hardship to the community. It is suggested, therefore, that this political comment fits in with the overall theme of wrongdoing, punishment thereof, and the need for forgiveness to set matters right again. However, this suggestion can never remain other than speculative.

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\*19 Kay...trabajasallanitaj. Meaning obscure. The words may convey the idea that everyone must work as hard as if they had a large family to feed, because even if they do not, they should treat others as relatives and loved ones. (377)

The Maestro then continued:-

M. ...Poqopuwajtínchejrí perdonawanchejrí siquierá chayllapajpis poqopuwasunman.... Kunan hora imatachus nenqa kay kokapichá.\*20 Qhawanqa kay kokapichá perdonawança....

... If there is a good harvest, He will pardon us, and for this reason we must try to attain a good harvest. Now what will the coca tell us? \*20 Foretelling the future in the coca, He will forgive me....

Here everyone knelt on the ground and stretched out their arms\*17.

M. Diosniy, tatáy, perdonawayku. Perdonawayku Diosniy, tatáy, Ama kachunchu noqaykupajqa kastigu, Diosniy, tatáy. Ama kachunchu. Diosniy, tatáy, perdonawayku. Ama kay sajra paras kachunchu. Ama kay onqoy kachunchu uywaspaj, ni runaspaj, ni noqaykupaj, ni pipaj. Tatáy, Diosniy, perdonawayku chunka juchaykumanta \*21. Perdonawayku, perdonawayku, perdonawayku....

Oh Lord! Oh Father! Forgive us. Forgive us, Oh Lord! Oh Father! Do not send down on us any punishment! Oh Lord! Oh Father! Do not send any. Oh Lord! Oh Father!, forgive us. Do not send any "evil rain", do not send illness to the animals nor to men, nor to us, nor to anyone. Oh Lord! Oh Father! Forgive us our ten sins \*21. Forgive us, forgive us, forgive us....

\*20 See note \*2. The coca leaves probably need to be consulted in connection with the possibilities of forgiveness being granted.

\*21 Chunka juchaykumanta. It is interesting that the Maestro should refer to our ten sins. No informant was able to offer any reason for this.

As the prayer was said, the Maestro put more incense on the hot ashes. Then he arose and starting with the person on his right, embraced each celebrant in turn. When he had finished, the person he had first embraced got up and, going anticlockwise (q.v. Lloq'ie Ch. 1), embraced all individually. This act was repeated by each participant in turn. Whilst this was being accomplished, the Maestro took out a bell \*22 which he rang, put copious quantities of incense on the ashes, and when all had finished embracing, took up a cup of alcohol, and rang the bell again. Then silent, the Maestro spilt a little of the liquid at the four corners of the fire and drank. Each person in turn, starting on the Maestro's right, was then served a cup of alcohol which he drank after spilling a little on the ground beside him. When all had drunk thus, the ceremony was over.

During the remaining hours of the afternoon, two drinking ceremonies took place. All gathered to take alcohol in turn, starting with the Maestro, and going round to each person on his right. The drink was taken from a small tutuma (drinking vessel), after allowing a little to spill on the floor before imbibing, and after saying jaylla, jaylla, tatay to the Maestro \*23

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\*22 Bells may be rung to chase off evil spirits or to welcome good ones.  
(A.P.)

\*23 Jaylla, jaylla. Translated as ¡Alegría, Alegría! by Sp. speaking Bolivians. (396). Greeting used exclusively at Carnival and associated principally with the moment when chicha or alcohol is drunk or libations made during the festivities. The expression may be associated with jayll (Q.s. canción religiosa, heroica o agrícola. Victoria en la guerra. La)  
(L.M.)

The last drop in the tutuma was tipped onto the ground after drinking up the alcohol it contained.

These activities took place in complete silence in one of the school rooms. On a table therein, were empty and full bottles of alcohol, a lit candle \*24 and flowers (t'ikas \*25). Beneath was a set of pipes, and on the shelf above, a small picture in relief of San Cristobal de Padua.

At a suitable moment during these proceedings, the Union leader introduced the Maestro to the gathering as follows:-

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\*24 This was most important; at a subsequent ceremony, no worship or prayer could take place before some one had gone to fetch a candle (314). The importance of the candle in Catholic ceremonial should be borne in mind here.

\*25 T'ika. (Q.s. Flor. La.)

Flowers are used to decorate animals on their special day. (eg. on the day of the oxen, 15 May), or to put before a Saint's image on that saint's day. (391) (392). The flower that has been in contact with a saint is believed to have medicinal properties. (393) (394)

Flowers may also be burnt with a mesa as an ingredient of the offering (93); flower shapes may be regarded as a sign of good luck, as, for example, when a libation to Pachamama spills on the ground roughly in the shape of a flower. (380)

T'ika can therefore be associated with respect, devotion, joy, health, and good luck.



C. Bueno, jaylla, jaylla, compas. Kunan kay ruachikusqanchisqa a. Kay Maestro jamun imaynatachus indikasawanchis, chayman jina permisuta jina mañaripuwasunchis \*26, como tatanchis mamanchis jina. Payqa jamurin i. Paytajchá tumpata defiendeyta kay noqanchis llajtamanta abinqa. Payta rejsispa rikuspa yachaspa atienekunchis payman. Mana ni pi ni ima ninaykichis tianchu. Mana yachanchu jina ninaykichis tianchu. Payta rikunchis yachanchis imaynatachus ruasqankuta chayman jina defiendellawasunchis. Kaytaqa mana enterotarajchu kompañeros ruachikusanchis, y tukuy kabilpis yachachunku mana enterorajchu permiso jina mañaspa. Chayman jina paykunapis chaywan sujeta-kunankupaj kay pobre familiarankuta \*27. Ama ñak'ariypi kachinankupaj. Defiendechunku maypichari mana chajra poqonchu \*28.

Well, friends, jaylla, jaylla! Now about what we've asked to be done. This Maestro has come, as he is indicating, in order to ask forgiveness for all of us\*26, as if he were our father or our mother. He has come with this purpose. He will know how to safeguard our village. Seeing him and knowing him, we can rely upon him. You mustn't criticise him. You mustn't say that he doesn't know. We see him and we know him; we know what they (ie. the Maestros) do - they will defend us! And friends this is not all we are asking for. Everyone about the area knows that we still haven't finished asking for forgiveness yet. They too have to protect this their poor family \*27. Don't let them suffer from hunger! Let them safeguard the place which gives no fruit! \*28

\*26 Chayman...mañaripuwasunchis. Literally "as if he were asking pardon for us". (377)

\*27 Familiarankuta. This could refer to the Maestro's own family, or figuratively to the community of Achiota. (377)

\*28 Defiendechunku...poqonchu. ie. "Let them prevent the sterility of the soil. (377)

Maymanchari mana ni ima chayanchu, Let the hail go to those places  
 chayman richunku kay granisada kosaqa where nothing goes! Let the sky  
 chayman apachun cielo....Y qankuna, take it away. And you, Chiefs  
 dirigentes Pukarani, Chaupi Ch'utu, Pukarani, Chaupi Ch'utu, Yanaqaqa,  
 Yanaqaqa, chay defiendekuychis \*29. there he is! Watch out! \*29

#### Summary of Forgiveness Ceremony

The pardon ceremony and the drinking activities, as with the activities described below carry on the theme of forgiveness which will prevent the occurrence of illness, hail, poor crops, and barren land in the village.

#### Preparatories for Principal Ceremonies

During lulls in activity, the two mesas brought by the Union leader had been produced. The misterios (q.v. Ch. 1) in each were compared by the Maestro. The youngest participant was asked to choose one hundred coca leaves. A yellow corn cob (q'ellu sara), which had kutis (q.v. Ch. 1) was placed in a bowl, with a few grains shelled off. A white corn cob (yuraj sara), also with kutis received the same treatment but was put in a different bowl.

\*29 Y qankuna...defiendekuychis. The three chiefs referred to are the three hill tops which dominate the village. On subsequent days, Crosses were erected on these hill tops and prayers addressed to their indwelling spirits. In the present context, it is uncertain what the Union leader means by this utterance. It seems as if he is confronting the hill spirits with the Maestro and his powers. (377)

At about 5.00 pm, those present crowded into the school room, arranging themselves in a circle at one point in which sat the Maestro who by now had been drinking alcohol and had been exchanging and chewing coca all day. He sat by a table at the other end of which stood the Union Leader who acted on his loquacious assistant throughout:-

C. ... uj kuerpota imaynatachus misa- You're going to do the same as if we chimunchej, chayta kikinta ruankichej were having a Mass for a corpse

\*30 .

\*30. (Text cont. p.93)

\*30 Uj...ruankichej. Events made it impossible to find out from the Union leader what he meant here. Other informants have offered explanations which provide a suggested interpretation of his remarks, as set out below, but are somewhat unsatisfactory because they do not ultimately clarify the leader's particular reference to a Mass.

When a Q. peasant dies, his death is usually marked by the following events

- i. Wake
- ii. Burial
- iii. Lavatorio (see below)
- iv. Misachiku. (a Mass celebrated nine days and then one year after the date of death, after which the guests are invited to partake of a meal and drink chicha). (389)
- v. Remembrance annually on All Souls' Day (1 November).

The lavatorio occurs the day after the burial. The womenfolk gather all the deceased's clothes and sheets and wash them in the river. It is considered that these items, having had close contact with the dead person, still retain traces of his soul and these must be washed out before these possessions can be shared out amongst the relatives. If this is not done, the recipients will suffer troublesome and fitful sleep for an indefinite period. (397).

\*30 contd

With a similar purpose, Q. peasants may carry out a pichara, and it is in this context that the Union leader's comment can be best understood. This term conveys three meanings relevant here:-

- i. The sweeping up of all dust in the deceased's house, together with the ashes from the fire, and the placing of them all in an earthenware jar which is then left at a cross-roads. This act is considered necessary to rid the dead person's dwelling of any lingering evil. (67)
- ii. "Fricción del cuerpo enfermo con prendas u otros objetos que luego eran arrojados a un cruce de caminos para que el mal fuera recogido por otro." (La) (Confirmed as true for the Coch. Valley by R.M.) (398).
- iii. A ceremony of self purification designed to overcome or avoid suffering. (313)

We may deduce that the ceremonies in progress involve a pichara, a sweeping away of evil. This action will probably include each person passing a mesa over his whole body before it is burnt (377) - as possibly indicated later in the Maestro's utterance "picharasun may q'owa" (we will be cured where the mesa is). The purpose will be to eliminate disease and suffering in the village community.

M.) Enteroykichejwan tomaykusunchej. We're going to drink with you all.

Jaylla, jaylla.

Jaylla, jaylla!

All.) Jaylla, jaylla.

Jaylla, jaylla!

Here a villager was selected to take round a tutuma containing alcohol to each participant, and he continued doing this throughout the course of the ensuing conversation, which is therefore interspersed with shouts of "Jaylla, jaylla" as the participants took their drink.

The Maestro then turned to the yellow and white corn cobs and spoke as follows:-

M.) ...kay iskay saras kay jina  
rejsinchis a. Peru hijos, noq-  
anchis munakunchejchu acaso man-  
chanakunchejchu kallpanchej  
kasqanta.

We know these two corn cobs, don't  
we? Perhaps we are unaware of, or  
fear, our own strength.

Another.) Mana manchakunchejchu.

We are not afraid.

M.) Piwanpis maywanpis wanchinakun-  
ku \*31, chaymanta p'unchay perdon  
noqa mañakuni. Qhawaychis; kaymanta  
rikur<sup>h</sup>erqanchis ñawpajta. Kayqa qhari,  
kay warmi. Uniku sutisninchej; waj,

People kill each other \*31,  
therefore, I have asked pardon  
earlier. Look at this (indicating  
the maize); long ago we were born  
out of this. This is man (yellow  
cob), this is

---

\*31 Piwanpis...wanchinakunku. This could simply mean "We all sin."

Wanchinakunku as transcribed is the actual pronunciation for what should have been wañuchinakunku.

waj chayllamariy noqanchispata kayqa  
 porque kayman rikur'erqanchis ichari'  
 \*32. Maymanta kayqa mana jayk'aj  
 chinkanmanchu \*33. Chaymanta  
 qhepaman qhepamanri' chaypi kasanki-  
 chejtaj qankunapis. Kayqa entendi-  
 chinayku fiesta mana qankunaqa  
 listanaykichejchu tian noqayku  
 mana listayojcha parlanaykuman,  
 ichari'.... Kay warmi, kay qhari.

woman (white cob). These are our  
 only names; we have no other;  
 because of these we appeared \*32.  
 Isn't that so? Can this be denied?  
 \*33 You too go on from generation  
 to generation. We're not here  
 merely for a roll call, but to get  
 this ceremony done ...\*34.  
 This is woman, this is man.

\*32 Kayqa...ichari'. Here the Maestro indicates that we are men and women,  
 nothing more. In the end, the names we give ourselves can be reduced to  
 two:- man and woman. (377)

\*33 The Maestro suggests here an origin for Q. people. Mention of such a  
 belief has not been found elsewhere in any literature on Q. history or  
 customs. This may be a Q. belief previously unknown to scholars, but it  
 is essential to bear in mind that a Maestro could easily present ideas  
 to the participants of a ceremony if they further his purpose and are  
 acceptable within the range of cultural concepts which the Q. mind finds  
 plausible. (399).

\*34 Kayqa...ichari'.ie. This is not an ordinary fiesta without any  
 purpose; this is a deeply serious matter. (377)

Chayman rikurerqanchis uj  
warmimantawan uj qharimantawan.

They were the first parents; from  
them we have issued.

Another. Kay noqanchisqa kay lista  
puntapi kallpanchis ajnata toma-  
sanchis. Mayqellanchus  
sientekunpis.

As the first on the roll call,  
we're making an effort. Who will  
care about it?

Noqatachu niwan pitataj, noqalla-  
chu sientekuni. \*35

Am I the only one who feels angry  
about this \*35

M. Falso parlanki. Faltanchej  
tukuyta(j) i \*36, chantá faltan-  
chej chantá niwanchej...parlasan  
mamallanchejtaj tatallanchejtaj.  
Entonces iskayninchéj chantá  
manchikunchej....

You're wrong, you're wrong! We've  
all done wrong \*36. In as much as  
we have done wrong, our mother and  
our father (ie. the corn cobs) are  
telling us. We ought therefore  
to respect these two....

Noqállanchejta machasqa mana manchi-  
chikunchejchu ni tumpata.

When we get drunk we are not  
afraid.

\*35 Kay...sientekuni. ie. Those who have been present at the ceremonies  
have been carrying the weight of the community's sins and they are the  
ones who are having to make an effort in contrast with other, more idle,  
members of the community who have not yet arrived to seek forgiveness.  
(377)

\*36 Faltanchej tukuyta(j). Either we have all done wrong, or we have all  
been wronged. (377)

Chaypajwanqa perdonakunaykichej;	Therefore you must be forgiven; and
noqanchej chaypaj chaypajwanqa sonqo	then we will be kinder to our
tian kay wawas kasajtin*37. Tatay	children *37.
ajnata parlarej. Imaynataj chayri.	My father spoke thus. How is that?
Yuyayninman churakuna perdonanakuna	Let us remember, and let us be
achhaynejpi. Diusninchej perdona-	forgiven in that place (where we
wanchejpuni....	sinned). God always pardons us....
... Kunan chaypis chay krusta *38	Now I'm also going to carry that
-	Cross *38

\*37 Chaypajwanqa...kasajtin. ie. Once pardoned, they will be pure and therefore better parents. (377)

\*38 Krusta. It should not be forgotten that three Crosses are waiting to be carried to each of the hill-tops dominating the village. Note how, on the next line, the Maestro treats the Cross as a peasant leader, presumably because it has the power to protect the village from suffering (as will be seen later in this Chapter).



apasaj, kunan diachá, q'aya día  
minchha chay. Kay, kay ñawpasan  
indio para dirigente. Kunan mana  
allinchu i....

Kay saritaqa - atinkichej entiro  
muchaytapis. Mashka granotapis  
atinkichej entero orqhokuytapis  
ch'allakuytapis. Kay warmi, kay  
qhari.... Entonces warmi imapajtaj.  
Puñunapajcha i, mana wasinmanta, mana  
puñunakapunapajchu mana wasinmanta  
uywakapunapajchu. Uj yuraj kay  
warmi; kay qhari...kay warmi  
mask'asaj \*39 ...jina  
p'unchayña pasasqa...kunan  
qankuna ordenakunkichej...apenas  
sieteta orqhokuy...atiwajchejchu  
ujtawan...uj mashk'ata orqhokuyta  
chayqa....

today, tomorrow, and the next day.  
This is the head of the indigenous  
leaders. Not so bad, eh?

The corn cobs - you can shell them  
now. You can get off as many seeds  
as you like and have them blessed.  
This is woman (white cob), this is  
man (yellow cob). Of what use is a  
woman? She is only for sleeping with  
and having children. This woman is  
white; this is man (showing the  
other cob)... we're going to consult  
the future with this woman \*39 (ie  
the white cob)... It's late now...  
now you can get ready ... don't pull  
off more than seven seeds...no more  
than one or two....

Whilst uttering these words, the Maestro took out the bell and spilt a  
little alcohol on it. One of the maize cobs was passed round and each  
person took off a few seeds which he then passed over to the Union  
leader.

---

\*39 Mask'asaj. The most probable explanation of this sentence, which is  
backed up by subsequent events, is that he is going to consult the future  
by counting the number of grains on the corn cob.

The latter then spoke:-

C. Bueno, compas, preguntitu, una  
palabra por favor, ¿ya? Niwanchis  
kay maestronchis pichus kay krusta  
bendisichimorqa uj Señorpaj \*40  
misachispa payqa jinan chaytaqã.

Respetanaykichis tian nispa;

nisunkichis chay enteroman

uyarikusankichis nisqanta

... Kay imaynatachus wakin jampi-  
chikuspa yachanchej - wasisninchej-  
ta primero qhawakunchis \*41.

Imaynatachus sutisninchej alkan-  
sajman jina orqorqokunchej -

sapitallanchus kanqa o yanantin-  
chus kanqa.

\*40 Señor. We have no information as to which Señor the speaker is referring. The term retains in Q. the meanings it has in Sp., but for the present context would be a respectful reference to either God (Tata Dios), Jesus, a Cross, a Saint, a kabiltu (see note \*50), or some other male deity or spirit.

\*41 Kay...qhawakunchis. When a Q. peasant is ill, it is customary to discover the cause of the illness, or rather to ascertain which spirits are provoking the disease, by consulting, usually in the patient's home, coca leaves. (41) (401) Causes of illness, or misfortune, together with advice on future courses of action need not necessarily be sought only in coca leaves. (350) (351) Various items can be used, eg. cigarettes (363), millu (a special stone - 401), cards (400), ashes (403), flowers (395), and in this case maize seeds.

Well friends, a few words please.

Our Maestro has said that for him-  
who has this Cross blessed, it is as  
if the Lord \*40 had blessed it him-  
self; we must be respectful, he tells  
us. You have heard what he has said.

You know how we are treated for  
illness, first we seek to know our  
fortune \*41. When its our turn,  
we'll pull off (grains) - one or two.

At this point, the Maestro rang his bell, saying some words over it.

Another. Jaylla, jaylla.

Jaylla, jaylla!

C. Kunan diapis runapaj tiallasqataj...kunan dia kay entregakusan... jaylla, jaylla.

Today too, has been for all men... today this (Cross) is being delivered up... jaylla, jaylla!

Others. Jaylla, jaylla.

Jaylla, jaylla!

C. Iskaynin kuraj solteronqanku chay krusajkuna....

The two eldest bachelors as cross bearers....

The words here are confused. At this moment, two young men stepped forward. It appeared that they had duties in connection with Crosses that were to be erected.

C. Kaypirajchu maypirajchu pitaj chay Señorta aparqa...

Whereabouts is the person who carried the Lord (ie. the Cross) ?

Others. Paykuna.

There they are.

C. Sapachu oqharenqanku.

Each one of you will carry it.

Another. Kayri iskaynillanku - tajchu.

And this - the two?

Another. Ari, iskayninku.

Yes, the two.

C. Iskayninku ujllata apanqanku.  
Sapa ujta aparanku, kinsa apananku-  
pis karqa. Entonces iskaylla apa-  
sanku. \*42

The two are going to carry one  
(Cross). Each one is carrying one  
although three people should carry  
each one, so no more than two are  
carrying it. \*42

M. ...Krusta churana. Dius yaya,  
dius churi, dius espíritu santu...  
suerte...ujllata much'ananku,  
hijo; mana iskaytachu - iskayqa  
mana valenchi \*43.

... Let us place the Cross in its  
position. In the name of the Father  
the Son and Holy Spirit...you can  
only kiss the Cross once - doing it  
twice doesn't count. \*43.

Whilst the subject of the Cross was under discussion, the corn cobs were still being passed round, and the seeds removed handed back to the Union leader for counting. On the matter of the grains thus returned, the conversation continued in this manner:-

C. ... Nawita, ñawita...entonces  
ñawi mana kanchu \*44 ...Kayllaman-  
rajchu churaskusaj,i...yupasajchu.

The eye, the eye, there's no eye  
\*44. Shall I keep putting them (ie.  
the maize seeds) here?...Shall I  
count them?

\*42 The gist here concerns how many should be involved in carrying the Cross at the moment of ceremony. This confused piece has been included in the transcription to emphasize that the manner in which the Cross was to be carried was clearly a matter of importance.

\*43 The Maestro unfortunately gave no reason for this ruling.

\*44 A ñawi (Q.s. Ojo. La) may also mean a central coca leaf, the position of which, in relation to other leaves, enables the future to be told, or a situation to be interpreted. The term may be transposed here to the maize which appears to replace coca in this context. (377)



At this point (6.30 pm) the investigator was asked to leave, so that the remainder of the ceremonies, which lasted throughout the night, remained a secret of the villagers.

#### Summary of the Preparatories for the Principal Ceremonies

As rounds of drinking continued, the celebrants proceeded to the consultation of maize seeds to assess their good/bad fortune and preparations were made to plant Crosses on local hill-tops. The events, of which all those so far described were only preliminaries, would eventually reach their climax in an offering of mesas (including the sullu), as part of (probably) a pichara or purification ritual. The aim of this would be to achieve the health and wealth of the village through seeking forgiveness of sins and the presentation of sacrifices.

The remains of the religious activity of Shrove Tuesday night were subsequently discovered in the open space by the school. Four stones were placed about a foot apart, at the four compass points. Sixteen corn cobs stripped of their seeds, ticker tape, mixtura, a black q'aytu, and some half burnt coca leaves lay scattered by them. The following morning at dawn, the Maestro, staggering and clearly drunk, and his party returned to the Union leader's house. The Union leader's wife brought her two youngest children to the Maestro who put q'aytus (q.v. under "Black and Threads" Ch. 1) of white and brown, or brown, or brown and grey woollen strands around their necks. He then proceeded to do the same to each person in the house who still lacked a q'aytu. (All those who had returned from the ceremony already wore one.)

Despite questioning, no further information could be gleaned from the participants as to what had happened during the night.

THURSDAY 28.2.1974

Ch'allakus

The investigator accompanied a peasant (Isidoro) and his wife who went to celebrate Carnival by carrying out ch'allakus in their fields.

A ch'allaku (s) is a rite realized as a homage and as an act of thanks to Pachamama \*46, or to a saint, with the aim of securing the long life, protection, proliferation, or useful production of those things for which this ceremony is carried out. There are two types of ch'allaku.

- i. A ritual performed during Carnival (preferably on Shrove Tuesday), in which thanks is given or requests made to Mother Earth for the abundant harvest and/or the reproduction of the animals, in which case, mesas are burnt and maize beer is thrown on the ground in order to satisfy the Goddess' hunger and thirst.
- ii. A similar ritual which is realized on any other day of the year when a house has been bought or built, or a vehicle, furniture etc. been acquired. In this case, sponsors are named who break bottles of drink against the wall of the house or against the solid part of the acquisition so that it may last a long time. At the ch'allaku of a house, mesas can be burned and prayers offered in which good luck, and happiness are asked for all those who will share the new home. At the ch'allaku of a lorry, one may ask for great economic benefits

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\*46 Pachamama Q.s. Nombre específico de la tierra, la madre tierra. (Li)

In the Coch. Valley, Pachamama remains the Mother Earth Goddess, as central to the Q. pantheon as elsewhere in the Andes.

through running the lorry, but in this kind of ch'allaku, one is more likely to pray to a saint than to Pachamama who is usually addressed at ch'allakus of houses, fields, and animals. Also, the social class of the owner of the house, lorry, fields, animals, implements, furniture, maize beer etc. influences the form of the ch'allaku and to whom he directs his requests and prayers. (1)

In the present case, Is. went about his ch'allakus in the following manner.

Chicha, alcohol, mixtura, coca, and three q'owas (a frequently used alternative term for mesa) were collected together. The party headed for Is' potato fields, in the first of which he lit a small fire. Upon this he put mixtura, coca, and a q'owa, and murmured a prayer. He took a glass of alcohol and flicked out drops. Then cigarettes were smoked and chicha and alcohol drunk alternately. Mixtura was thrown over the crops in the field. A q'owa was burnt in the other two fields, and alcohol was sprinkled in one of them. A young boy was sent off to throw mixtura on another field. A ch'allaku was then carried out in Is' principle maize field. At each of its corners, all the participants stopped to drink first chicha, and then alcohol. Ticker tape was strewn over the maize stalks, and occasionally chicha was thrown over them.

Is. stated that during Carnival time, everyone planned to eat, get drunk, sing, dance and go visiting friends and neighbours.



It was the practice to sprinkle the fields with alcohol and chicha, decorate the crops, and burn mesas so that the Pachamamas \*47 (of the fields) could eat, drink, and join in the merriment (404) of the festival.

\*47 Pachamamas. A Q. peasant perceives, as here, many individual Pachamamas, each with their own dwelling place in each of his fields, or in each of the geographical areas around his home. Further evidence of this is provided in this prayer, uttered when an offering was being made:

Virgen de la Tierra, abonota  
 qoyki noqamampis abonariway,  
 Virginniy kanki, qanwan noqawan  
 amistadniyoj kananchej;  
 mikhurikuychej q'ala vesindades  
 q'ala virgenes q'ala kompañeros  
 mikhuriychej, noqaykupis ;  
 imaynatachus q'ala vesindadeswan  
 mikhurikuyku, tomarikuyku ajna;  
 qankunapis mikhurikuychej,  
 ujarikuychej, Padre, Hijo y  
 Espiritu Santu....

Kay kunan qankuna mikhurikunayki-  
 chejpaj, noqayku churayku mana  
 ni jap'inawaykupaj ni imapaj kach-  
 aripuwayku Virgen de la Tierra,  
 kay noqaykupis abono qoyku qanpis  
 chajritaykuta poqorichipuwayku  
 abonariwayku wajsituwanpis mana  
 chayqa ima frutuwanpis  
 abonariwayku... (90)

Virgin of the Earth, I give you  
 nourishment, please nourish me as  
 well. You are my Virgin, we ought  
 to be friends. All you neighbouring  
 Virgins eat, all you comrades  
 (= saints) eat. Just as we humans  
 eat and drink thus with all the  
 neighbours, you too, eat, drink.  
 Father, Son and Holy Spirit....

here it is now (ie. the offering),  
 so that you may eat; we prepare it  
 so that nothing seizes us. Free us,  
 Virgen of the Earth. Here we also  
 give you nourishment, you too make  
 our field produce, nourish us with  
 something else also, or if not, with  
 whatever product nourish us...(90)

The Q. concept of a spirit world parallel with his own is revealed here.

\*47 cont .

In this spirit world, each place is inhabited by a male or female presence with whom he must communicate for his own well-being.

Pachamama is depicted as a divisible goddess, divisible here by place, but also divisible by the function she is requested to serve in a given context, as is shown best in this quotation from Documentos para la Educación Popular (410) (relating to Ventillas - Dept. Coch. Prov.Arque).

"...el principio femenino, como en otras regiones, tiene el doble carácter de Virgen y de Pachamama. El principio esencial es la Pachamama, que se desdobra, hasta el punto de separarse casi totalmente, en las diversas "mamitas" que habitan las capillas. Ellas personifican aspectos de la Pachamama, pero se unifican en ella y así hablan de la "Virgen Pachamama". Las mamitas cumplen tareas concretas, "sirven" para determinadas ocasiones."

FRIDAY 1.3.1974

The investigator accompanied the Union leader and his wife on a ch'allaku of their fields. In the maize field closest to the house, the ceremonies began with the burning of coca leaves and a q'owa which to the leader's stated disapproval contained no untu (q.v. Ch. 1). As these items smoked on the hot coals, the leader prayed to Pachamama requesting good crops and no hail. Ticker tape was thrown onto the maize, chicha was drunk, cigarettes smoked, and coca chewed. The party moved on to other fields. In each, a short prayer, or invocation such as Pachamama y San José, Pachamama Virgen, was uttered by the Union leader who then hurled a cupful of chicha over the crops shouting jaylla, jaylla. Ticker tape, mixtura, and kolasi6n (q.v. Ch. 1) were thrown over all the fields. Chicha was drunk copiously.

The leader explained the reason for the ch'allaku in a similar way to Is. He stated that on this happy day (ie. the day of the ch'allaku at Carnival) the fields had to be made happy as well. This was done by means of the type of ceremony described above. He explained that on this day, we humans have eaten and drunk well, for which reason we are good humoured, benevolent, welcoming, and uncomplaining. It is the same with Pachamama if we feed her mesas and offer her chicha (Pachamama j mikhuynin). Extending to her the politeness we offer a guest, she will respond to human generosity and friendliness by being well disposed to help us when we are in need of her (to make illness go away, to prosper, to have good harvest etc.) (405).

### Summary of Ch'allakus

Those happy events most frequently associated with Carnival took place in Achiota on Thursday and Friday of Carnival week. The ch'allakus symbolized the inclusion of pachamama in the festivities to ensure an abundant harvest.

### Cross Planting

As the Union leader proceeded with his ch'allakus (on Friday 1.3.1974) a messenger broke into the festivities with the news that the Maestro who should have come that day to plant Crosses on the hill-tops surrounding the village, in order to protect it, would not in fact be coming.

For this reason, after lunch, the Union leader took the investigator up to the school. The remains of Shrove Tuesday's ceremonies were still in evidence. Coca leaves littered the floor; by the table were three wooden Crosses about 3' high, one larger than the others. On the table were:

the image of the Señor de la Santa Vera Cruz \*48 ,

\*48 Señor de la Santa Vera Cruz. This saint has associations alien to any concepts of Christianity which its name may imply. Throughout the Coch. Valley, the fiesta on the 3 May, dedicated to this saint - of utmost importance to local peasants - is centred around celebrations at a small chapel in Valle Hermoso, some 8 kms east of Coch. on the Santa Cruz road. The devotion and constancy with which the Señor is worshipped in the region owes its origin to the discovery by a Q. peasant, of a stone of roughly triangular shape, in the middle of which could be discerned the vague outline of a cross created by the pattern of the mineral veins within the stone. (406)

The saint is considered to be the provider of abundance and wealth. In this agrarian society, this primarily implies the fertility of the female. If one's cattle and sheep multiply, one will be wealthy, if one's family increases, there will be sufficient labour to keep the animals and farm the land well, if Pachamama (ie. the land) is fertile, abundant food will provide health and well-being. (408) (407) (361) (409)

The link between future prosperity and this saint is relevant to the present context because the inhabitants of Achiota are seeking protection from evil which implies a consequent abundant harvest and healthy community.

a corn cob, some cigarettes, bottles of alcohol, flowers, and incense wrapped in paper. When other people had arrived, those present consulted the coca leaves which they let fall onto a brightly coloured llijlla (shawl) \*49. Afterwards, everyone drank chicha, smoked a cigarette, \*49 Both on Friday 1 and Saturday 2 March, coca was consulted before the Crosses were planted on the hill-tops. The reason for this was that the Maestro failed to arrive to conduct the ceremonies and the question arose as to whether the inhabitants, led by the Union leader, should, themselves, still plant the Crosses in his absence. It was decided to carry out the ceremonies, but since the Union leader was not a Maestro, he performed a charlatan role, which is clear from the prayers he offered. (The narrative below has been marked \*49 where this occurs). Because of the unique circumstances one may question the validity, particularly the validity of detail in the ceremonies described in continuation. However, the purpose of the ceremonies, and the overall relationship between community and the deities protecting it come over clearly and should not be doubted in view of the attitudes expressed in the preceding Carnival ceremonies.

The participants prayed to the Señor and then set out with one of the Crosses to the top of a hill overlooking the hamlet and called Jatun Pukarani. The Cross was secured in the ground. Everyone knelt with hats off and arms outstretched, facing eastwards, and the Cross \*17. Each person made the sign of the Cross as the Union leader began to pray:-

<p>C. Diusyaya, diuschuri, dius espíritu santu, kay chhika unayta...kakunchej. Noqayku qanwan karqayku, qannijta Señor Pukarani. Kunan resién chaya- muyku; qan tatayoj, qan mamayoj. Mana noqayku qonqayta atiykuchu. Chaynijta noqaykoqa kutimullaykutaj. Wawasniyki kayku, irpasniyki kayku. Noqaykutaqa favorta ruawayku, uj chhi- kanta kay llajtamasiykuta jina. Qan kabesa kanki, qanpis, jaylla, jaylla, noqapis jaylla, jaylla....</p>	<p>God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit. It is a long time since we were last here. We were with you, for your sake Lord Pukarani. We have just arrived. You as father, you as mother. We cannot forget you, and for this reason we have returned. We are your children, we are your fledgl- ings. Please grant our request, as if we were your neighbours. You are chief. <u>Jaylla, jaylla</u> to you! <u>Jaylla, jaylla</u> to me!</p>
---	---

Here the leader threw the contents of a glass of alcohol with a sweeping movement of the arm towards the Cross. He then kissed the earth and acted as if embracing it whilst he continued to pray, mentioning as he did so, local place names but being on the whole incoherent until he continued thus:-

<p>C. Ama ni payta ni uj chhikitán, ni pipaj ni maypaj uj chhikan granisuta</p>	<p>For him nor for anyone, please don't send any hail; neither for us, nor for</p>
---	--

apachimunki chejchu; ama noqaykupaj  
ni mayqen runa ni mayqen.... Chay  
chhikata mañakuyku amaña kay llaj-  
tata entregananta. Qanpis kabiltu

\*50 jina sujetanaykipaj. Qankuna,  
contd p 114

\*50 Kabiltu. Sp. loan "Cabildo".s. Comunidad de eclesiásticos capitulares de una iglesia. Ayuntamiento etc. (Cas.)

On Shrove Tuesday, the Union leader described the local hill-tops as "dirigentes" - leaders. Later in the Cross planting ceremonies, he will class kabiltus as great men who live under the hill-tops.

The use of the term is widespread. eg. at Qollpa (Dept. Coch. Prov. Arque), verbal activity accompanying the Carnival ch'allaku would include:-

Kabiltu sayariy, kabiltu sayariy,  
kabiltu, Pachamama...orqomanta kabil-  
tu, pampamanta kabiltu.

Arise kabiltu...kabiltu of the  
mountain side, kabiltu of the  
plain.

This prayer would be continued with requests for an abundance of crops of high quality. (411)

At Pocona (Dept. Coch. Prov. Carrasco), an informant visited a healer, who, in the pitch darkness of a spiritist session, called upon St. James and the kabiltu:-

Achhaypi na nin Señor Santiago cha-  
yamonqa, kabiltu chayamonqa, kuida-  
kunkichej sumajta, pajta jap'insunki-  
chejman. (412)

With that, he said "St. James" is  
about to arrive, the kabiltu is  
about to arrive, you'll have to  
watch out! Be careful they don't  
seize you! (412)

These pieces of evidence bear out the definition of kabiltu given in Documentos para la Educación Popular (410) and derived from field studies in Ventilla (Dept. Coch. Prov. Arque) and Paria (Dept. Oruro, Prov. Cercado):-



\*50 cont ..

"Los dioses machos están especialmente representados por los cerros, por 'lo fuerte'. Pero unifican todo el principio masculino, incluyendo al 'tata' (nuestro Dios Universal), a Jesucristo y a los santos como 'Santiago Apóstol' y otros. Aquí parece ocurrir nuevamente ese desdoblamiento tan peculiar que permite ser 'uno' en específico, o 'varios', que tienen, sin embargo, un elemento de relación que permite reunificarlos. Este principio masculino está designado por la palabra 'cabildo'. En otras regiones corresponde a 'Machula', 'Mallku' o 'Achachila'".

tukuynin, Pukarani, Chaupi Ch'utu,	All of you <u>Pukarani</u> , <u>Chaupi</u>
Kunti T'uru Chhanka, tukuynin, jaylla,	<u>Ch'utu</u> , <u>Kunti T'uru Chhanka</u> (all
jaylla...jaylla, jaylla.	local hill names) - <u>jaylla</u> ,
	<u>jaylla!</u>

He then threw some alcohol towards the Cross.

Next he selected an old woman from amongst the participants and instructed her to distribute a cup of alcohol on her knees to each of the celebrants who, in turn, had to approach her on their knees, and embrace her after drinking. This ceremony over, everyone shook hands and embraced. A fire was now lit, incense was placed upon it, music was played (on radios), coca was chewed and alcohol drunk. Then facing east, the fire, and the Cross, further prayers were said:-

C. Diusyaya, diuschuri, dius espíritu	God the Father, God the Son, God
santu, amaña qhaynatapuni señorku	the Holy Spirit, not now. Oh
tatay kay familiayoj kayku. Señorku	Lord! since we have families.
Pukarani, qanqa Virgen *51, qan	Lord Pukarani, you are Virgin *51,

\*51 Virgen Sp. loan. Refers to either

- i. Pachamama or Pachamamas (see notes \*46, \*47)
- or ii. Any female Catholic saint, or any other female divinity which may also be designated 'mamita'.

Its use here, in juxtaposition with Señorku Pukarani appears incongruous. This may reflect the Union leader's inadequacy as a substitute Maestro (See note \*49)

tatayku, qan mamayku, qan qhawawayku;  
chaynejta qanman noqayku jamuyku kay  
chhika runas familiaykuwan...

Papitu, Señor, Diusyaya kaywan qanpis  
qanpajqa; kay mikhunayki....

Here the Union leader put incense on the fire. Everyone else arose, embraced, drank alcohol, distributed cigarettes and coca. Further prayers followed.

C. Noqa kani qanwan kabesa, ninki  
\*49. Entregayki Pukarani kay waway-  
kita, Pukarani churita q'ala kay  
wawasniykita entregayki. Ch'allay  
Virgenman \*52. Q'ala kay wawasniyki  
chayamunku kayman... Achhaymanta  
jina qanpis yachallanki imaynachus  
familiayki chaytaqa, mañakusqankuman  
jina qopunki. Imasniykichus tiapu-  
sunki chayta kay wawayki Luis maña-  
sunki \*49, achhayman jinataj kastigay  
...qanpis yachallanki imaynachus  
familiarchej chaytaqa; antis  
kastiganki q'ala kay wawasniyki(ta).  
Karnales wakin mana karnaleschu,  
manaraj kunanqa karnaleschu. Jatun  
Pukarani, qan kabesa kunan...

\*52 Virgen. The term may be used correctly here if the leader is this time throwing alcohol on the ground as a libation to Pachamama.

you are our father, you are our  
mother; you watch over us. For  
this reason, we have come, meñ  
with our families. Father, Lord,  
God the Father, this too is for  
you - here is your food (ie.   
incense - see below) ....

I, with you, am chief, you say  
\*49. Pukarani, I bring you all  
your children.  
Bless the Virgin \*52  
All your sons are here. (Incense  
is put on the fire here)... thus  
you know how your family is,  
just as they have asked, you will  
give. Your son Luis (ie. the  
Union leader) \*49 asks you for  
what you have, and thus you must  
mete out punishment... you know  
how our family is situated, you  
are probably punishing all these  
your children. Some are flesh and  
blood, others are not. Great  
Pukarani, you are chief now...

...qanqa kability, Virgen niyta munani. ...You are kability, virgen \*51  
 Jatun wawayki kani noqa qanpata, I mean. I am your eldest son,  
 ayjaduyki, Jatun Pukarani mañakuna- your relation, Great Pukarani;  
 wayki, revelanawayki.... \*49 you must ask me, you must show  
 me ....\*49.

He continued with interspersed, unconnected phrases which had no consolidated meaning, but which repeated set phrases such as qan tatayoj, qan mamayoj, and a muddled version of the Creed and other prayers in Sp.

Now very well drunk, the leader and his wife spent the rest of the night on the mountain top. Everyone else moved off to their own homes.

Saturday 2.3.1974

After midday, villagers again gathered at the school where coca leaves were consulted. Prayers were led by the Union leader before the image of the Señor de la Santa Vera Cruz; a candle had been lit beside the Saint's image. Incense was burned before the image and the glass front of the box in which it was contained, was opened to let in the smoke. The remaining Crosses were collected and carried towards Chaupi Ch'utu upon which one was to be planted. En route, everyone stopped to drink chicha and exchange coca. When the peak was reached, a fire was lit and incense thrown on it. The celebrants knelt, hatless, arms outstretched, and facing east. \*17. The Union leader pronounced these words:-

C. Dios yaya, diuschuri, dius espíritu God the Father, God the Son, God  
 santu, Chaupi Ch'utu kability, qanman the Holy Spirit, Chaupi Ch'utu  
 noqayku jamorqayku uj chhikanta per- kability, we have come to you to  
 miso mañakoj. ask your permission.

Ama rabiakuychu. Qanpajpis kay uj  
chhikan mikhuna i. Noqaykupajpis  
tiarqa...Ama ni imasta uywakuychu,  
ni mayuparasta, ni imasta chaywan  
noqaykuta....

Don't get angry! Here is a  
little food for you (referring  
to the incense). There was for  
us too...Don't give rise to  
anything (ie. don't cause any-  
thing unpleasant), don't let us  
have these heavy rains....

He then pursued a muddled soliloquy interspersed, as on the previous  
evening, with standard phrases such as Dius yaya, Dius churi, Dius  
Espiritu santu and smatterings of Sp. prayer forms. He repeated his  
request for forgiveness and no heavy rains.

The Cross was then firmly fixed in the ground and more prayers followed  
in the vein described above. The prayers were interspersed with  
interludes when chicha was passed round and general conversation was  
resumed. The participants then made their way to the third hill top  
overlooking the village and called Yanaqqa.

The Cross was fixed into the ground, initial prayers were said, and then  
the Union leader addressed the considerable crowd that had gathered -  
all in various stages of drunkenness, all good humoured, talkative, and  
playing music on their radios.

The leader spoke thus:-

C. ...wawqeymasis ashkha kanchej  
kunanqa tropantinma tantaykunchis  
kunanqa...

Brothers, we are many, now the  
whole troop is gathered together  
...

paykuna kanku jatuchej runas.  
 Noqanchejkanchej kaypeqa runa  
 jinalla. Kay ukhupi kanku \*50  
 ... mikhurichunku, noqanchej  
 mikhurisun, paykunapis mikhuchi-  
 nku noqanchej mikhusunchej.  
 \*53 Jinamanta mañarikusunchej  
 uj chhika permisuta, perdonwan  
 jina...

Everyone knelt to pray:-

C. Perdonawayku, Señor perdonawayku  
 ...imarayku noqaykuta munayku  
 perdonanawaykuta. Manaña wajchapi  
 kayta munaspa, manaña pobrespi kayta  
 munaspa, manaña noqayku uj  
 chhikanta ni ima llakiyniyoj kayta  
 munaspa, yanpajman riyta munaspa,  
 chayrayku Yanaqaqa kabiltu maña-  
 kayku perdonawayku tatáy. Jaylla,  
 jaylla. Kay qanpaj, paypis  
 mikhurikuchun, noqanchis  
 mikhurinapaj.

\*53 Note again the idea of reciprocity which also exists behind the  
ch'allaku. (See above Thursday 28.2.1974 and Friday 1.3.1974)

They are great men (ie. Chaupi  
 Ch'utu, Yanaqaqa and Jatun  
 Pukarani). We are no more than  
 men. They are here within \*50  
 ...let them eat. We are going  
 to eat, they provide food, we  
 will eat \*53. Thus, we are  
 going to ask permission, as if  
 we were forgiven.

Forgive us, Lord, forgive us...  
 Why do we want you to forgive us?  
 We no longer wish to be  
 impoverished. We no longer wish  
 to suffer. We want to progress.  
 Thus, Yanaqaqa, we pray. Forgive  
 us, father. Jaylla, jaylla!  
 This is for you (referring to a  
q'owa - see below). Let him eat  
 too, so that we may eat.

Here the leader drank chicha, opened a q'owa, and placed it with coca on a fire that had been prepared. He then took up his speech again:-

<p>C. Kurajkuna, hermanos, kurajkuna, qankunaqa kankichej tumpawan mayores. Noqaqa chiko kani. Jinamanta ch'allari- kuna. Qankunapis noqapis pillapis atenchej ch'allakuyta Virgenkunasman... Pachamamaspaj...tomarikusunchis eteron- chis,sapa wata wata, ama qankunaqa qonkankichejchu kunaanqa watapaj, wa qayna wataña chayta ruarqani nispa, mana, wata wata ch'allarikuna kaytaqa, chay wata wata ch'allarikuspaga... paykunapis kontintu, noqanchispis kontintu; imaynatapis familiarin; tomaykusunchej kosa. Ajinallataj jaylla, jaylla....</p>	<p>Elders, brothers, elders, you are older. I am younger. Let us do the <u>ch'allaku</u>. You, I, all of us can do a <u>ch'allaku</u> to the <u>Virgenes</u> ...for the <u>Pachamamas</u>.... Let us all drink. We must do this every year, and not forget it one year by saying that we did it last year. ...They will be happy, and so will we, as if we were all of the same family. Let us drink copiously. <u>Jaylla, jaylla!</u></p>
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The fire was lit upon which the q'owa, coca leaves and cigarettes were burnt. Further prayers were said. On two occasions different old men knelt before the Union Leader for a blessing. The crowds finally dispersed, except for a few who returned with the Union leader to his house. Here he burnt incense on a few ashes, placed a saint's image before it, and well drunk, began to utter more confused prayers. He continued to drink heavily all evening and then spent the night on one of the hill tops.

### Summary of Cross Planting

A Cross was planted on the top of each of the hills which surround the village. When the Crosses, as ever symbols of protection, were erected, the indwelling spirits of the hills were asked to turn evil and suffering away from the community. Alcohol, chicha, coca, cigarettes, and q'owas were offered in appropriate ritual contexts to the kabiltus so that in return for these gifts, they would bestow happiness, health, wealth and well being upon their 'family' living in the hamlet below.

Here ended Carnival in Achiota 1974.

### Conclusions as to the meaning of Carnival in Achiota

Let us consider these under the headings of the separate activities of which the Carnival celebrations consisted.

#### Pardon ceremonies

Informant C.B. summed these up as a ch'allaku de granizo en kacharpaya (Q.s. Despedida. La), a set of ceremonies, led by a yachaj \*1, designed to send the hail away to the other side, ie. to the left. (Refer to lloq'e in Ch. 1, in which it is concluded that evil comes from the left, and to eliminate it, it must be returned there, or its influence broken by an anticlockwise motion, thread, etc.)

The ch'allaku celebrates the departure of the hail which the pardon ceremonies are aimed to secure, for hail and sin have a close relationship in Q. mind. (413) (414) The Q. peasant considers that the hail is God's



punishment for his sinfulness. The extent to which it hails in any given growing season has a determinant effect upon the size of the harvest. This harvest, of course, directly affects whether the peasant will go hungry in the coming year or live comfortably. Hence, all possible steps are taken to ensure that as little hail as possible falls. Several practices exist to prevent hail. eg. Tracing out a cross of ashes with an east-west orientation when hail threatens (347) (415), or starting a fire of grass and green leaves which give off a thick choking smoke in order to frighten the hail away. (347)

On this occasion, the whole community is brought together in a highly sophisticated attempt to get rid of the hail (denominated sajra para - evil rain by the Maestro). As the texts given in this Chapter show, the villagers thoughts are concentrated on their wrongdoings, (such as disobedience to parents), which have brought punishment in the form of illnesses and hail. God's forgiveness is sought so that, pardoned, they will be better persons and freed from their afflictions.

The ceremonies described and the sacrifice carried out later on that night are therefore designed to throw out evil and misfortune, to make a clean sweep - remember that the ceremonies may include a pichara, an expression based on pichay (v. barrer, limpiar. La) - of the past, to deflect bad luck to the left.

The kacharpaya, or farewell to Carnival, is not unknown in many Q. communities. However, this farewell, contrary to that in Achiotá, usually takes place on the last day of Carnival (domingo de Tentación), when mesas are burnt and ceremonies performed to dispatch the devil, hail, and disease from the place (416). It does not represent a central theme as

crucial to the community as kacharpaya in Achiota clearly was.

### Ch'allakus

These were both an act of thanks and a request for a more abundant harvest. They were performed in order to incorporate Pachamama into the gaiety of the celebrations based on the Q. belief in a reciprocal relationship between man and his deities. It is assumed that the sharing of the celebrations by means of the ch'allaku - an outpouring of welcoming joy, a gift of food and drink in the form of libations and offerings, and a sign of respect - will help to ensure that Pachamama in return brings good harvests, good health, and prosperity.

### Cross Planting Ceremonies

The dominant peaks overlooking the community had protective Crosses set up upon them. The reciprocal relationship reviewed above was again in evidence, but this time the offerings were designed to seek the protection of the kabiltu with whom a family kinship, in which the members of the community, as the youngest members of a family, was assumed. The theme of Shrove Tuesday was revived with requests for forgiveness so that the village would be safeguarded and that it would be delivered from poverty and suffering.

## CONCLUSION

The manner of presentation adopted in this thesis has introduced a number of major themes that can usefully be woven together in conclusion.

The following quotation helps to reveal the inter-relationship between these themes:-

"Para el Indio quechua toda la naturaleza se halla animada de espíritus que actúan sobre el hombre y que éste trata de atraer favorablemente mediante la magia y el rito esotérico." (417)

### Espíritus

Our discussions bear out the fact of the Quechua peasants' belief in a spirit world but further, it has been possible to glimpse a male/female division of this world. The male element is represented principally by Tata Dios (located in Heaven), but also by Santiago (associated with lightning), and other saints whose Catholic names often mask pre - Hispanic concepts. (Eg. Señor de la Santa Vera Cruz has a prevalent connection with fertility in the Q. mind.) Furthermore, the male principle is encapsulated in the kabiltus - the indwelling spirits of the hills which have a kind of family relationship with the people of the communities they overlook. (pp 49 - 52, 109 - 113).

The female element of this supernatural structure is Pachamama; perhaps the most widely and most reverently worshipped member of the pantheon because upon her agricultural production and ultimately the sustenance of all human life on earth depend. Pachamama may be viewed either as an individual goddess, or may be divisible into the Pachamamas of each

strip of land, stretch of countryside, or feature of the landscape. Alongside Pachamama exist many mamitas or Virgenes which are found to represent facets of the Q. belief in the supernatural. (pp 103, 105 - 106, 114)

### Magia y rito esotérico

If magic is the act of influencing the course of events by the occult control of Nature and spirits, then our examination of the meanings behind mesa and Carnival have revealed examples of magical concepts, objects, and activities by which Q. man tries to affect reality.

#### 1. Concepts

- Associations of certain colours, eg. yana, yuraj, puka, whose occurrence in a given situation conveys a key to the interpretation of that situation. (Yana is related to bad luck, white to good, etc). (pp 13 - 19, 48 - 52, 66 - 67)
- Kuti-, lloq'e-, tijra-. (pp 20 - 39). These indicate a "direction of flow" in life where events have a clockwise/anticlockwise, turning over/turning round motion, perhaps visually typified by the kuti wayñitu (p 24).
- T'ipisqa. (pp 33, 129). Within ritual frameworks, this is a symbolic process of "breaking" which destroys the adverse effects of the web of evil against which it is used.
- Mesa. (pp 39 - 40, 52 - 58, 60 - 63, 81, 116 - 119). Representative offerings of symbolic food to the spirits, by means of which communication can be achieved with them.

## 2. Objects

- Lloq'ie q'aytus. (pp 18 - 19, 30, 32 - 35) These protect against evil.
- Kutis. (pp 20 - 30) Objects whose abnormal or contrary properties right an imbalance in human lives.
- Misterios. (pp 55 - 57) Objects capable of conveying messages to the spirits.
- Untu. (pp 68 - 69) Valued for use in spells, medicine, and offerings.
- Chicha, coca, cigarettes. (pp 76 - 78) Essential usage in all rites involving the supernatural.
- Cross. (pp 108 - 120, 99 - 100) Symbol of protection.
- Hail. (pp 120 - 121) God's punishment.

## 3. Activities

(These, of their nature, imply and are, ritos esotéricos)

- Carnival. (Ch. 2). A ceremony of purification (forgiveness), and thanksgiving.
- Lavatorio and misachiku. (pp 91 - 92) Rituals concerned with putting a soul to rest.
- Pichara. (p 93) A ceremony of cleansing.
- Ch'allaku. (pp 103 - 108) A ceremony of blessing and thanksgiving.
- Cross-planting ceremonies. (pp 108 - 120) Rites designed to ensure the safety of the community.

The word mesa and the event Carnival have been shown to contain a wide range of associations through which facets the Q. view of the world, and man's position in it have been adequately demonstrated.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ACHACHILA.	Tutelar spirit of a mountain.
ALL SOULS'.	Fiesta on 1 - 2 November annually at which the Dead are commemorated.
APU.	A great lord - usually applied to a hill/mountain spirit.
AUGUST 1.	In some areas (eg. Cuzco) ceremonies are held at this date because it is the beginning of the agricultural year.
AUKI.	A spirit of the earth, considered to be wise and old.
AYSIRI.	Person capable of calling up spirits; leader of spiritist sessions.
CALVARIO.	Calvary; hill climbed as part of the rituals of a fiesta.
CANCHA.	The market place in Cochabamba.
CHICHA.	Maize beer.
CHIUCHIS.	Tiny figures cast in lead or tin which represent a variety of objects or persons. Used to convey prayers.
CHULLPA.	Mummy of the Inca period.
CH'ALLAKU.	A ritual combining thanks for good fortune and requests for good luck.
COMPADRE.	Protector, benefactor, friend, godfather.
CONTRA.	Object whose properties or natural form are opposite to those of the situation they are brought to act against.
DIRIGENTE DEL SINDICATO.	Trade Union Leader.

- DUENDE.                   Legendary apparition believed to play tricks on people.
- ILLA.                     Object struck by lightning and therefore considered sacred; ancient and precious object.
- INTI RAYMI.             Fiesta of the Inca period held at the time of the winter solstice (July) in homage to the sun god.
- JAP'EQA.                Disease caused by one's soul being "seized" by Pachamama.
- JILICATA.               Grade of official in peasant social hierarchy.
- KABILTU.                Male hill spirit.
- KALLAWAYA.             Province of Antisuyu (in Inca period). The inhabitants of this region still have a reputation as knowledgeable herbalists.
- KOLASION.               Type of sweet, often used in offerings and ceremonies.
- KUTI.                    Object whose properties or natural form are opposite to those of the situation they are brought to act against.
- K'UYCHI.                Rainbow.
- LAYQA.                  Witchdoctor; sorcerer.
- LLOQ'E.                 Name of healing process.
- MAESTRO.                Indigenous leader of ceremonial.
- MANCHARISQA.          Illness caused when soul abandons the body of someone who has suffered a severe (emotional) shock.
- MILLU.                  Sulphate. Substance used in certain cures.

MISTERIO.	Rectangular sweet with imprints of objects, people, or scenes on one surface, used in certain types of offerings.
PACHAMAMA.	Mother Earth Goddess.
PAGO.	Offering.
PAQO.	Type of shaman.
PATRON.	Person of Hispanic origin who was of the land owning class before the Bolivian agricultural reform.
PEASANT.	Used in this thesis as a direct translation of the Bolivian Sp. term <u>campesino</u> which refers to Bolivians of indigenous origin, ie. the Indians.
PHISKUDA, PHISKURADA.	A process used in healing rites consisting principally in rubbing the patient with any one of a variety of objects or substances.
PULLIRA.	Style of skirt worn by women of the peasant class.
PUJYU.	Fountain, spring.
QAYQA.	An illness. Could be same as <u>khaikha</u> - Nature's rejection of a man who has done evil. At dawn and dusk there is bad air which produces the same illness.
Q'ARALAU.	Species of tree associated with dryness and lack of growth because of its characteristic stunted nature.
QOLLPASQA.	Method of curing illness.
QOWI.	Rabbit, guinea pig.
RESACHIKU.	Act of causing prayers to be said for a deceased person's benefit.



- SAN ISIDRO. Patron saint of farmers.
- SAN JUAN (Fiesta de). St John's Day, 24 June. Celebrated throughout Q. areas. In Coch. area continues theme, begun at the fiesta del Señor de la Santa Vera Cruz, of fertility, purification, and protection against disease as the new agricultural year begins.
- SANTA BARBARA. Female spirit associated with lightning.
- SEÑOR DE LA SANTA VERA CRUZ Saint, celebrated on 3 May, who is associated with fertility, abundance and wealth in the Q. mind.
- SOROCHE. Altitude sickness.
- TATA DIOS. Heavenly Father; supreme male spirit of the universe.
- TATA SANTIAGO. Saint associated with heaven and lightning.
- TELEAUXILIAR. Peasant who acts as liaison between his village and a local radio station that specialises in educational programmes.
- TIJRAY. To turn over.
- TRUQUI, TRUQUI, TRUQUI! Possibly from Sp. trueque (change), and implying a similar meaning to kuti, kuti, kuti! (turn back!).
- VIRGEN. Mother Earth Goddess or any female Catholic Saint or other female divinity.
- WAKA. Household god; sacred object.
- WAYRA. Bad air coming from unhealthy places, such as marshes or where chullpas and corpses are.
- WAYRURU. Seed from the selva with magical properties.

WILANCHA.

Sacrifice in which the heart and blood of an animal are offered to a god. The animal will have been chosen from the celebrants' livestock.

YACHAJ.

Indigenous leader of ceremonial.

YATIRI.

Shaman.

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4. El Equipo de INDICEP., "Pronósticos y Festividades Aymaras". in Ed. Pop. Año V. Vol. No. 8 Noviembre 1974. Doc. No. 11 Serie A. p. 2.
5. Editors' notes, A.P. Vol. 3, p. 24.
6. E. Morote Best, "La Fiesta de San Juan el Bautista" in Archivos Peruanos de Folklore, Año 1, No. 1, Cuzco 1953, pp 160 - 200.
7. Dr. N. Stevenson, who is writing a thesis on popular medicine in Peru and did his field work in the Ica region.
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9. Throughout A.P. 3.
10. Dr. German Musch Rocha is writing a thesis on popular medicine in the Coch. Val. He has left a series of unpublished and untitled notes on the subject for the use of the general public in the Museo Arqueológico de Cochabamba. Page numbers given in this case refer to my notes taken from the original. Reproduced in Appendix - P.8.
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20. Op. cit. 12 Vol. 1, p. 168.
21. Op. cit. 17. p. 141.
22. Informant R.M. TB6 pp 34 - 6.
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24. M. Rigoberto Paredes. Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias  
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42. Op. cit. 23. p. 151.
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44. Informant R.M. TB8 p. 8.
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79. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2 pp 389.
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86. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2 p. 306.

87. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2 p. 393.

88. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2 p. 56.

89. Informant A.M. Extra notes p. 40.

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91. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2 pp 109 - 10.

92. Don Manuel Molina, Head of Educational Broadcasting in Quechua, Radio San Rafael of Cochabamba, supplied this information about my host in Achiota.

93. Informant F.S. NPS sheet B.

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123. Informant A.B. Extra notes p. 31.
124. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, p. 143.
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134. Op. cit. 13. p. 62.
135. TB2, especially pp 38, 40.
136. Op. cit. 120. p. 314.



137. Op. cit. 24. p. 24.
138. Op. cit. 43. p. 229.
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142. This action is known by Q. peasants as t'ipisqa. It implies the physical but symbolic process of breaking threads - normally ones spun to the left - within an appropriate ritual framework in order to destroy the adverse effects of a given evil. Informant A.M. provides an example from Coch. (NPS pp 37 - 51). After a bundle had been found in which were tiny replicas of, and pieces of clothing belonging to, the patient and her dead husband, the final part of the cure of the disease created by this bundle (spell) involved burning it, uttering the Lord's Prayer and the Creed and breaking (t'ipiy) black and white threads, all of which were aimed at turning back the evil of the spell upon the person who initially sent it and at preventing it from falling on any other members of the patient's family.
143. Op. cit. 77. pp 34 - 44.
144. The practice goes back to Inca times, as indicated by the first supplement of Dioses y Hombres de Huarochiri, a translation by J.M. Arguedas (Lima, 1966) of an original work on the customs of the ancient Peruvians by F. de Avila (c. 1598). These q'aytus are also used in the Coch. Val. as the previous ref. indicates. Also used in Achiota, Ash Wednesday 1974, in ceremonies to get rid of the hail. q.v. (314).
145. Op. cit. 64. pp 102 - 122.
146. Op. cit. 90. p. 13.

147. Op. cit. 90. pp 4, 10.
148. Informant F.D. TB4, p. 162.
149. Eg. in August - annual "pago a la tierra" ceremonies; at Carnival, or at Whitsun (especially in Bolivia). q.v. 3, 150, 111, 114, 151, 152, 153.
150. Op. cit. 37. p. 145.
151. Op. cit. 13. p. 98.
152. Op. cit. 68. p. 53.
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157. D3. pp 107 - 12.
158. Informant A.P. NPS p. 8.
159. Informant R.M. TB5, p. 41.
160. Op. cit. 31. p. 86.
161. Informant M.A. TB10, pp 111 - 4, 132.
162. Op. cit. 24. p. 51.
163. Op. cit. 13. pp 25 - 6.
164. Op. cit. 24. p. 89.
165. M. Cáceres Olazo. "Apuntes sobre el Mundo Sobrenatural de Llavini" in A.P. Vol. 2, p. 20.
166. Op. cit. 31. p. 5.
167. D4. p. 39.
168. Op. cit. 167. p. 45. Eg. adornment of oxen, 15 May - día de San Isidro.
169. Op. cit. 22. pp 46, 49.
170. Op. cit. 159. p. 195. Newly made chicha may be celebrated.
171. Op. cit. 167. p. 44.
172. Informant A.B. NPS pp 24 - 36. A person wishing to have his

personal image of a saint blessed by the priest at the saint's fiesta, asks someone to do this and the two persons then become compadres and may throw confetti over each other.

173. Op. cit. 54. p. 75.
174. Op. cit. 159. p. 164. San Isidro covered with confetti on his day (Cliza).
175. Informant J.V. TB10, p. 21. Santiago covered with confetti on his day (Anzaldo).
176. Personal experience. Potosí, October 1974.
177. J. Choquehuanca. "Jatakatu". in A.P. Vol. 3, pp 85 - 6.
178. Op. cit. 13. p. 95. These ceremonies take place on 24 June, and/or Carnival, and/or 6 January (Epiphany). During them, the illas are placed in a central position surrounded by coca and sweets, and adorned with streamers and confetti.
179. Op. cit. 24. pp 73 - 4. Near Oruro, there is a waka in the shape of a toad which is constantly revered with flowers, confetti, chicha, wine, and liquor.
180. J. Palacio Rios. "Creencias y prácticas mágico-religiosas del Indio del Altiplano." in La Revista del Museo Nacional, Tomo XXIX, 1960. Lima. pp 224 - 7.
181. F. Sanchez A. "Comunicación de los Quechuas con la Naturaleza y sus Semejantes". in Ed. Pop. Año II, No. 6. 2 Trimestre 1971 pp 40 - 46.
182. Op. cit. 37. pp 184 - 92.
183. Op. cit. 13. p. 82.
184. Thanks is due for the analysis of these rocks to Dr. A. Weir, Dept. Geology, University of St. Andrews.
185. Op. cit. 43. p. 228.
186. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 19.
187. TB12. pp 1 - 2.

188. Thanks for chemical analysis is due to Dr. G. Harris,  
Dept. Chemistry, University of St. Andrews.
189. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 32.
190. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 12.
191. Op. cit. 37. pp 154 - 8.
192. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 30.
193. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 29.
194. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 5.
195. Op. cit. 13. p. 87.
196. Op. cit. 165. p. 25.
197. Op. cit. 43. p. 164.
198. J.M.B. Farfán. "Colección de Textos Quechuas del Perú." in  
La Revista del Museo Nacional, Tomo XXXII, 1963. Lima. pp 261 - 3.
199. Op. cit. 43. p. 233.
200. Op. cit. 43. p. 234.
201. Op. cit. 141. p. 518.
202. Op. cit. 141. p. 562.
203. Op. cit. 77. p. 29.
204. J. Choqueccahua. "Escarbe de Papas." in A.P. Vol. 3, p. 99.
205. Sra. C. Cuba de Nordt. "La Velada del Ganado en la Noche de San  
Juan." in A.P. Vol. 3, p. 176.
206. Op. cit. 167. p. 30.
207. Op. cit. 167. p. 34.
208. In Los Tiempos. Cochabamba, Sunday 9 June 1974. Article entitled  
"El Calendario Agrícola en el Valle de Cochabamba." by  
R. Sanzetenea R., sub-director del Museo Arqueológico de la UBMSS.
209. Op. cit. 159. p. 153.
210. Op. cit. 159. p. 161.
211. Op. cit. 13. p. 116.

212. Dr. R. Pardal. Medicina Aborigen Americana. Buenos Aires 1948.  
Ch. 2.
213. Op. cit. 148. p. 193.
214. Op. cit. 30. p. 60.
215. Op. cit. 13. p. 78.
216. Op. cit. 212. Ch. 1.
217. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, pp 286 - 526.
218. Op. cit. 68. p. 32.
219. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 248.
220. Op. cit. 66. p. 39.
221. Op. cit. 93. Sheet C.
222. Op. cit. 54. pp 189 - 90.
223. Op. cit. 43. p. 200.
224. Op. cit. 23. p. 156 - 9.
225. Op. cit. 24. p. 64.
226. Op. cit. 54. p. 131.
227. Op. cit. 23. p. 27 - 35.
228. Op. cit. 159 p. 84 - 6.
229. Op. cit. 31. pp 60 - 70.
230. Op. cit. 24. p. 64.
231. Op. cit. 46. pp 51 - 58.
232. Op. cit. 24. p. 20.
233. Op. cit. 68. pp 54 - 6.
234. Op. cit. 24. p. 99.
235. Op. cit. 43. p. 211.
236. Op. cit. 43. p. 232.
237. J.A.Flores Ochoa. "La Wak'a Awicha Anselma." in A.P. Vol. 3, p. 76.
238. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, pp 80 - 2.
239. Op. cit. 13. pp 24 - 5.

240. Op. cit. 3. p. 13.
241. Op. cit. 175. pp 37 - 8.
242. Op. cit. 93. St. Nicolas is thought to protect the wheat fields and provide the family bread.
243. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, p. 75.
244. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 55.
245. Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de Bolivia. Documentos para la Educación Popular. Abril - Junio 1971.
246. Informant A.M. NB2, p. 174.
247. Op. cit. 59. p. 170.
248. Dr. E. Oblitas Poblete. Cultura Callaway. La. Paz. 1963. p. 230.
249. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 3.
250. Op. cit. 38. p. 93.
251. Op. cit. 13. pp 97 - 104.
252. J.G. Delgado Aragón. "El Señalakuy." in A.P. Vol. 3, p. 187.
253. Op. cit. 68. p. 68.
254. Op. cit. 53. p. 92.
255. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 270.
256. Op. cit. 73. p. 167.
257. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 175.
258. Op. cit. 13. p. 81.
259. Op. cit. 13. pp 97 - 105.
260. TB2.
261. Informant C.B. TB1.
262. Op. cit. 5. pp 113 - 5.
263. Op. cit. 24. p. 293.
264. Op. cit. 24. p. 197.
265. Op. cit. 24. p. 257.
266. Op. cit. 248. Ch. 5.
267. Op. cit. 10. p. 12.

268. Op. cit. 90. p. 6.
269. Op. cit. 24. p. 126.
270. Op. cit. 28. p. 132.
271. P.J. de Arriaga. "Extirpación de la Idolatría del Perú." in Crónicas Peruanas de Interés Indígena. Ed. F.E. Barba. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 209 Madrid 1968. p. 213.
272. Op. cit. 63. p. 60.
273. Op. cit. 120. p. 216.
274. Op. cit. 77. pp 28 - 33.
275. J.A. Manya. "Sara Tarpuy." in A.P. Vol. 3, pp 47 - 55.
276. Luis Dalle ss.cc. "Kutipay o Segundo Aporque del Maíz." in A.P. Vol. 3, pp 59 - 65.
277. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, p. 162.
278. Op. cit. 43. p. 230.
279. Op. cit. 68. p. 85.
280. Op. cit. 93. Sheet A.
281. Op. cit. 31. pp 58 - 9.
282. C. de Molina. Relación de las Fábulas y Ritos de los Incas. Ed. Lima 1916, Ch. 6.
283. Op. cit. 120. p. 307.
284. Op. cit. 271. p. 201.
285. J. de Betanzos. "Suma y Narración de los Incas." in Crónicas Peruanas... q.v. 271. p. 33.
286. Op. cit. 28. p. 104. Ob. cit. 157. p. 133.
287. Op. cit. 10. p. 4. G.M. Mentions a ch'allaku on Shrove Tuesday, valid for 2 - 3 years, which involves an offering that includes maize.
288. Op. cit. 167. p. 42.
289. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, p. 67.

290. Op. cit. 43. p. 225.

291. TB2.

292. Op. cit. 159. pp 23 - 7.

293. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 174.

294. Op. cit. 73. p. 159.

295. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, pp 172 - 5.

296. Op. cit. 13. pp 82 - 5.

297. Op. cit. 68. p. 86.

298. 42.25% carbon; 7.05% hydrogen; 1.66% nitrogen. q.v. 188.

299. Informant F.S. Extra notes p. 42.

300. Informant A.M. NPS pp 39 - 50.

301. Op. cit. 23. p. 148.

302. M. Montano. "Interpretación de las Divinidades Nativas y Dogma Cristiano." in Religiones Nativas y Religión Cristiana, Oruro 1974. p. 40.

303. Op. cit. 10. p. 5.

304. R.E. Housse. Los Hijos del Sol (Los Quichuas del Perú). Santiago de Chile. 1946.

305. Op. cit. 271. p. 210.

306. Op. cit. 13. pp 76 - 8.

307. Op. cit. 159. pp 101 - 2.

308. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, pp 496 - 8.

309. D2 p. 20.

310. Op. cit. 17. p. 150.

311. Op. cit. 159. pp 103 - 4.

312. Op. cit. 159. pp 115 - 6.

313. Op. cit. 167. p. 7.

314. Op. cit. 157. pp 91 - 132.

315. Op. cit. 198. pp 25<sup>3</sup> - 63.

316. Op. cit. 68. pp 86 - 90.



317. Op. cit. 53. p. 91.
318. Op. cit. 38. p. 95 - 6.
319. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, pp 78 - 80.
320. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 396.
321. Op. cit. 31. pp 82 - 5.
322. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, pp 193 - 5.
323. Op. cit. 159. p. 46.
324. Op. cit. 31. p. 51.
325. Op. cit. 10. p. 3.
326. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, p. 71.
327. Op. cit. 90. p. 12.
328. Informant F.D. TB1, pp 106 - 11.
329. Op.cit. 24. p. 271.
330. Op. cit. 172. p. 22.
331. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 1, p. 72.
332. Op. cit. 12. Vol. 2, p. 208.
333. Op. cit. 77. p. 39.
334. Op. cit. 157. p. 93.
335. Op. cit. 159. p. 146.
336. Op. cit. 159. p. 179.
337. Op. cit. 31. p. 53.
338. Op. cit. 31. p. 106.
339. Op. cit. 148. p.161.
340. Op. cit. 159. pp 53, 54.
341. Op. cit. 23. p. 101.
342. Op. cit. 10. p. 9.  
Op. cit. 31. pp 176 - 183.
343. Op. cit. 56. p. 36.
344. Informant J.V. TB8 p. 106.

345. Op. cit. 344. pp 127 - 9.
346. Op. cit. 89. p. 46.
347. D3.
348. Personal experience/observation.
349. Op. cit. 31. pp 60 - 1, 78 - 80.
350. Op. cit. 159. pp 73 - 7.
351. Op. cit. 23. pp 123 - 141.
352. Op. cit. 31. pp 74 - 5.
353. Op. cit. 300. pp 37 - 8.
354. Op. cit. 159. pp 56 - 8.
355. Informant L.M. D4 pp 49 - 50.
356. Op. cit. 10. p. 26.
357. Op. cit. 10. p. 23.
358. Op. cit. 30. p. 54.
359. Op. cit. 344. p. 126.
360. Op. cit. 157. p. 127.
361. Op. cit. 30. p. 56.
362. Op. cit. 157. p. 39.
363. Op. cit. 23. p. 120.
364. Op. cit. 157. p. 181.
365. Op. cit. 31. pp 41 - 45.
366. Op. cit. 157. p. 189.
367. Op. cit. 172. p. 16.
368. Prof. J.M. Farfán. "Las Curaciones por las Fuerzas del Espíritu en la Medicina Incaica" in La Revista del Museo Nacional, Tomo XIV.  
Lima 1945. p. 68.
369. Op. cit. 89. p. 12.
370. Op. cit. 10. p. 10.
371. Op. cit. 54. p. 177.

372. Op. cit. 54. p. 216.
373. Op. cit. 31. p. 17.
374. Op. cit. 161. p. 139.
375. Op. cit. 172. p. 78 - 9.
376. Informant L.M. TB11 p. 5.
377. Note provided on translation by A.B.
378. Tutuma. Q.s. (Crescentia cujete). "Planta de la familia de las bignoniáceas. Del fruto hueco se fabrican pequeños recipientes."  
La.
379. Op. cit. 56. p. 34.
380. Op. cit. 159. p. 196.
381. See note \*23, Ch. 2.
382. Op. cit. 175. pp 30 - 1.
383. Peasants will say at this juncture "Yanapaway a, don..." Help me out, don... 347. 348.
384. Op. cit. 54. pp 110 - 111.
385. Op. cit. 30. p. 54.
386. Op. cit. 54. pp 174 - 175.
387. Informant A.B.
388. See note \*30, Ch. 2.
389. Op. cit. 167. p. 50.
390. Informants L.M. and J.V.
391. Op. cit. 157. p. 194.
392. Op. cit. 167. p. 35.
393. Op. cit. 10. p. 24, p. 27.
394. Op. cit. 159. p. 172.
395. Op. cit. 159. pp 189 - 91.
396. Op. cit. 161. pp 119 - 21, 128.
397. Op. cit. 159. pp 27 - 34.

398. Op. cit. 31. p. 121.
399. Opinion expressed by Mr. L. Hoggarth, formerly a missionary amongst the Q. people in Peru (notably Sicuani).
400. Op. cit. 300. p. 44.
401. Op. cit. 30. p. 76.
402. Op. cit. 172. p. 36.
403. Op. cit. 22. p. 39.
404. Informant Is. TBl pp 80 - 90.
405. Informant C.B. TBl pp 19 - 74.
406. A. Paredes Candía. Folklore en el Valle de Cochabamba, Dos Fiestas Populares. La Paz 1957.
407. D4 pp 4, 27, 29 - 34.
408. Informant A.B. NPS pp 14 - 27.
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410. In Op. cit. 245. Article entitled "primeros datos sobre la religión en el mundo Quechua."
411. Op. cit. 161. p. 93.
412. Informant F.D. TB5 pp 3 - 6.
413. Op. cit. 31. p. 16.
414. Op. cit. 10. p. 4.
415. Op. cit. 31. p. 199.
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APPENDIXGermán Musch-Notas sobre medicina popular

G. Musch has left the preliminary untitled MS of a thesis available to the public at the Archaeological Museum at Cochabamba University. The following is a summary.

Page 1

El universo viviente

El orden del universo se puede trastornar (pacha tijrakunman o pacha q'ewikunman), produciendo males y enfermedades que el hombre debe saber dominar o prevenir; además los males pueden repetirse cíclicamente (sajrakuti), por tal razón el ritual es de suma importancia para mantener en orden al universo y que sea favorable (sumajkuti), y no se trastorne.

Cuatro niveles del universo:- janan pacha (nivel superior) ; ura pacha (nivel inferior) ; kay pacha (la vida intermedia del hombre y de la tierra) ; ukhu pacha (la esencia y origen de todo lo que existe).

Concepto dual:- masculino/femenino; Pachatata/Pachamama; Wiraqocha/Mamaqocha.

Dinámica del universo:- un devenir (chayay pacha); un crecer (wiñay); un decrecer (wañuy); un nacer (paqariy).

Consumarse - wañuy pacha; madurar - poqoy pacha; menguarse - pisiyay, tukukuy pacha.

Un transcurrir viviente (kuti pacha) - cambio de estaciones, día/noche, movimiento de astros, vida/muerte, renovarse/languidecer.

Concepto de opuestos:- cuatro provincias (tawantinsuyu); ciclo dividido en cuatro por astros; cuatro puntos cardinales más el centro; cuatro estaciones - dos etapas (frío, calor), dos etapas (sequía, lluvia), y por eso, las temporadas de abundancia, escasez, enfermedades, salud.

El ritual asegurará para el hombre el movimiento "iniciación,

fertilización, gestación, génesis de la naturaleza".

El momento de los ritos se sabe por el movimiento del cosmos; actualmente corresponden con fiestas de santos.

Agosto - octubre :- fertilización	)	
	)	
noviembre - enero :- gestación	)	nueve meses femeninos
	)	
febrero - abril :- génesis	)	
mayo - julio :-		tres meses masculinos

Cuatro edades del ser humano:- wawa, lloqhalla/imilla, wayna/sipas, poqosqa runa/warmi, machu runa/paya warmi.

Cuatro edades del universo:- edad oscura, caos (llakha pacha), edad de luz, orden (k'anchay pacha), edad antigua (ñaupa pacha) edad actual (kunan pacha). Cuando termina un ciclo de hambre, o del universo, otro nuevo aparecerá.

## Page 2

El principio del universo viviente (pacha) es :- bueno/malo; castiga/premia; anima/ ordena; es estéril/fértil, principio/ fin.

El concepto de kuti - todo se repite pero en espiral infinita. El campesino se preocupa de asegurarse que sigue llegando esa parte del espiral que le permite seguir viviendo, que los eventos malos se alejen. Por eso los rituales.

Principio de tres más uno:-

<u>Janaj pacha</u> (cielo)	)	
	)	
<u>Kay pacha</u> (tierra)	)	<u>ukhu pacha</u> (alma y motor de los
	)	
<u>Ura pacha</u> (infierno)	)	otros pachas)

Pachamama ha creado todo - lo que le es bueno y fasto, lo que le es malo y nefasto. Su hijo predilecto es el hombre.

Interdependencia entre el ser divino y su criatura, una armónica relación en que todas las cosas pueden afectar al hombre y pueden volcarse en contra o en su favor. Una enfer-

medad es como una desarmonía con las fuerzas vivientes. El hombre tiene que respetar la armonía para no provocar el lado nefasto de la Pachamama.

El ser humano tiene su principio vital - el ánimo que es el soplo de la Pachamama. Tiene cuatro niveles:-

ukhu - sin el cual el hombre no puede vivir y cuya ausencia produce el susto o mancharisga.

phiña (coraje) - fuera o aura que rodea una persona; si se altera produce el pasmo.

yuyay - prolonga todo lo que ama y estima. Una alteración produce llakiy.

llanthu.

Al nacimiento, sólo existe el ukhu; al madurar, adquiere el phiña; al ser adolescente adquiere el yuyay; al madurar en hombre responsable, se adquiere el llanthu; al envejecer, se va el phiña y se vuelve a la Pachamama.

Page 3

Pachamama virgen:- madre universal, lo bueno y lo malo brotan de ella, ella es la fuente del ciclo anual. El hombre no quiere lo malo y lo nefasto y procura contra-arrestarlos mediante q'owas, usando q'aytus trenzados a la izquierda (blancos y negros), caracoles blancos y negros, vaina amarilla de acacia torcida a la izquierda. La Pachamama se preocupa de nosotros y nos trata como hijos. Engendró al hombre en una gran caverna y le alimentó con gotas desde arriba de la caverna; por eso las cavidades son madre o paqariyt'oqos. La Pachamama exige que se le de ofrendas, y se le agradezca, que se trabaje bien; caso contrario, se enoja y vienen las enfermedades. (San Isidro es el compañero de la Pachamama; juntos hacen crecer las chajras.)

Puede crear un mal ambiente (sajra wayra), estando enojada con nosotros.

Jap'ega - La Pachamama agarra el alma de los humanos y los animales. Se da el nombre de jap'ega a una variedad de enfermedades y resulta de no haber q'owado todos los martes y viernes, de no haber hecho los ritos al estrenar una casa, o al arar tierra vírgenes. La Pachamama puede enojarse cuando se cava un hormiguero porque las hormigas son sus hijas. Cavidades, pozos, hornos, cavernas, minas, hormigueros, quebradas, hoyos, árboles huecos - todos representan el vientre donde la madre engendra y se pueden tragar el alma para Pachamama. Víboras pueden chupar el alma y llevarla a la Pachamama. No hay que pisar el lugar donde cayó el rayo o de donde sale el arco iris. Son manifestaciones físicas de la Pachamama. Otras divinidades tutelares de la tierra:- mallkus, abras, achachilas, tutis, aukis.

Muyuy wayra aparece en agosto y septiembre - meses ventosos - los sajra killas - que pueden enfermar (con fiebres).

Khaikha - el reniego de la naturaleza contra el hombre que ha hecho mal. Al anochecer y al amanecer hay malos aires que producen la misma enfermedad.

Yarqawan - hay que alimentar a los achachilas, los mallkus, etc. con una mesa y chicha, también a la Pachamama con mesa que se hace ahumar u ofrenda enterrada con cenizas del saumerio. Lo que hay en una mesa:-

- Tabletas con figuras de animales; tabletas de azúcar y cal coloreadas, de color morado o blanco; tienen la imagen de San Isidro y de la Virgen; tabletas redondas, espirales, estrelladas, de forma de corazón. (Todos éstos se llaman misterios).

Page 4

- un pescadito o ipe.
- confites.
- una pepa de palmera que tiene tres orificios naturales que simulan un cráneo y se llama t'ojlito.
- semillas negras de acacia (yanales).
- hierba llamada lampaya.
- trozos de mica (llimphi).
- incienso y copal.
- caracoles pequeños.
- fruto amarillo espiral que se llama kuti wayñitu.

Q'owan esto cada martes y viernes y se lo entierran junto con una mesa en olla nueva que tiene coca, pisco, maíz, trigo, dulces, misterios, ovillos de lana coloreada, comida, dinero, fetos de llama o perro, grasas de llama. Todo esto para que haya fertilidad en los hombres, los animales, y las cosechas, que no haya enfermedades.

Martes de Carnaval:- una ch'alla especial que será válida durante dos o tres años; hecha con coca, chicha, comida, confites, dulces, grasas de animales, uña de zorro, fetos de llama y perro, lanas de oveja, pelos, trigo, maíz, papel estañado, dinero en papel, q'owa; ; arde toda la noche.

Wira q'owa es un desagravio para la Pachamama. Consiste en grasa de pecho de llama, polvitos de colores, harinas de quinoa, trigo, maíz, arvejas, habas en pasta. Envuelto todo en hilo y lanas de colores de oveja y llama, se pasa por todo el cuerpo del enfermo. Ahuman con incienso y copal. El pego de coca y fumar cigarrillos, ofrecer chicha, pensando en la

Pachamama al descansar del trabajo, es forma de ponerse bien con la Pachamama.

Tata pacha:- se enoja facilmente, exige muchas ofrendas, pero al fondo es un ser bueno. A la Pachamama, la temen más por poder fracasar sus cosechas. Al tata Dios le temen castigos de los más fuertes - epidemias, plagas, granizo. Tratan con Dios, rezando, haciendo rogativas para que los perdone; dan misas, confesiones; tratan de vivir según la moral cristiana.

Wayra (Ave María):- males aires vienen de phiña jallp'a - lugares malsanos; de lugares de ch'ullpas - los espíritus y ánimos se vengán de que se los tocan; de lugares pantanosos y selváticos; de ríos y virtientes. Parálisis y epilepsia son sus síntomas. Hay wayras buenos y malos. Los buenos traen lluvia y crecen los cultivos; los malos traen enfermedades.

Ch'ullpasqa:- enfermedad que resulta de la venganza o influencia de los espíritus de los hombres primitivos o ch'ullpas cuando abre el hombre de hoy sus tumbas, etc.

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Enfermedades debidas a las almas o ánimas:- el humano barro, o roca dada ánimo - este principio inmortal tiene su origen en la Pachamama; puede viajar, estar en el Cielo, comunicar con otros espíritus, estar en la tierra o en el infierno; prueba cosas y comidas, visita lugares donde estuvo en vida, hace bien y mal, es fuente de sentimiento, puede entrar en otros cuerpos humanos y hacerles enfermos. El alma está dentro y alrededor de la persona, su ambiente le pertenece, así se enferma cuando se pierde relación con sus cosas.

Buena salud es un equilibrio entre el ánimo y el universo viviente.

El alma es un principio bueno pero puede ser mala dependiendo de si la persona en vida vivió de acuerdo con la moral cristiana.

Desplazamiento del ánimo - causa de enfermedades o de sueños. Por eso existen los aysiris que ponen en orden lo relacionado con el alma para curar enfermedades debidas a ella.

Almarasqa:- alma en pena o alma de viviente malvado que dirige su mirada a una persona débil. Pasan millu por el cuerpo del enfermo quien sopla tres veces. Queman el millu para interpretarlo. Lo llevan con ovillo de algodón a un cruce de caminos y invitan al alma de irse.

Arrebato/rabiajawa:- resulta de trastornos emocionales.

Condenado:- alma en pena que deambula por la tierra porque Dios le botó del Cielo, o ha sufrido algún injusticia de que quiere vengarse.

Kharisirisqa:- un kharisiri es un condenado resucitado que cumple una penitencia por adulterio; deambula caminos, solo, vestido de mortaja, lleva campana. Al encontrar al caminante solo le echa polvo de huesos humanos a la cara y le sopla. La víctima queda dormida, el kharisiri saca su grasa de la barriga con agujón, y la utiliza para hacer "pan bendito" o se alimenta con la grasa que puede dar al cura para sus santos óleos. Casos de dolor de estómago se los atribuyen al kharisiri.

Mancharisqa:- Cuando el ánimo abandona el cuerpo porque la persona ha sufrido un choque emocional muy fuerte, puede perder el ukhu ánimo o el phiña ánimo. Condición muy temido por los campesinos, porque nadie puede vivir sin alma y puede morir a cualquier momento y al alma se perderá irrevocablemente y se hará una especie de duende.



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Para esta enfermedad se sirve del phishkurachiy - con millu pisan la parte afectada del cuerpo; lo dejan envuelto de lana de colores amarillo, rojo, y verde, en contacto con el enfermo.

El jampiri derrite el millu y según las formas geográficas naturales que representa al derretirse se puede saber donde se perdió el ánimo. El jampiri bota el millu a un cruce de caminos. El paciente come tierra salitrosa - jallp'a kuti. Salen el jampiri y el paciente a buscar el alma donde creen que se perdió. Van con un muñeco vestido de ropa del paciente. Lllaman al alma (wajyachiy) para que vuelva (María, jampuy, ripusun); dan al muñeco chicotaditos.

Barrer una casa en cuanto que alguien ha salido de viaje implica que le están botando - no volverá o se enfermará.

Para el alma wajyay también, toman dos piedras blancas y redondas del río, una se llama San Cristóbal y el otro San Martín. Las golpean cada tres veces y soplan sobre el cuerpo del paciente.

Enfermedades debidas al extravío de objetos y ropas de uso cotidiana:- El alma de la persona se extiende a objetos y a lugares que la persona utiliza, o que conocía, o en que se está. Si se pierde una ropa interior por ejemplo, puede correr riesgo de enfermarse por deficiencia de su ánimo. Estas cosas, más objetos de la casa, pelo, huellas, pueden servir en embrujamientos hechos contra él.

Lavan bien la ropa usada cuando quieren deshacerse de ella, lo cual hacen rara vez. No dejan solear ropa seca o frazadas porque el sol absorbe la fuerza y debilita a su dueño. Por cualquier cosa que la persona considera inestimable, incluso amigos, hijos, animales, casa o cosechas, a que viene catástofe

o mala suerte, se puede enfermar porque estas cosas son como parte de sí mismo.

Enfermedades por pena:- por haber sufrido la pérdida de algún familiar querido - melancolía, etc. Se puede enfermarse por deseo, por odio, o por amor insatisfechos.

Kala mayus - almas de gente ahogada en los rios - mucha de esta gente es mala y no ha tenido tiempo para arrepentirse y por eso pueden hacer enfermar a las personas.

Enfermedades debidas al maligno:- el diablo va montado en un caballo de fuego armado de una espada por los caminos solitarios, de noche, generalmente alrededor de casas antiguas donde hay tesoros (tapados) a los cuales cuida.

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A la gente impide que se acerque amenazándoles de quitarles la cabeza, haciéndoles volverse locos. El diablo trae enfermedades, peleas, riñas, crímenes, problemas en el trabajo, etc. Puede manifestarse a cualquier momento, sobre todo de noche. Vive en barrancos, quebradas, tuneles, ruinas, pozos secos, pero no se identifica con la Pachamama.

Puede dar trastornos y demencia a la gente. Se aleja al diablo mediante exorcismos con agua bendita, cruces, santos, rezando y confesándose, bendiciones de la casa, misa pagada.

Enfermedades por embrujamiento:- atribuyen al embrujamiento o laycasqa a todas las enfermedades crónicas. Puede ser que el brujo fomenta el odio entre personas; es el mismo que entierra el bulto o muñeco cerca de la casa y quien se ofrece para hacer la curación.

Duendes:- almas de niños muertos sin bautizar, deambulan por lugares solitarios y de noche, molestando a la gente con

trampas traviesas - por ejemplo, desbarrancamiento de borrachos, enredar los pies de los caminantes con hilo.

Viudas:- mujeres bellas que deambulan por caminos solitarios y cruceros. Generalmente duendes toman la forma de estas bellas mujeres; también, de vez en cuando el diablo toma la forma de mujer bella pero con patas de gallo. Llevan a los hombres borrachos a barrancos para que se desbarranquen; se visten de manto negro - así parecen a viudas.

Enfermedades producidas por santos:- un santo puede enojarse si el campesino reza a otros y por eso puede enviar enfermedades, pero por ser seres buenos, rara vez hacen esto. Devotay es encomendarse para evitar enfermedades y males.

Tata Santiago:- señor del rayo; puede caer sobre muchas personas y matarlas, siendo el mismo Santiago que en su caballo y con su espada castiga a los malos.

Enfermedades por seres misteriosos:- jukumari - ser grande y peludo, anda de noche; suele robar y hacer desaparecer a las personas. El que escapa del jukumari se enloquece.

El gato, la víbora, el murciélago son bajo la tutela del diablo quien les defiende.

Rumimara (o picadura), sach'amara, waramara, t'iyumara, chirimara, ch'ikimara:-

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Aparición de erupciones, irritaciones dérmicas, pápulas, escosores.

En el primer caso, por falta de respeto a la piedra, en la segunda, el genio del árbol en el cuerpo.

Enfermedades producidas por animales:- animales con pelaje negro son estimados por sus propiedades curativas. Puesto que la Pachamama es dios tutelar de los animales, el maltratarlos

puede traer el castigo de la Pachamama en forma de una enfermedad. Las mariposas nocturnas grandes traen mala suerte. Algunas enfermedades son producidas por no respetar el hormiguero o la hormiga.

Enfermedades por el arco iris:- mirar el arco iris desaprensivamente puede causar enfermedad. Se puede romper el dedo si se señala el arco iris. Curación - purgantes con cenizas de lanas de doce colores.

Enfermedades por virtientes:- el genio de un virtiente puede dar reumáticos, etc. Hay que hacer una cruz en el agua antes de tomar.

Enfermedades por tierra (jallp'a onqoy):- la tierra tiene su principio viviente (jallp'amara) que puede enfermar con enfermedades similares a las que produce la Pachamama.

Enfermedades por fuego:- algunas enfermedades se atribuyen al fuego.

Enfermedades por agua:- resfriados, etc.

Rayo:- pararse sobre la tierra donde cayo el rayo puede producir tumores en los miembros inferiores.

Serpiente:- mensajero de la Pachamama; se chupa el ánimo de las personas y la sangre de ellos, produciendo debilidad y enflaquecimiento.

Lechuzo:- grita k'aj k'aj krrri krrri y con eso está cortando la mortaja y serruchando las maderas de la ataúd que prepara para el que va a morir.

Jamp'atu sopladura:- da enfermedades del riñon.

Ararankha sopladura:- produce piojos en la cabeza.

Enfermedades por la luna:- puede causar enfermedades para el que anda / duerme bajo sus rayos directos.

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Luna menguante - no hay que lavar ropa (se envejece).

Duendes viven en cerros puntiagudos llamados tuti, que son lugares como el olimpo griego donde se reunen estos seres míticos.

En los siguientes lugares pueden vivir almas, Pachamama, duendes, tal vez el diablo :- casa en ruinas, hornos, pozos, templos antiguos, molinos, casas de hacienda abandonadas.

Apachetas conmemoran achachilas - colocan una piedra y escupen su coca mascada al pasar.

Encantos:- lugares misteriosos y silenciosos que pueden cambiar la gente en una de una variedad de animales.

Las montañas ,ríos,y peñas son achachilas o antepasados, cuando no protegen a la gente puede sobrevenir la enfermedad.

Enfermedades por cadáveres:- el cadáver, sea de humano o de animal que despide malos olores es capaz de producir enfermedades.

La muerte, la enfermedad, y el envejecimiento:- el envejecimiento es un proceso del ánimo, reflejado en el cuerpo, en el cual va perdiéndose el soplo original que le dio la Pachamama. A Todos Santos, el alma puede regresar en la forma de una mosca.

La muerte para el campesino es algo natural; es la voluntad de Dios que así sea. Fuimos creados de tierra y allí volveremos.

Así volvemos al seno de la Pachamama. La muerte es un ente que se lleva al ánimo fuera del cuerpo; surge de la tierra y nos lleva a ella. La tierra es nuestra madre por lo que tenemos que volver a ella. Por eso, no podemos abandonarla, tampoco debemos trabajar de mala gana sino de todo corazón, porque el cuerpo allí tendría su última morada y el alma, de acuerdo a lo que

vivió, el cielo o infierno. Se pone cruz donde alguien murió por accidente:- conmemoran donde el alma se apartó del cuerpo; rezan para esta alma que está deambulando. Al morir hay un velakuy; ponen velas y flores, lloran; beben y comen al velorio.

Qorpacha:- comida ritual que se hace al segundo día de enterrado el muerto. Al tercer día de la muerte, van al río para lavar la ropa y cosas del muerto para evitar contagios y para que se vaya el ánimo del muerto.

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A los nueve días hay misas y responsos. Al mes, a tres meses, al año, y luego año por año hay algun responso. Regocijan si un niño muere porque es un angelito que irá directo al cielo y intercederá con Dios por todos sus parientes. El luto para un muerto dura un año; cuando termina, se sacan la ropa negra, haciendo una pequeña fiesta y tiran la ropa negra al techo, deseando que la muerte nunca más vuelva. Todos Santos es el cumpleaños de todo el mundo y el dos de noviembre es el cumpleaños de los muertos. A los tres días, en la casa, botan al ánimo del muerto. Uno de la casa se cubre de sábanas blancas, llorando como alma, y los deudos con palos y piedras lo expulsan de la casa; así el alma se va corriendo y llorando. Está bien tener animales en la casa porque la maldad que envían brujos y enemigos puede caer sobre ellos en lugar de sus dueños. El que sufre mucho al morir está pagando sus pecados.

Jampiri:- se dedica a curar mediante hierbas, productos animales o minerales. Su capacidad pasa de padre a hijo.

Yatiri:- predice el futuro, adivina quien ha robado, etc. Si

la enfermedad es por embrujos o por la Pachamama.

Aysiri:- personaje que pretende comunicarse con los muertos, los espíritus, y otras fuerzas de la naturaleza; pretende averiguar lo que les pasa a los ánimos de las personas enfermas y cómo sanarlas; averigua la suerte; aconseja sobre problemas familiares; comunica con las fuerzas vivientes y genios del universo - además de todos los ánimos de los muertos, dioses y santos, piedras, montañas, árboles, animales.

Khakhodora (khagosiri):- mujer especializada en curar varias enfermedades de mujeres.

Khakhodor:- especialista en curaciones por masaje, en fracturas.

T'ipiy ongoy:- romper la continuidad del mal que avanza en el enfermo mediante pichara o phishkurada, o antihechizos (llog'e contras).

Samaykuy:- echar aliento a alguna cosa para que tenga poder de curar.

Kutichiy:- procedimiento de chantaje que realiza el brujo contrario a otro brujo. Esos levantan un embrujo quemando ofrendas, q'owas, y objetos del embrujo y de la persona embrujada. Desembrujan desatando y cortando los hilos que envuelven el muñeco que representa al embrujado. Los queman a distancia de otras personas. También sacan las agujas del sapo a distancia de otras personas.

Phishkurachiy:- pasar millu por el cuerpo. Más tarde pueden echar pisco y confites en la casa del enfermo, rezando.

Qowi:- se pasa el cobayo por el cuerpo y donde chilla más, ahí está la enfermedad. O pueden leer en el corazón y el hígado del qowi el mal.

Lectura de la coca:- se lee sobre phullu negro con coca que se ha hecho comprar sin yapa.

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Interpretación de las hojas:-

- hojas pegadas - fidelidad
- " que se alejan - infidelidad
- " dobladas transversalmente - enemigos
- " dobladas longitudinalmente - suerte
- " oscuras - enfermedad, muerte
- " separadas - enemigos
- " con bordes dobladas - dinero
- " amarillentas - enfermedad

Se interpreta según los datos que da el cliente sobre su problema. Para diagnosticar la enfermedad, la coca debe estar en contacto con el enfermo un poco y hay que leerla sobre su ropa.

Lectura de millu:- lo envuelven en lana de colores, frotan el cuerpo del enfermo con esto. También lo ponen en contacto con orín o mierda. El curandero reza tres credbs y el enfermo sopla tres veces sin inspirar. El curandero derrite el millu:-

- si se pone iridescente, es Pachamama
- si hay valles y cerros, ahí se perdió el alma
- si hay nevaduras / canales, en caminos se perdió el alma
- si se pone de color amarillo - arrebató
- " violeta - susto
- " oscuro - muerte violenta
- " blanco - salud
- " rojizo - sangre, muerte
- si se quema reventando, la enfermedad es chhaka wayra.

Lectura de orín:- con la ayuda de millu en orín, se busca la causa de enfermedad.



El tamaño y la disposición de la muestra de los ojos de varias papas hacen ver si será de buena suerte el negocio del dueño.

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Lectura de maíz:- si los embriones en una muestra de maíz están en gran numero adyacentes, es suerte; si están opuestos, es mala suerte. A este maíz se lo llama kuti sara.

El layqa se dedica a tomar contacto con el diablo y varias fuerzas del mal; puede ser curandero que hechiza, adivina la suerte, etc.

Jeje:- cabeza de brujo que va volando averiguando lo que está pasando en las casas. Su cuerpo queda en un cajón rodeado de velas y cruces. Podría ser la cabeza de un muerto que muerde a la gente y le chupa la sangre.

Material de embrujo:- se utilizan materiales propios de la persona - ropa, excremento, cabello, zapatos. Hacen un ovillo con varias clases de lanas, simulando la figura de un muñequito y de acuerdo a sus intenciones, le atraviesan con espinas y les atan con hilos para que tengan la enfermedad o impedimento deseado y se entierra todo en un lugar cerca de la casa del embrujado o se lo clava en un árbol de algarroba. También pueden usar el sapo, pinchándolo en varias partes del cuerpo. También pueden hacer rezos y maldiciones verbales, usando coca, encendiendo velas a revés y moviendo un tizón en círculos para que el diablo les lleve la trampa. En papas de la chajra del vecino se arma la figura de la víctima y se le envuelve con trapos y se le clava espinos. Tratan de evitar embrujos con amuletas:- retama de flor, etc. Al hallar el muñeco, deshacen las ligaduras rezando tres credos, tres padre nuestros y luego se debe quemar y echar las cenizas en un barranco al

viento para que se lo lleve.

El alma puede salir del cuerpo en sueño y de ahí, pesadillas - el alma está viendo el futuro. Para evitar pesadillas, se usa tijera o sal.

- soñar con perros que muerden - robo
- " pan y lana - tener penas
- " burro - buena suerte

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- " vaca - no poder hacer nada
- " conejos - embrujo
- " huevo de gallina - mala suerte
- " indiecitos - Pachamama
- " incendio - gran riña
- " leña, troncos, tres - muerte
- " carne flaca - mala suerte
- " agua turbia - borrachos
- " agua cristalina - llorar
- " caca - renegar
- " comida - tener penas
- " hormigas negras - el phiña de Pachamama
- " comer pan - muerte
- " fuego - pelea
- " ovillos de g'aytu - penas
- " higo - luto
- " toro negro - suerte

Para que un aysiri pueda tener contacto con almas, se unta los ojos con lágrimas de perro negro porque los perros ven las almas y por eso aullan de noche; para que no se cumpla un sueño, escupen en el suelo pensando en un buen deseo.

Concepto de kuti:- todos los actos que realizan los campesinos para evitar algo nefasto y para que se transforme en bueno. Muchas veces, los curanderos están marcados por la divinidad. Curación / religión son una sola cosa; una deformación física es señal de capacidad de adivinar, etc. El que sobrevive el rayo tiene poderes sobrenaturales conferidos por el Tata Santiago. Los ciegos tienen poderes de dialogar y de ver que no tienen los hombres normales - por eso son muy buscados los ciegos para rezar responsos. Se reverencia al anciano por su experiencia, sabiduría, consejos, etc.

Auki cabiltus, cabiltus de genios (consejo de genios):- aukis son hombres sabios inmortales y ancianos. Nombres del lugar de una tierra virgen, o genios de la tierra. Los aysiris, al curar a una persona, llaman a éstos para que les avise qué tiene el enfermo y cómo deben curar o qué necesitan comprar o hacer para desembrujar.

Tuti:- el nombre de un genio del lugar o de la tierra virgen de esa zona, o el lugar donde se reúnen los genios en los cerros puntiagudos. Al tuti llaman haciendo sonar piedras en un cuarto oscuro y el enfermo y sus acompañantes deben estar callados; pasado un rato, el tuti se presenta preguntando por qué le han llamado. El aysiri dice que quiere saber si tal enfermo es así de un embrujo o de la Pachamama y cómo se debe curarle.

El aysiri es uno que estira o que llama a los genios del tuti o achachilas en auki cabiltus; aysay es estirar y aysa es una manera de llamar a los genios de las zonas o regiones donde uno vive y que ellos presiden.

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Aysa también es una parte empinada de una montaña, más la sesión espiritista en la que se reúnen el aysiri y los interesados.

Los aysiris saben los nombres de todos los lugares que sería interesante conocer, pues tienen sus toponimias definidas.

El genio tutelar de una montaña con una veta de oro hace que aunque alguien la haya visto o descubierto la oculta posteriormente. Hace que se produzcan derrumbes en las aysas o barrancos.

Por regla general, se puede decir que las concepciones de las enfermedades en los animales son completamente iguales a las de los seres humanos.

(Note. The Quechua orthography used in these notes is that used by Musch himself in the draft thesis)

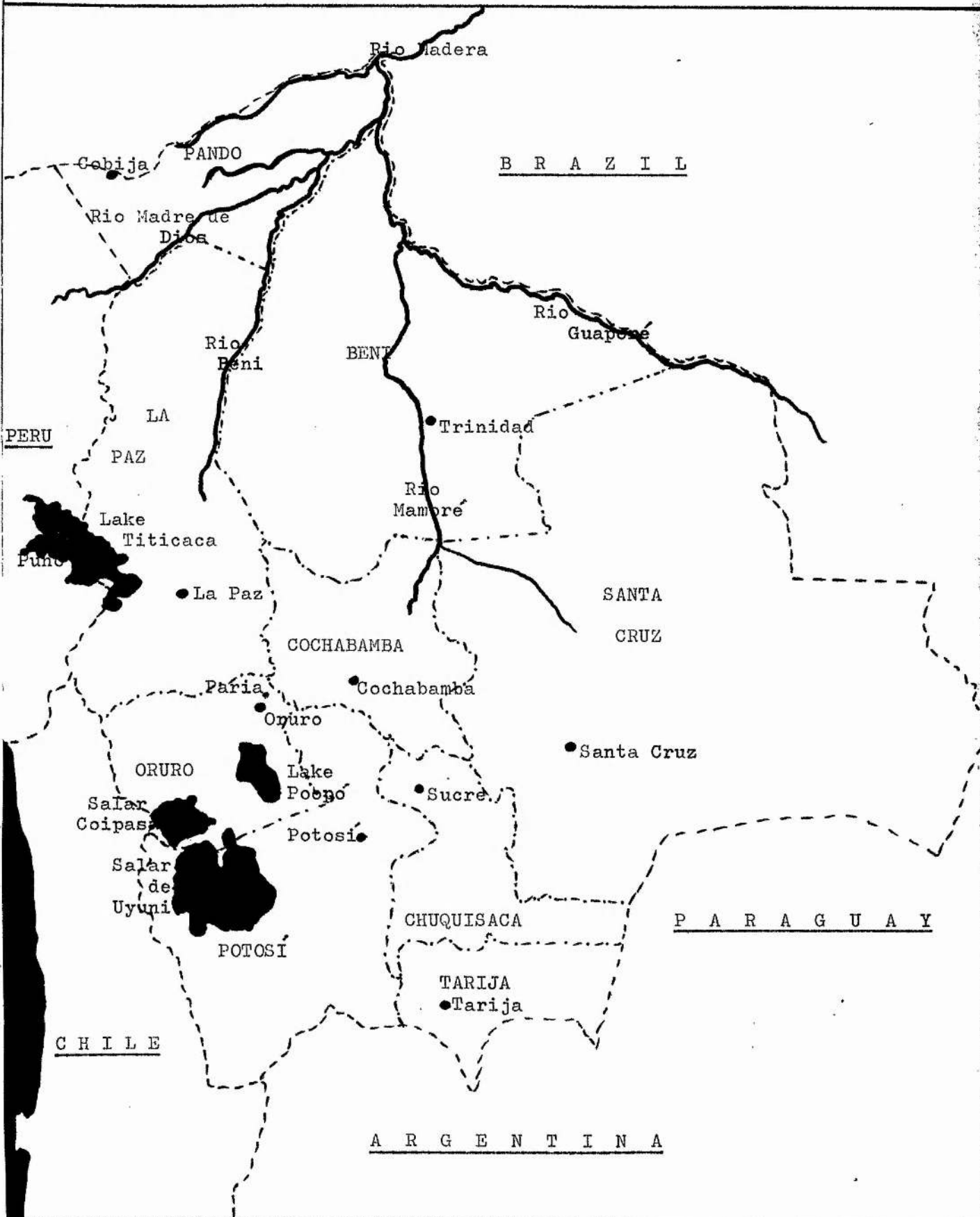
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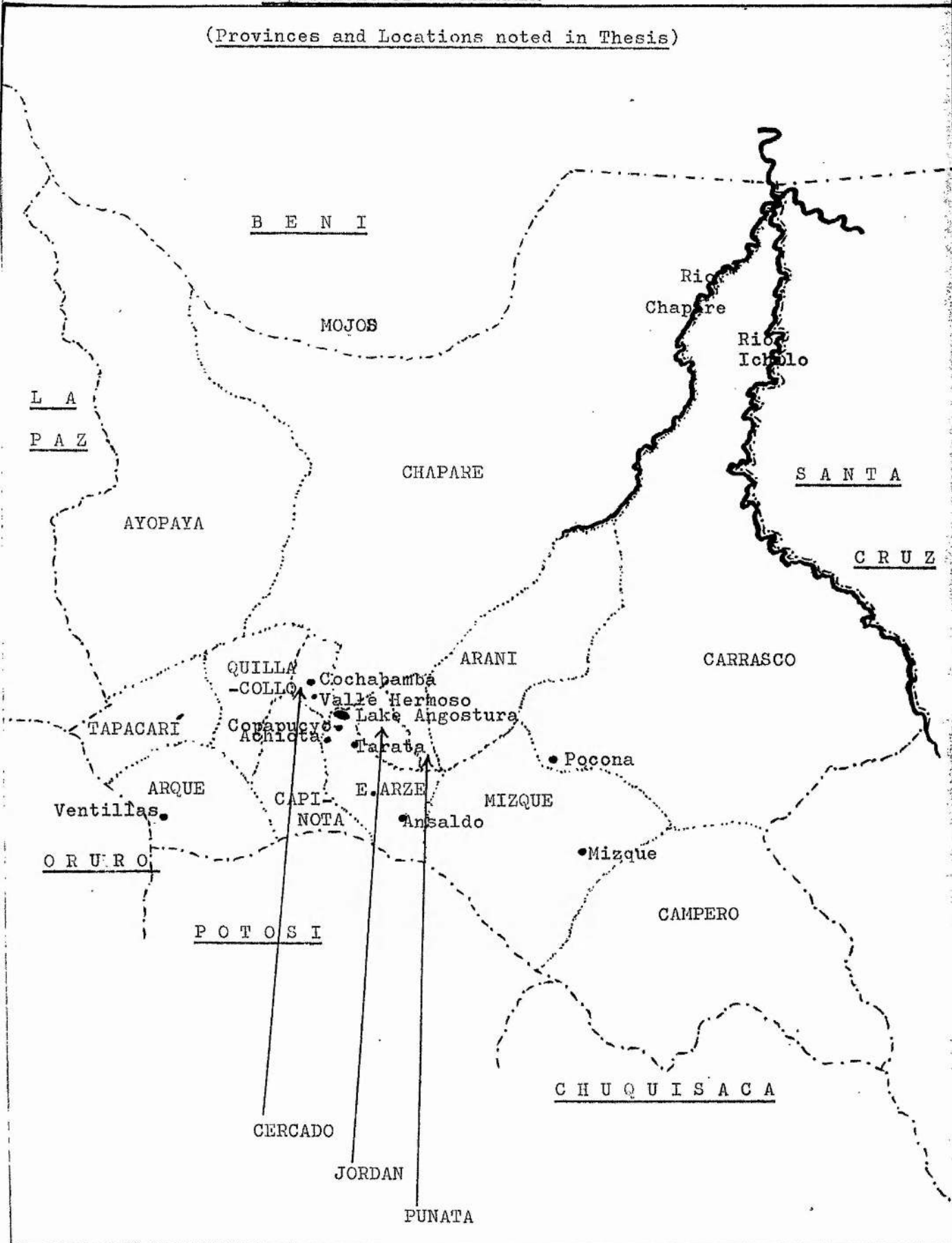
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